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The Oxford Handbook of
BYZANTINE
STUDIES

THE OXFORD HANDBOOK OF

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STUDIES**

THE OXFORD HANDBOOK OF

BYZANTINE
STUDIES

Edited by

ELIZABETH JEFFREYS

with

JOHN HALDON

and

ROBIN CORMACK

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ABBREVIATIONS

Periodicals and Series

- AB *Analecta Bollandiana*
- ACO *Acta Conciliorum Oecumenicorum*, 4 vols. in 27 pts. (Berlin–Leipzig, 1922–74)
- AD *Archaiologikon Deltion*
- AHB *Ancient History Bulletin*
- AJA *American Journal of Archaeology*
- ANRW *Aufstieg und Niedergang der Römischen Welt*
- BASP *Bulletin of the American Society of Papyrologists*
- BCH *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique*
- BF *Byzantinische Forschungen*
- BMGS *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies*
- BNJ *Byzantinische neugriechische Jahrbücher*
- BSA *Annual of the British School at Athens*
- BZ *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*
- CA *Cahiers Archéologiques*
- CAH 12 A. K. Bowman, P. Garnsey, and A. M. Cameron (eds.), *The Cambridge Ancient History*, vol. 12: *The Crisis of Empire, AD 193–337* (Cambridge, 2005, 2nd edn.)
- CAH 13 A. M. Cameron and P. Garnsey (eds.), *The Cambridge Ancient History*, vol. 13: *The Late Empire, AD 337–425* (Cambridge, 1998)
- CAH 14 A. M. Cameron, B. Ward-Perkins, and M. Whitby, *The Cambridge Ancient History*, vol. 14: *Late Antiquity: Empire and Successors, A.D. 425–600* (Cambridge, 2000)
- CCSG *Corpus Christianorum Series Graeca*
- CFHB *Corpus fontium historiae byzantinae*
- CMG *Corpus medicorum graecorum*
- CQ *Classical Quarterly*
- DCAE *Deltion tes Christianikes Archaiologikes Hetaireias*
- DOP *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*
- EHB A. E. Laiou and others (eds.), *The Economic History of Byzantium from the Seventh through the Fifteenth Century*, 3 vols. (Washington, DC, 2002) [<http://www.doaks.org/EHB.html>]

EHR	<i>English Historical Review</i>
EMC	<i>Échos du monde classique</i>
EO	<i>Échos d'Orient</i>
FM	<i>Fontes Minores</i>
GRBS	<i>Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies</i>
ICS	<i>Illinois Classical Studies</i>
IG	<i>Inscriptiones Graecae</i>
IK	<i>Inchriften griechischer Städte aus Kleinasien</i>
ILS	<i>Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae</i>
JEA	<i>Journal of Egyptian Archaeology</i>
JHS	<i>Journal of Hellenic Studies</i>
JÖB	<i>Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik</i>
JÖBG	<i>Jahrbuch der Österreichischen byzantinischen Gesellschaft</i>
JRA	<i>Journal of Roman Archaeology</i>
JRS	<i>Journal of Roman Studies</i>
JTS	<i>Journal of Theological Studies</i>
JWCI	<i>Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes</i>
LBG	<i>Lexikon zur byzantinischen Gräzität</i>
LSJ	H. G. Liddell and R. Scott, rev. H. S. Jones, <i>A Greek–English Lexikon</i> (Oxford, 1940, 9th edn.)
Mes. Bibl.	C. Sathas (ed.), <i>Mesaionike Bibliothek</i> , 7 vols. (Venice, 1892–4)
NCMH 2	R. McKitterick (ed.), <i>New Cambridge Medieval History</i> , vol. 2: c.700–c.900 (Cambridge, 1995)
NCMH 3	T. Reuter (ed.), <i>New Cambridge Medieval History</i> , vol. 3: 900–1024 (Cambridge, 1999)
OCA	<i>Orientalia Christiana Analecta</i>
OCP	<i>Orientalia Christiana Periodica</i>
ODB	A. Kazhdan and others (eds.), <i>The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium</i> , 3 vols. (New York–Oxford, 1991)
OMRL	<i>Oudheidkundige mededelingen uit het Rijksmuseum van Oudheiden te Leiden</i>
PG	<i>Patrologia Graeca</i>
PBSR	<i>Papers of the British School at Rome</i>
PL	<i>Patrologia Latina</i>
RE	<i>Paulys Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft</i>
REB	<i>Revue des Études Byzantines</i>
REG	<i>Revue des Études Grecques</i>
RSBN	<i>Rivista di studi bizantini e neoellenici</i>
SC	<i>Sources Chrétiennes</i>
SIFC	<i>Studi italiani di filologia classica</i>

<i>Sitz. Bay. Akad. Wiss., ph.-ph.-hist. Kl.</i>	<i>Sitzungsberichte der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-philologische und historische Klasse</i>
TAPA	<i>Transactions of the American Philosophical Society</i>
TF	Text und Forschungen
TIB	<i>Tabula Imperii Byzantini</i>
TM	<i>Travaux et Mémoires</i>
TU	Text und Untersuchung
VTIB	<i>Veröffentlichungen der Kommission für die Tabula Imperii Byzantini</i>
VV	<i>Vizantijskij Vremennik</i>
ZPE	<i>Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik</i>
ZRVI	<i>Zbornik radova Vizantološkog Instituta</i>

Manuscripts

Athens, Nat. Lib.	Athens, National Library (Ethnike Bibliotheke)
Florence, Laur.	Florence, Biblioteca Medicea-Laurenziana
Leipzig, Univ. Lib.	Leipzig, Universitätsbibliothek
London, BL	London, British Library
Milan, Ambros.	Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana
Naples, Bibl. Naz.	Naples, Biblioteca Nazionale
Oxford, Bodl.	Oxford, Bodleian Library
Paris, BN	Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale
Sinai	Mt Sinai, Monastery of St Catherine
Vat.	Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana
Vienna, ÖNB	Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek

Texts and Editions

In general consult *LBG*, *LSJ*, and *ODB*.

<i>An. Komn.</i>	D. Reinsch and A. Kambylis (eds.), <i>Annae Comnenae Alexias</i> (Berlin, 2001)
<i>Anth. Gr.</i>	W. R. Paton (ed. and trans.), <i>The Greek Anthology</i> , 5 vols. (London, 1916–18)
Attal.	<i>Michael Attaleiates, Historia</i> , ed. I. Bekker (Bonn, 1853); I. Pérez Martín (ed.), <i>Miguel Attalates, Historia</i> (Madrid, 2002)
Chalk.	I. Bekker (ed.), <i>Laonici Chalcocondylae Historiarum libri decem</i> (Bonn, 1843)
<i>Chron. Pasch.</i>	L. Dindorg (ed.), <i>Chronicon Paschale</i> , 2 vols. (Bonn, 1832)
CIC	<i>Corpus Iuris Civilis</i> , ed. T. Mommsen, P. Krueger, and others, 3 vols. (Berlin, 1928–9)
<i>Cod. Iust.</i>	<i>Codex Justinianus</i> , in <i>CIC</i> , vol. 2

- Cod. Theod.* *Codex Theodosianus*, 2 vols. in 3 parts, ed. T. Mommsen and P. M. Meyer (Berlin, 1905)
- De Adm. Imp.* G. Moravcsik and R. H. J. Jenkins (eds. and trans.), *Constantine Porphyrogenitus, De Administrando Imperio*, vol. 1: *Text and Commentary* (Washington, DC, 1967); vol. 2: *Commentary* (London, 1962)
- De Cer.* J. J. Reiske (ed.), *De Cerimoniis Aulae Byzantinae*, 2 vols. (Bonn, 1829–30)
- Dig. Ak.* E. Jeffreys (ed. and trans.), *Digenis Akritis: The Grottaferrata and Escorial versions* (Cambridge, 1998)
- Digest.* *Digesta*, ed. T. Mommsen (= *CIC*, vol. 1; Berlin, 1928)
- Doukas* V. Grecu (ed.), *Ducas Istoria Turco-bizantina (1341–1462)* (Bucharest, 1958)
- Eusebios, HE* Eusebius, *Historia ecclesiastica*: E. Schwartz (ed.), *Eusebius Werke 2.1–3: Die Kirchengeschichte* (Leipzig, 1903–9)
- Eusebios, VC* Eusebios, *Vita Constantini*: F. Winkelmann, *Eusebius Werke 1.1: Über das Leben des Kaisers Konstantin* (Berlin, 1975); A. M. Cameron and S. Hall, *Eusebius, Life of Constantine: Introduction, Translation and Commentary* (Oxford, 1999)
- Genes.* A. Lesmüller-Werner and I. Thurn (eds.), *Iosephi Genesisii regum libri quattuor* (Berlin–New York, 1978)
- Greg.* L. Schopen and I. Bekker (eds.), *Nicephori Gregorae Byzantina Historia*, 3 vols. (Bonn, 1829–55)
- Hes. Works* *Works and Days*, in H. G. Evelyn-White (ed. and trans.), *Hesiod, the Homeric Hymns and Homeric* (London, 1959)
- Isidore, Orig.* W. M. Lindsay (ed.), *Isidori Hispalensis Episcopi Etymologiarum sive originum libri XX* (Oxford, 1911)
- Justin* C. Munier (ed.), *L'Apologie de Saint Justin philosophe et martyr* (Fribourg, 1995)
- Kantak.* L. Schopen (ed.), *Ioannis Cantacuzeni eximperatoris, Historiarum Libri IV*, 3 vols. (Bonn, 1828–32)
- Laskaris, Ep.* N. Festa (ed.), *Theodori Ducae Lascaris epistulae CCXVII* (Florence, 1898)
- Leo Diac.* C. B. Hase (ed.), *Leonis Diaconi Caloensis Historiae* (Bonn, 1828)
- Lib. Or.* R. Foerster (ed.), *Libanii Opera*, 3 vols. (Leipzig, 1902–17)
- Lib. Pont.* L. Duchesne (ed.), *Liber Pontificalis*, 3 vols. (Paris, 1886–1957)
- Lyd. De Mag.* A. C. Bandy (ed. and trans.), *Ioannes Lydus, On Powers or The Magistracies of the Roman State* (Philadelphia, 1983)
- Maur. Strat.* *Mauricii Strategicon*: G. T. Dennis and E. Gamillscheg (eds.), *Das Strategikon des Maurikios* (Vienna, 1981)
- Nik. Chon.* J. L. van Dieten (ed.), *Nicetas Choniates, Historia* (Berlin–New York, 1975)

- Nov.* *Iustiniani Novellae* in *CIC*, vol. 3
- Pachym.* A. Failler (ed. and trans.), *Georges Pachymérés, Relations historiques*, 5 vols. (Paris, 1984–2000)
- Pan.* K. Holl (ed.), *Epiphanius, Panarios* (Leipzig, 1933)
- Photios* R. Henry (ed. and trans.), *Photios, Bibliothèque*, 8 vols. (Paris, 1959–77)
- Prok. Buildings* J. Haury, rev. P. Wirth (ed.), *Procopii Caesariensis opera omnia*, vol. 4: *De aedificiis* (Leipzig, 1963); H. B. Dewing (ed. and trans.), *Procopius*, vol. 7: *Buildings* (Cambridge, Mass.–London, 1940)
- Prok. SH* J. Haury, rev. P. Wirth (ed.), *Procopii Caesariensis opera omnia*, vol. 3: *Historia arcana* (Leipzig, 1963); H. B. Dewing (ed. and trans.), *Procopius*, vol. 6: *Anecdota or Secret History* (Cambridge, Mass.–London, 1940)
- Prok. Wars* J. Haury, rev. P. Wirth (ed.), *Procopii Caesariensis opera omnia*, vols. 1–2: *De Bellis* (Leipzig, 1962–3); H. B. Dewing (ed. and trans.), *Procopius*, vols. 1–5: *The Wars* (Cambridge, Mass.–London, 1940)
- Proklos, Hom.* F. Leroy (ed.), *L'homilétique de Proclus de Constantinople. Tradition manuscrite, inédits, études connexes* (Vatican City, 1967)
- Psellos, Chron.* S. Impellizzeri and others (eds. and trans.), *Michele Psello, Imperatori di Bisanzio: cronografia*, 2 vols. (Milan, 1984)
- Sokr. HE* G. Hansen (ed.), *Sokrates, Kirchengeschichte* (Berlin, 1995)
- Sphrantzes, Cron.* R. Maisano (ed.), *Giorgio Sfranze, Cronaca* (Rome, 1990)
- Theod. Met. Presb.* L. Mavromatis (ed.), *Theodoros Metochites, Presbeutikos in La fondation de l'empire serbe. Le kralj Milutin* (1978): 89–119
- Theod. Stud. Ep.* G. Fatouros (ed.), *Theodori Studitae epistulae* (Berlin–New York, 1992)
- Theoph.* C. de Boor (ed.), *Theophanes, Chronographia*, 2 vols. (Leipzig, 1883–5)
- Theoph. Cont.* I. Bekker (ed.), *Theophanes Continuatus* (Bonn, 1838)
- Timarion* R. Romano (ed. and trans.), *Pseudo-Luciano, Timarione* (Naples, 1974)
- Veget.* C. Lang (ed.), *Vegetii Epitoma rei militaris* (Stuttgart, 1872)
- Vita Alypii* *Vita Sancti Alypii: vita prior*, in H. Delehaye (ed.), *Les Saints Stylites* (Paris–Brussels, 1923): 148–69
- Vita Io. El.* A.-J. Festugière and L. Ryden (eds.), *Léontios de Néapolis, Vie de Syméon le Fou et Vie de Jean de Chypre* (Paris, 1974)
- Vita Petri* A. Mai (ed.), *Vita et conversatio Sancti Petri Argivorum, Patrum nova bibliotheca*, vol. 9.3: 1–17 (Rome, 1888)

- Vita Theod. Syk.* A.-J. Festugière (ed.), *Vie de Théodore de Sykéon*, I: *Texte grec*; II: *Traduction, commentaire et appendice* (Brussels, 1970)
- Vita Theophylakti* A. Vogt (ed.), 'Vie de S. Théophylacte de Nicomédée', *AB* 50 (1930): 71–82
- Zepos, *Jus* J. and P. Zepos, *Jus graecoromanum*, 8 vols. (Athens, 1931; repr. Aalen, 1962)

Note: all urls are accurate as of June 2007.

PART I

THE DISCIPLINE

BYZANTINE
STUDIES AS AN
ACADEMIC
DISCIPLINE

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JOHN HALDON

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BYZANTINE Studies are concerned with the history and culture of what has come to be known as the Byzantine Empire, that is, the empire of East Rome. This was centred on the city of Constantinople (modern Istanbul), generally agreed to have been founded in 324 by the emperor Constantine to be the capital of the eastern portions of the Roman Empire (although the issue of Constantine's actual intentions remains debated). Its boundaries fluctuated over the centuries but it remained as a distinct, and for the most part major, political entity in the world of Europe, the east Mediterranean, and the neighbouring regions for more than a millennium, until its final capture by the Ottoman Turks in 1453; its influence lives on to the present day. Its emperors and citizens thought of themselves as Roman (*romaioi*) while the inhabitants of Constantinople regularly referred to themselves as Constantinopolitans and their city as the Queen City.

The term 'Byzantine' derives from Byzantium, the name of the city founded in the eighth century BCE that had previously occupied the site of Constantine's Constantinople, and is a modern construct first used in seventeenth-century Europe. 'Byzantium' and 'Byzantine' are now used freely to refer to all aspects of the East Roman Empire and its culture. As an extension of the Roman Empire Byzantium's structures of government and administration evolved seamlessly from those of the late Roman empire of the first centuries CE, with Latin initially the language of administration. The language of its literary culture, however, was Greek. From its inception Constantinople was a Christian city, whose bishop in time became the ecumenical patriarch of the Orthodox Church while the rituals and thought patterns of Christianity became all pervasive in the Byzantine way of life. The defining characteristics of this empire are thus that it was Roman in law and government, Greek in language and literary culture, and Christian in its religion.

For the English-speaking world of the twenty-first century, or the world of western Europe in general, Byzantium is something of a black hole, a shadowy force if known at all, unlike the empire of West Rome whose physical remains are a conspicuous and very real reminder of its former presence. At its most basic this difference in perception reflects the linguistic and cultural—as well as political—divisions between eastern and western Europe that grew up in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages, when the east was predominantly Orthodox and with a literary culture based on Greek whilst the west was Roman Catholic with a Latin literary culture: at some points an impermeable barrier could be said to have been in place between the two. In modern times this separation is still visible in many areas. It has also been reflected in the curricula at secondary and tertiary levels of education where Byzantium has been given a very small place indeed, although classicists (albeit often grudgingly) would admit that without the intervention of Byzantine scribes no texts in ancient Greek would have survived to the present day. Byzantium has been of esoteric interest only. This *damnatio memoriae*, this condemnation to oblivion, however, is no longer quite so true as it once was. Good witness to this is the intense interest generated by exhibitions of Byzantine art, most notably the exhibitions staged in the Metropolitan Museum of Art ('Age of Spirituality' in 1977, 'Glory of Byzantium' in 1997, and 'Byzantium: Faith and Power, 1261–1557' in 2004), with huge sales of the exhibition catalogues. Among the considerations that will have led to this heightened awareness of Byzantium and its culture must be included the development of tourism and inexpensive travel to Greece and Turkey, where access to major monuments is no longer the hazardous adventure it used to be not so very long ago.

However, academic centres devoted to the study of Byzantium have existed in many forms in most countries of Europe and North America for many years, in some cases informally as the result of an individual's special interests, in other cases formally since the last years of the nineteenth century. These centres have turned what might have become an antiquarian hobby for dilettante collectors

of precious artefacts, such as enamels or icons, into a coherent discipline. An important initial, though not necessarily automatic, stimulus for the investigation of Byzantium lay in the major collections of Greek manuscripts, whether of classical or medieval texts—all of course dating from the Byzantine period and copied in areas under Byzantine domination. Such collections, brought together as the result of widely varied historical circumstances, are to be found, for example, in Athens, London, Madrid, Paris, the Vatican, and Vienna. This has meant that a primary focus for interest in Byzantium has often been as much philological as historical. For others, of course, ‘Byzantium’ immediately implies a theological tradition and ecclesiastical structures, though these are only part of the definition of Byzantine culture.

France saw the first interest in ‘le bas empire’, as the later stages of the Roman Empire came to be known, in the court of Louis XIV, where optimistic comparisons could be drawn between parallel imperial aspirations. This led to an interest in the acquisition of texts, particularly histories, from the Byzantine period, and the first printing of a number of these, largely from the royal collections. These Paris editions, reprinted in Venice, remained important tools until replaced by the Bonn editions of the nineteenth century. The manuscripts kept in the Paris libraries also provided the wherewithal for other important academic tools such as Du Cange’s *Glossarium mediae et infimae Graecitatis* (1688), which is still not entirely superseded. Intellectual interest in Byzantine studies has remained a constant in French academic life, represented in recent years by important work at the Sorbonne and the Collège de France.

Perhaps the most significant step towards creating the discipline was taken by Karl Krumbacher (1856–1909) in Munich in the 1890s, where he founded *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, the first journal to focus on this field and still the journal of record, and set up an Institute for Byzantine Studies within the University of Munich which continues to this day. In Germany other important centres appeared in, for example, Berlin, Bonn, and Hamburg. Also of significance were developments in Athens, where the newly founded university and the Academy had a strong interest in this area. Pre-revolutionary Russia saw much important work that was with difficulty continued through the Stalinist period but which was reflected in the invigorating perspectives brought by the late Alexander Kazhdan when he moved from Moscow to Washington in the 1970s.

The next most significant step for the discipline came with the institution of a series of international congresses of Byzantine Studies, the first taking place in Bucharest in 1924, with some thirty participants. These have come to be held every five years, with interruptions only for the Second World War. The most recent have been in London (2006), Paris (2001), Copenhagen (1996), and Moscow (1991). For virtually every congress plenary papers and many of the shorter contributions have been published: these are an invaluable record of changing areas of interest and methodologies.

In the 1920s and 1930s Byzantine artefacts (icons, ivories, enamels) came to the attention of collectors of fine art—their abstract qualities accorded with the taste of the time, and they were relatively inexpensive. Mr and Mrs Robert Bliss, American connoisseurs, built up a choice collection with an associated scholarly library which was housed in their home, a charming eighteenth-century mansion in Washington, DC. In 1940 they presented this to Harvard University: the ensuing Research Library and Collection in Byzantine Studies at Dumbarton Oaks has become one of the most significant resources in the field, with a holding of books that can only with difficulty be matched elsewhere. The existence of Byzantine Studies in many North American universities owes much to this institution.

In the years after the Second World War Byzantine Studies developed as part of the general expansion of tertiary education. In Austria, with a significant holding of Greek manuscripts in the State Library in Vienna and situated centrally at the crossroads between Catholic and Orthodox Europe, the Institut der Österreichischen Byzantinistik was set up and soon, under the astute guidance of the late Herbert Hunger, initiated a major series of research projects, starting with modern manuscript catalogues and encompassing editions of texts, studies of seals, and mapping Byzantine territories (*Tabula Imperii Byzantini*). In Britain, where Byzantine studies had been promoted by individual scholars such as J. B. Bury (1861–1927) and later his pupil Steven Runciman (1903–2000), weak institutional support was transformed in the educational creativity of the 1960s and departments were set up (Birmingham) or strengthened (Cambridge, London, Oxford). On the model of the Dumbarton Oaks' symposia and the quinquennial international congresses, British Byzantine studies are held together by annual symposia, which are regularly published. The rather surprising strength, on paper, of Byzantine studies in Australia can be seen as an offshoot of the British developments since most of those involved were trained in the UK.

Today, Byzantine Studies is an academic discipline represented in many universities throughout the Western world, whether in autonomous departments or by the special research interests of individual scholars. Its main organs of communication continue to be academic journals, such as *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies*, *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, *Byzantinoslavica*, *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik*, *Revue des Études Byzantines*, *Vizantijskij Vremennik*, though electronic means of publication are gaining ground.

As an area of scholarship the current popularity of Byzantine Studies reflects the expansion of mass tertiary education through universities and equivalent institutions, especially in the United States and western Europe, as well as an increased awareness of, and interest in, the post-classical antecedents of much of 'western' culture. There is in addition a corresponding awareness of the proximity to its medieval forebears of contemporary cultures in which the Orthodox Church has played a role from medieval times up to the present day. And it also reflects the interest in one aspect of their own heritage shown by second- and third- or fourth-generation

immigrants from Greece and eastern Europe to the United States, Canada, and Australia in particular, where the popular combination of Byzantine with Modern Greek Studies demonstrates the expansion of a small but lively educational market. Recent and current political and cultural issues in South-East Europe have raised the consciousness of many with regard to the Byzantine past and its contribution to the shaping of the modern world in the Balkan and East Mediterranean region. It is significant, and perhaps also ironic, that it was primarily for reasons of political concern that interest in the Byzantine world and its heritage received such stimulus in the early Renaissance period in the first place. For the threat from the expanding Ottoman state which was perceived in central and western Europe served directly to arouse interest in Byzantine accounts of the Turks and their history, an interest which in its turn promoted further probing into the East Roman, or at least post-Roman imperial past, among political and intellectual circles of the West, especially in Italy, during the sixteenth century (see the useful brief introduction to the field in Moravcsik 1976).

Closely bound up with this political historical, indeed, strategic geographical interest, study of the Greek language and its evolution in the post-classical world was a central part of this developing tradition. The linguistic evolution of Greek in its various spoken and written forms, the functional and cultural differentiation between the various registers and dialects, proved to be a vast field for linguists and philologists, an interest again stimulated by the need to make sense of medieval Greek historical writing and chronicles, and tied in with the very immediate demands of the cultural politics of the period which produced it.

But like much of the subject-matter of western science, Byzantium has remained the object until quite recently of outside scrutiny, for the scholarly study of 'Byzantium' evolved last of all in those areas most directly part of the heritage: the Greek-speaking regions of the south Balkans and Asia Minor. An interest did exist throughout the *Tourkokratia*, the period of Ottoman control, evolving especially towards the end of the eighteenth century, but less as a revival of interest in the Byzantine past than as a re-directing of already existing intellectual currents, from a more-or-less strictly 'Orthodox' view of the God-guarded empire and its heritage, to a more openly pluralistic and, dare one say, more 'scientific' attitude, as the effects of rationalism and the Enlightenment were felt.

The Enlightenment did not necessarily signal an enlightened approach to Byzantium. The judgement of Edward Gibbon (1776–89) is all too familiar, a view determined largely by the eighteenth-century English interpretation of Greek philosophy and the stoic values of the Roman republic (which fitted comfortably with the self-image of the English upper class), together with the distaste felt by many enlightenment thinkers for the politics of the medieval Church, eastern or western—a view also shared, to a degree at least, by Greek rationalist thinkers such as Adamantios Koraes (1748–1833). The 'rationalist' hostility to Byzantium displayed by writers such as Gibbon is, of course, quite different from the purient moralizing

hostility of later writers of the Victorian age such as William Lecky, whose views Gibbon would probably have found equally distasteful (Lecky 1869: vol. 2, 13–14): ‘Of that Byzantine empire, the universal verdict of history is that it constitutes, without a single exception, the most thoroughly base and despicable form that civilisation has yet assumed. There has been no other enduring civilisation so absolutely destitute of all forms and elements of greatness, and none to which the epithet mean may be so emphatically applied . . . The history of the empire is a monotonous story of the intrigues of priests, eunuchs, and women, of poisonings, of conspiracies, of uniform ingratitude.’

Byzantine Studies, in the sense of the study of Byzantine history, language, and literature has a long pedigree, as we have seen. But whether we consider Hieronymus Wolf, Edward Gibbon, or Karl Krumbacher (Beck 1966, 1958) to be the founders of ‘modern’ Byzantine Studies, it is clear that, more than with many other areas of the study of past societies, it is a multi-disciplinary and, perhaps most importantly, a multicultural field. In this it reflects its subject, itself a multicultural and, for much of its history, a polyglot state in which the Greek language and the Orthodox Church served among many other elements as key unifying factors. The enormous range of material presented in this volume provides a neat illustration of the point. Yet at the same time the situation of the empire itself, and the nature of the skills and study which are required to pursue Byzantine culture and civilization intellectually and academically—on the margins of mainstream ‘western’ culture, so to speak—has sometimes had negative results, insofar as Byzantine Studies can be seen as an esoteric and somewhat marginal area of interest. To some extent this is a result of the languages of the sources, and partly also a result of the geographical centre of the field as it first developed in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, well away from most of the regions where the subject first evolved.

Only in Greece (and in emigré Greek communities) is Byzantium ‘mainstream’, and this has, in turn, brought its own particular disadvantages. For here the exigencies of cultural politics, ethno-history, the continued role of the Orthodox Church and its particular view of the Byzantine past, along with contemporary national political issues of identity and relations with neighbouring states and cultures, have all combined to affect the ways in which Byzantium has been appropriated, studied, and re-presented to the indigenous consumer of recent and contemporary Greek culture. The internal debate has in turn had its effects upon the external readership, so that both a romantic Philhellenic and an anti-Hellenic perspective can be detected in the writings of non-Greek Byzantinists (Cameron 1992). The literature on this topic is considerable and well known, and it is unnecessary to pursue the subject further in this context. But it is important to bear it in mind, because the bifocal lens of Byzantine studies—informed both by an ‘internal’ perspective of those born and brought up within the modern Hellenic tradition, and by an ‘external’ point of view of those outside modern Greek culture—has determined a good deal of the discourse of Byzantinists.

Byzantine Studies, as we have now seen, is a convenient term that comprises a vast range of sub-fields which often have little direct contact one to another—indeed, the contents of this volume illustrate this very clearly. But these sub-fields, if that is an appropriate term, themselves fall into two broad categories: instrumental and interpretational. By the former, we mean those disciplines which are primarily concerned with the preparation and analysis of source material of one type or another, without which it must reasonably be conceded that no more broadly based interpretative or generalizing study can properly be effected. And because of the nature of the sources, whether literary, epigraphic, archaeological, or visual representational, the instrumental tradition has tended, by necessity, to dominate the field of Byzantine Studies as a whole. Most ‘Byzantinists’ possess a competence in at least one, and usually more than one, of these instrumental skills. Such skills are rooted in the positivism of nineteenth-century notions of ‘scientificity’ which have dominated and moulded European and North American historiographical thinking, and it has been until recently the emphasis on the technical and methodological skills which are required for the internal and external assessment of textual evidence that have dominated—quite correctly, of course, in many respects—the training of those who wanted to study Byzantium more closely. In particular, the methods and priorities of classical philology have necessarily had a major influence, even if this is no longer the case today (and without pronouncing any value judgements in that regard). While there are many individual exceptions, however, this necessary emphasis on skills also tends to discourage conscious theorizing and reflection. Theoretical abstraction has been avoided without too many qualms as largely unnecessary, enabling specialists to pursue their aims using methods which, by virtue of their proven scientific value, are seen as more-or-less neutral. Such an approach inevitably has important implications for how Byzantinists understand their purchase on ‘the past’, and the ways in which knowledge of the past is constructed or generated.

In the 1980s some of the traditional views were subject to questioning, reflecting a broader trend in history-writing and an ongoing debate between those who were interested in challenging the theoretical assumptions underlying and informing their research, and those who were not interested in such debates, preferring to see them either as irrelevant or as inaccessible (Haldon 1984). Byzantine Studies was itself in the mid-1980s in the process of what T. S. Kuhn referred to as a ‘paradigm shift’, a process through which a traditional set (or sets) of assumptions and priorities, as well as theories and approaches, is replaced or complemented and then transformed by different sets of ideas. The changes in the nature of the subject and in those who pursue it have not been particularly marked, yet there did take place considerable movement in attitudes and assumptions about what is acceptable material for study and what are appropriate questions to ask. This was in some respects entirely predictable: changes in social and cultural values and priorities, in secondary education, and in the context of the major political

issues of the day, naturally worked themselves through to the level of university and college degree programmes. The effects of gender-studies programmes and feminist history-writing in particular have been seen in the sorts of social history questions which are now being asked, especially by successive generations of younger scholars. But equally impressive changes in the agendas of art historians and archaeologists have also taken place, with the result that the subject, or bundle of subjects, known as 'Byzantine Studies' looks today very different from only twenty years ago.

Since the quality of Byzantine art has been more frequently appreciated than the character of its history or literature, art history has claimed a good proportion of scholarly attention. Yet the superficial (but often voiced) view of the study of the art of Byzantium is that it has developed to a great extent in isolation from other disciplines of the field, and even from the broader interests of art history; that it is really the empirical study of material objects from an archaeological standpoint. In fact a historiography of Byzantine art history shows up considerable responsiveness to intellectual trends, and its development has been a complex mix of national and international interests.

Interest in the art history of Byzantium was until the middle of the nineteenth century virtually the preserve of French and German scholars, and their concern was with the 'neo-Greek' character of the culture (Crimson 1996: 73). The subject then flourished internationally in response to current aesthetic and political attitudes, church debates, and personal whims for medievalism (Bullen 2003: 4). In Britain, John Ruskin was a prime mover through his best-selling book *The Stones of Venice* (1851–3) and his critical promotion of the church of San Marco; and consequently interest in Byzantine art was advanced initially through the study of architecture, thereby avoiding the negative Enlightenment attitudes of Gibbon. Influential on Ruskin was the traveller Robert Curzon (1849: 34–40), who in turn owed many of his attitudes about the 'intellectual' and 'passionless' character of Byzantine art to A. N. Didron's *Manuel d'iconographie chrétienne* (1845) with its publication of the eighteenth-century *Hermeneia* of Dionysius of Fourna which, despite its late date, was interpreted to show the subservience of Byzantine artists to the Church and their lack of originality (see Hetherington 1974). A well-rounded interest in the antiquities of Byzantium emerged in the key monograph by W. R. Lethaby and H. Swainson, *The Church of Sancta Sophia, Constantinople: A Study of Byzantine Building* (1894). The arts and crafts architect and architectural historian Lethaby was influential in raising the profile of Byzantium in Britain, and he encouraged young architects to travel to the British School of Archaeology at Athens and to record the Byzantine monuments of Greece and Asia Minor. A feature of this intense period of activity up to the 1914 war was the combination of architectural draughtsmanship and photography to record Byzantine monuments in fieldwork by energetic teams from Germany, Russia, France, and Britain. Particularly thorough were the photographic campaigns of Millet all over Greece and of Jerphanion in Cappadocia.

The 'big question' that lay behind this activity was the origin of Early Christian and Byzantine art. The centrally planned domed church of Hagia Sophia at Constantinople was at the centre of this debate. It was energized by Strzygowski (1901) who first looked for sources in the Hellenistic East but then moved his sights to the east beyond the Graeco-Roman world and into Iran, with Armenia as the intermediary for the transmission of oriental ideas. The opposing view was that the antecedents of the dome lay in imperial Rome alone. The argument in these stark binary terms was brought to an end by Ward-Perkins (1947), who set out the case for the development of early Christian architecture within the Roman Empire, while recognizing the complexity of Roman architecture itself. The striking discoveries at Dura Europos made no difference to this interpretation of the importance of Rome (despite Breasted 1924), but the great geographical range of eastern Roman Christian monuments does cast doubts on what exactly the term Byzantine art and architecture should ideally encompass and how broad its definition should be. The question remains: the most popular definition of Byzantine art has been as the art of Constantinople, but it is the narrowest and may distort our perceptions, since it sets the notion of a norm against which variations may be seen negatively as provincial or inferior. The current discourse sees the genesis of Byzantine art as a progressive 'transformation' of Graeco-Roman art rather than a rejection of it. But it avoids the question whether the category of Byzantine art represents a political state, a religion, or a style (Mango 1991).

Byzantine architectural history has followed four approaches (Mango 1991): classifications of buildings by typology and by so-called regional 'schools'; the approach to architecture as symbolic or ideological (ways in which dome, for example, symbolized heaven); the functional approach to explaining architectural forms and features (expounded by Krautheimer 1942 and Grabar 1946); and the social and economic approach (as in Tchalenko 1953–8). These can be said to match the approaches in other art histories too.

Questions of origins equally engaged Russian scholarship, which judiciously compared the contributions of the Hellenistic east and Rome (Kondakov 1886; Ainalov 1961; Lazarev 1947–8), with attention particularly focused on the evidence of manuscripts. Manuscript study was also promoted by Wickhoff (1895) through his rehabilitation of Late Antiquity and emphasis on the innovations of the Vienna Genesis. Book illustration became the training ground for art historians for much of the twentieth century. Weitzmann (1947) set out a philological method for the study of manuscripts which made assumptions about the quantity of illuminated books in antiquity and the derivative character of Byzantine manuscripts. His methodology operated on the assumption that the processes of copying pictures were subject to the same 'rules' as the transmission of texts, and that they all derived from a 'correct' archetype. Although influential, in time this was criticized for exaggerating the study of the postulated lost model over the surviving materials (see Walter 1971; Lowden 1992). Weitzmann's practice was undermined by the approach

of der Nersessian (1962), who sought not the sources of the ninth-century Homilies of Gregory but an analysis of how its producers conceived and chose the cycle of pictures to demonstrate the meanings and allusions of each of the patristic sermons. Meanwhile a broader, highly formalist, approach to Byzantine art was pursued by Kitzinger (1976), concerned to deduce the dialectics of stylistic change (and the disruption of iconoclasm), which owed much to the treatment of Renaissance art by Wölfflin (1915) and the Viennese school of art history.

Manuscript study was gradually superseded as the main focus of art historical attention as major discoveries were made in Constantinople by the Byzantine Institute set up by Whittemore who in 1932 initiated the campaigns to uncover the mosaics of Hagia Sophia and the Kariye Camii. After 1959 under the auspices of Dumbarton Oaks this work of uncovering and consolidation of monuments and their decoration in Istanbul was continued and expanded to Cyprus, with the effect of shifting attention away from Ravenna and Italy and towards the eastern Mediterranean. At the same time publication of monuments in Greece and the Balkans continued apace, and the work of, among others, Djurić, Orlandos, Soteriou, Xyngopoulos, Chatzidakis, and Mouriki documented the quantity and nature of the surviving heritage in Greece (and its post-Byzantine monuments). This interest in establishing the dates and stylistic sequences of Byzantine art was matched in the themes of the International Congresses in which Byzantine art was treated in key periods or centuries. The broader debate within the coverage of monumental art was the so-called 'Byzantine Question', or how to measure the contribution of Byzantium to the emergence of the Italian Renaissance. Demus (1948, 1950, 1970) set out a definition of the nature of mosaic decoration, explored its diffusion to the west (more subtly than Byron and Talbot Rice 1931), and rejected the conventional art historical attitude inherited from Giorgio Vasari (1511–74) which assumed that the Italian Renaissance was a denial of the Byzantine tradition. Demus set out the case that east and west were in close contact in the thirteenth century and gradually followed different (but not unrelated) paths in the fourteenth century.

The next major shift in emphasis came with the discovery and ongoing publication of the icons of the Monastery of St Catherine's (see Soteriou 1956–8; Weitzmann 1982) with the revelation that panel painting was a major medium throughout the Byzantine period, and that despite its distance from Constantinople the monastery holds the works of the highest quality. Weitzmann 1982 gave considerable attention to icons which he interpreted as the work of western artists, following the methodology of Buchthal 1957 derived from the study of manuscripts from the Kingdom of Jerusalem. Considerable research has recently been devoted to the study and conservation of icons in other Orthodox monasteries and collections to establish the functions and roles of icons (and this has been helped by the existence of documentary evidence about art in the notarial archive of Venetian Crete). Belting 1990 has surveyed this material and shown the importance of the

eleventh- and twelfth-century monastery in the formation of new patterns of the devotion of icons in Easter and other rituals, including the cult of miraculous icons.

Maguire 1992 has described some patterns of recent art history (interest in art and text; art and liturgy). In common with the art history of other periods the main shift of emphasis has been from the stylistic appreciation of masterpieces from the producer's perspective (as in Talbot Rice 1959) to the anthropological analysis of the viewing of images within society (Cormack 1985; Nelson 2000). This move to a post-structuralist theoretical framework was assisted by the highly influential collection of texts about art of Mango 1972.

The paradox of Byzantine art history is that its treatment is often seen as fragmented and confined to specialist literature, yet it has been the constant subject of surveys covering the whole period (as Dalton 1911, Diehl 1925–6). These have covered the general questions of their period, and what media and materials have survived, and how the losses from Constantinople might distort the sequence. The agenda of these surveys owes much to national traditions and interests, and are biased by their choice of supporting literatures and their attitudes. Indeed a recent polemical survey on the origins of the representation of images of Christ caricatures a supposed European imperial bias distinct from a more egalitarian, presumably transatlantic, position (Mathews 1993). The current agenda of art history is to a large part prompted not by theoretical interests but by major exhibitions of selected materials in major European and American galleries. Such displays bring together new discoveries and the key materials of the field and invite public appreciation and scholarly interpretation. These exhibitions prompt the question of how Byzantine art is aligned with the history of world art, and what kinds of art history intersect with its traditional questions.

Some of the developments outlined here are simply the natural result of a shift in attention introduced by successive generations of scholars and students. But it is also true that changes that occurred from the late 1970s were faster and more far-reaching than those beforehand, and that a real broadening of the intellectual agenda took place which contrasted very strikingly with the slower rate of change of the period from before the Second World War until the 1970s. Two fields in particular benefited from closer engagement with ongoing theoretical debates, namely art history (discussed above) and literary studies (Brubaker 1992; Mullett 1990). Attitudes towards Byzantine literature have traditionally been deeply conservative and largely modelled on older approaches towards classical texts: the prime focus has been on the production of critical editions, with manuscript and linguistic studies as a secondary goal. The *Corpus Fontium Byzantinae Historiae*, which since 1967 has been providing modern editions of the Byzantine historians to replace the nineteenth-century Bonn Corpus, follows this austere pattern, though increasingly including a translation into a modern language. It is striking that, although there are a number of series which provide parallel texts and translations (e.g. Loeb: Prokopios, the Greek Anthology; Budé: Psellos, *Chronographia*, Anna Komnene,

Alexiad; Sources Chrétiennes: Kosmas Indicopleustes) with limited annotation, there are as yet virtually no serious attempts at full literary commentaries despite challenging examples of successful literary interpretations (e.g. Smith 1999) and vigorous exhortation from critics such as Alexander Kazhdan or Jakov Ljubarskij (1998).

As with social and economic history, which had similarly engaged to an extent with developments inaugurated in other fields, Byzantine Studies as a whole remained peculiarly slow to take up—even if only to debate with and to reject—some of the issues raised. This was nicely illustrated by Alexander Kazhdan and Giles Constable's *People and Power in Byzantium: An Introduction to Modern Byzantine Studies*, which presented historiographical debates about structuralism, for example, as though they were relatively new, when in fact they had long dominated the scene outside Byzantine Studies (Kazhdan and Constable 1982). Certainly, individuals in many areas of the subject demonstrated a willingness to challenge a given consensus, but they had little direct influence, apart from in the tendency and direction of their own further work. This conservatism, or perhaps caution, may be ascribed to the rather self-contained character of the field as a whole. It is perhaps ironic that the study of the Byzantine world and its culture, economy, and society evolved directly out of classical philology, and classical philology, with its earlier empirical and positivist emphasis, bequeathed to Byzantine Studies a similar tendency. Yet this seems now somewhat paradoxical, insofar as the last quarter of the twentieth century saw classical philology open up to developments both in structural linguistics, comparative literary theory, and post-structuralist critiques of traditional approaches to notions of author, reader, and intertextuality, while the study of Roman history, society, and institutions was likewise transformed from the 1960s by similar developments as well as by exciting advances in archaeology and related sciences.

The study of Byzantium is by no means impervious to the influence and effects of the debates in historical and social scientific theory which carry on around it. Discussion about authorial intention (in respect of the multiple possibilities open to the reader of a text, written or visual), or the culturally determined nature of perception, have opened up new debates about interpretational possibilities and the sorts of questions that can be asked of the evidence. But other debates, in particular those surrounding the culturally determined construction of evidence itself have, on the whole, remained marginal to the concerns of Byzantinists. This is especially true of what has loosely come to be referred to as 'post modernism'. With a few exceptions, Byzantinists again have tended to shy away from such discussion, relying for their interpretational framework upon the unstated assumptions of the positivism of traditional western historiography. In the 1990s the effects of debates about what was called the New Historicism and of post-modernism left few marks on Byzantine Studies, again with the exception of those actively involved in art and literary theory (see, for example, Stone 1991, Joyce 1991, Kelly 1991). Discussions

among historians and philosophers of history around issues raised by debates about the epistemological status of history-writing and the ontological status of the past produced polarizations of opinion which hardly touched most Byzantinists, although this is not to say that they were unaware of them—there is often a gap between personal intellectual practice and the intellectual or institutional context in which it exists.

In spite of the fact that it represents one of the most interesting examples of a late ancient state formation which survived, with substantial modifications, well into the medieval period, the Byzantine Empire has received remarkably little attention from either comparative historians or state theorists, certainly when compared with the treatment afforded Rome, out of which Byzantium evolved. This is a reflection, we suggest, of the fact that historians and specialists of the Byzantine world have generally been reluctant to generalize from their work or to draw broader conclusions within a comparative context. One result has been that the subject has remained fairly difficult of access to the non-specialist, although in the first decade of the twenty-first century a number of general histories appeared which began to break down this relative isolation (Treadgold 1997; Haldon 2000; Gregory 2005; Mitchell 2007; Cameron 2007).

There have been an increasing number of challenges to the intellectual caution of the field. Significant innovative perspectives have been opened up, especially in the study of Byzantine literature (e.g. Cameron 1991; Mullett 1997) but also, under the influence of western medieval and Roman archaeology, in the study of Byzantine material culture, urbanism, and related phenomena. But the lack of synthesizing works by specialists in the field, which would put Byzantium into a longer-term comparative perspective, means that outsiders still tend to pass over Byzantium with little or no comment. Work by scholars such as Peter Brown (1971, 1981) and Alexander Kazhdan (1974) on aspects of the social-cultural history of the late Roman, Byzantine, and western medieval worlds, by Michael McCormick (1998, 2001) on the ways in which the Islamic and East Roman, and medieval Italian and Frankish worlds, were connected through patterns of travel and communication, Chris Wickham (2005) on the evolution of society and economy across the European and Mediterranean worlds after the fifth century CE, or Alan Harvey (1989) and Michel Kaplan (1992) on the agrarian economics of Byzantium in their wider context, began to address the issues from a broader, comparative perspective. But even in 2008 Byzantium still appears frequently, especially in general histories and more popular literature, as some sort of uniquely privileged survival, a haven of Orthodox spirituality, Roman law, and oriental despotism, taken as a special case rather than in its natural Balkan and Anatolian context. Those working from a broader comparative standpoint have only recently begun, and mostly fairly superficially, to integrate the Byzantine world into their syntheses. The first volume of Michael Mann's admirable survey, *The Sources of Social Power* (1986), mentions it briefly and problematically; the second volume of Runciman's *A Treatise on*

Social Theory (1989) is just as brief, although better in respect of the conclusions it draws; most other comparativist surveys—for example, Tainter's *The Collapse of Complex Societies* (1988)—barely pay lip-service to the Byzantine case. Perry Anderson's *Passages from Antiquity to Feudalism* (1974) pays serious attention to the East Roman context, but his very able treatment is vitiated for today's reader in part by the fact that since the time of writing in the early 1970s, a number of important advances in understanding how the East Roman state evolved have been made. In addition, most of these debates were distorted still by a perspective which tended, even if unintentionally, to present medieval eastern Roman culture as stagnant and fossilized, thus further inhibiting any possibility of seeing the dynamic structures which underlay the apparently slow rates of change evident in some of the sources. But it is perhaps indicative of the situation that work of this sort, even if flawed and problematic, has largely been the product of outside specialists and comparativists, and with few exceptions (e.g. Haldon 1993, 1995) has met with little response from inside the field. A good example was the attempt to place Byzantine culture in a comparative and 'civilizational' context as part of a critique of work on the 'Byzantine' background to Balkan and eastern European history (Arnasson 2000), which was not read by Byzantinists.

The Byzantine world and Byzantine Studies have attracted 'outside' attention in two further respects: first, in respect of the evolution of the so-called 'Byzantine commonwealth', that is to say, the development of a distinctly 'Byzantinizing' cultural zone in eastern and south-eastern Europe and western Russia. Here, Byzantine traditions, predominantly in respect of Orthodox Christianity and ecclesiastical organization, and in the associated culture of an imperial court with ecumenical pretensions, became firmly established and influenced the development of those cultures thereafter, and until the present day in certain respects. This influence was not restricted to the level of popular piety and Church structures, or to palace culture and religious art; it affected also attitudes to and definitions of power, the relationship between ruler and elite, and between centre and periphery. Although there have been few broadly comparative treatments from outside the specialist field (again, Mann and Runciman deserve mention, both of whom approached the issue from very different perspectives, and neither said very much on the question of Byzantine influence), a useful descriptive account of the issues by a specialist did appear (Obolensky 1971) which served as a good starting point for further comparative work.

The second case is to do with transition or transformation: where the Byzantine world impinges directly on the outside world, and especially upon the history of western medieval Europe, it has attracted greater attention. Thus the period from the later fourth to the seventh century, during which the western Roman world was transformed into the various 'Germanic' successor kingdoms, and during which the Roman Empire in its supposedly traditional form finally disappeared, has attracted some comparative historical discussion, in which broader issues are raised (e.g. de

Ste. Croix 1981; Cameron 1993; Haldon 1993, 1995). Even more explicitly, the period of the Crusades, and in particular the first to fourth crusades (c.1097–1204), during which Byzantine and western Christian cultures came into direct and sometimes hostile contact, has been an important stimulus to comparative work, both in respect of cultural history as well as in terms of political structures and the social relationships underlying them. This has been most apparent in the debate about whether or not Byzantium was ever ‘feudal’ in the western sense, even if that debate now seems passé (see Reynolds 1994), but it has affected other aspects of the history of the Byzantine world also (e.g. Jacoby 1993).

The greatest advantage Byzantine Studies possesses is, arguably, its international and multicultural intellectual and institutional base. Whatever the difficulties faced by scholars of Byzantine culture and history in their different national contexts, and however conservative or radical some elements of that very considerable international body may be, its internationalism means that it is an enormously lively subject, and its exponential growth over the last thirty to forty years means that new influences, new currents, new approaches to old problems, and new ways of working to resolve some of those problems are a regular feature of every major international conference or symposium. And increasingly this body of scholarship and intellectual endeavour is impacting on neighbouring areas of study.

This volume is intended to give a picture of the state of Byzantine Studies today, with bibliographies and references to guide the neophyte reader. As many of the subject’s constituent areas as proved feasible have been covered: their number and variety are solid evidence of the vigour of the subject at present and an indication of the challenges and issues that demand future debate.

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I.2. *INSTRUMENTA*: TOOLS FOR THE STUDY OF THE DISCIPLINE

CHAPTER I.2.1

PRIMARY SOURCES

JOHN HALDON

THERE is a vast range of sources of information at the disposal of the student of Byzantine culture and civilization, much of it accompanied by substantial methodological and interpretative problems, and requiring an equally broad array of skills and competences to deal with it. In fact, no individual can be expected to possess a mastery of all the requisite skills and languages, so that the subject necessarily falls into a number of sub-systems determined by traditional disciplinary boundaries, on the one hand, and on the other by the evolution of new ways of both seeking out and interpreting information about the past. The historian is thus inevitably dependent in many cases upon both the sources relevant to a specific problem or question as well as upon the specialist analyses and studies of such sources, in order properly to evaluate their relevance and to exploit the information or evidence they may contain or represent. The study of Byzantine history is complicated first of all by the multi-ethnic and multilingual basis of its culture—even though Greek had become by the early seventh century the dominant language of state and administration, other languages, in particular Latin and its medieval successors in Italy and substantial areas of the Balkans and Danube plain, and Armenian in the eastern Anatolian regions, continued to play a significant role. In Syria and the regions to the south, Semitic languages—in particular, Syriac—continued to play an important role or, like Arabic from the seventh century, to develop in

importance. Other languages, such as Georgian in the Caucasus and Coptic in Egypt, also play a role and provide important sources. And as time passed new languages came to be relevant and important—the various Slav languages in the Balkans, for example; Turkic languages in both the Eurasian steppe zone as well as in the Middle East and Asia Minor after the tenth century, each representing a specialist field of research and expertise. As we have seen in the opening chapter, Byzantine Studies as a discipline and as a ‘subject’ evolved partly out of Classical Studies, insofar as the study of medieval Greek language and literature had its roots in those disciplines, partly out of the tensions and conflicts between the western and eastern churches and the history of Christianity, and partly out of ‘historical’ and political interest, in western Europe from the sixteenth century onward, in the Ottoman Turks and in the history of the various national states that evolved out of the medieval and ultimately the later Roman world (see I.1. Byzantine Studies as an Academic Discipline). It has thus always been a multidisciplinary subject, in which scholars from different areas have needed to work together; and it has always been an international subject, since, in spite of occasional efforts to do so, no one nation or polity can claim Byzantium as the ancestor of its own modern incarnation, even if many contemporary cultures trace their roots in part back to the Byzantine world through one route or another—religious, linguistic, or symbolic (Moravcsik 1976; Karayannopoulos and Weiss 1982).

It follows, then, that the primary sources for Byzantine history are immensely complex. They can be divided notionally into two very crude categories: written, and non-written or material. Written sources and material sources overlap, however, in many instances (lead seals and inscriptions count as both, for example) so that this distinction cannot serve on the whole as a sub-disciplinary marker. At the same time, written sources can be further broken down into literary and non- or perhaps ‘less’ literary. Vast amounts of written documentation from archival sources (tax documents, lists of conciliar signatories and episcopal sees, wills, grants of freedom from taxation, and so forth) can hardly be classed as ‘literary’ in the same way as hagiographies, histories, letters, legal documents, and both imperial and church legislation can be, yet at the same time there are very substantial variations in style and register within all these categories, and each has now been the subject of detailed study and careful analysis over several generations. Archaeology, landscape survey, ceramic analysis, architecture and architectural history, art history, the study of minor objects, whether of metal, precious stones, ivory, or other materials, and other specialist areas, all represent another aspect of the ‘primary sources’, and can again be subdivided into many sub-sets, each with its own methodological and theoretical underpinnings, whether made explicit in published research and discussion or not. And in many cases the methodological issues have necessarily given rise to separate specialist disciplines in their own right—palaeography and codicology, for example, essential facets of the study and analysis of all medieval written documents and the materials on which they

have been transmitted to us (for each case see the separate Handbook entries below).

As the discussions devoted to specific types of source or data in the remaining sections of this Handbook will show, therefore, a very considerable degree of specialization, and thus some degree of compartmentalization, is inevitable, particularly as the subjects which together constitute 'Byzantine Studies' in the broadest sense have evolved their own specific methodologies, literatures, and training programmes. Access to the primary sources depends on both an awareness of these different facets of the subject, on the one hand, and, on the other, upon appropriate linguistic or other skills, largely—although not entirely—transmitted through universities whose members offer the right sort of training. Increasingly, in such an ever-more-specialized environment, general surveys of the history of Byzantine Studies, in which the types of source employed are described, and encyclopaedic accounts of the study of a particular theme or area, play an important role—indeed, the *raison d'être* of this Handbook is, precisely, to make accessible to a wider readership than hitherto an account of the full range of sources, problems, and methods associated with the study of Byzantium.

Sources for Byzantine History are also heavily inflected by period—in other words, the relative number, value, and accessibility of the sources depends on the period or sub-period in question. Thus there is a marked and very well-known dearth of straightforward, traditional historiography for much of the seventh to later eighth centuries; a dramatic increase and flowering of hagiographical literature from the sixth to eleventh centuries with a subsequent tailing-off; an enormous increase in the number of available private letters and collections of letters after the ninth century which lasts until the end of the empire in the fifteenth century; and a near-total absence of secular vernacular literature between the sixth and twelfth century. Most categories of written source display similar nuances, including lead seals, for example, which play a crucial role between the sixth and seventh and twelfth centuries, less so before and afterwards. This chronological disparity does not simply reflect accidents of transmission or survival, however. It used to be argued that the almost complete absence of a secular historiography in the seventh–ninth centuries meant that this 'Dark Age' of Byzantium was effectively irrecoverable. But that view reflected two assumptions with which more recent students of Byzantium would take issue: first, that there were no alternative sources for the analysis of Byzantine society and culture for that period, and second, that there was an absolute reduction in the amount of writing that went on, in the level of culture, and in literacy. In fact, it is increasingly seen now that the lack of traditional 'historical' writing can be compensated for by a more careful and thoughtful analysis of—for example—theological writings, archaeology, art historical data, and sigillographical texts. It also entails an appreciation of the fact that cultures evolve priorities, not necessarily consciously or in a planned way, which reflect their conditions of existence, social relations, and economic realities, and that an

understanding of how such priorities shift and change, and what the results of such shifts might be in terms of actual cultural production, can throw as much light on the process and course of historical change as a narrative text. The lack of 'history writing' in the seventh to ninth centuries is largely a reflection of such shifts in cultural perceptions and priorities, just as is the parallel expansion of theological literature of all types, and the revival of historical writing thereafter is likewise a reflection of such a key shift (Cameron 1992*b*).

But at the same time, this involves an awareness of the need to integrate many different types of information, to deploy as many different sources and types of source material as possible, and to exploit the expertise of a broader range of disciplines than was often deemed necessary in the early years of the subject. And the combination of such material varies from period to period as different types of evidence become available or disappear, as we have seen. Most importantly, the value of different categories of material may change over time. Hagiographical writings, for example, while always dominated by key functional demands—the praise of the heroic subjects, an illustration of their piety and frequently of their fore-ordained abilities and predestined role and achievements, their struggle against evil, whether earthly or spiritual—also offer a great deal of evidence for social relations, economic life, even state administration, as well as for beliefs, attitudes, and ideas (both the ideas of the characters who play a role in the hagiographical narrative and of the composer and author of the saint's life, whose story generally embodies the value judgements and ideological priorities of his or her own time). Yet this is much more the case in the earlier period than after the eleventh century, when formalism and a more restrictive model for the genre become dominant (Dümmer 1990; Vavřínek 1990; Aigrain 1953, and 2000; Karayannopoulos and Weiss 1982: 71–5).

The economic and material context for the production of written sources is thus a crucially important factor which impacts directly on how texts were employed. The degree of literacy in the Byzantine world at different periods remains a matter for debate. It was probably more limited than is often assumed, at least as far as a good knowledge of the classical language and literature of the ancient and Roman periods was concerned. Functional literacy and numeracy was common, and indeed the imperial administration depended upon it to work properly (Wilson 1975; Mango 1975; Mullett 1990; Oikonomides 1995). But after the middle of the seventh century there is not much evidence of it outside Constantinople and one or two of the few remaining major urban centres, where private tutors might school those from families who could afford to pay; or monasteries, where biblical and patristic texts were the staple. In the provinces after this time, therefore, literacy seems to have been very much more limited, and even some rural clergy may not have had much more than a very basic ability. In major urban centres there is evidence for private teachers, who were not especially numerous until the later ninth and tenth century, who would provide instruction in the traditional syllabus, including

rhetoric, philosophy, and arithmetic, along with a knowledge and an understanding of ancient writers. Otherwise the Church, and especially monasteries, in both town and country, offered a basic and occasionally fairly advanced education. But the Church frowned on the pre-Christian literature of the ancient world, which had a further dampening effect on interest as well as on its availability. Classical literature was employed allegorically or formalistically, however, so that it retained a niche in the more explicitly and self-consciously Christian context of the fifth and sixth centuries and afterwards (Mullett 1990; Lemerle 1986: 281–308; Patlagean 1979).

The number of those equipped with this sort of cultural capital was probably quite limited before the later ninth century (Irigoin 1975). While the ownership or possession of books and libraries itself is not a conclusive indicator of literacy, the sources suggest that substantial libraries were relatively limited in number. Some monasteries, and perhaps also the patriarchate at Constantinople, could furnish a complete range of studies of biblical and patristic literature as well as some elements of rhetoric (which was fundamental to the writings of many theologians and polemicists); and there existed a strong continuity of tradition in this respect through the seventh and into the eighth century, in the writings of such theologians as Maximos Confessor, for example, or Anastasios of Sinai, and then beyond into the late period. But only with the expansion in the traditional classical curriculum in higher education which took place after the middle of the ninth century and especially in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, partly under imperial auspices, did this picture of restricted access and breadth of education change. The association between the availability of different types of education, the cultural and political context which facilitated them, and the literary output of the period, has only recently become the focus of serious scholarly attention.

By the same token, since parchment was expensive, its conservation and reuse played an important role in the ways through which literary and theological texts were preserved—hence the critical importance of codicology and palaeography for the subject. Few private individuals had more than a small number of books. The imperial household and palace appear to have had a library, as did the patriarchate, but their extent is unclear (Volk 1955; Wilson 1980). Limited access to key texts meant that selections from authorities were collected to illustrate particular issues or arguments, so that the role of such compendia, known as *florilegia*, becomes especially important during and after the iconoclast era. The reliability and trustworthiness of quotations of this sort was also a problem, however, and supporting evidence began to be demanded, already to a degree at the council of 680, but notably at the council of 787, to demonstrate the authenticity of texts used by the different sides in discussion. Many of the texts at the heart of the discussion over the nature of the iconoclast debate are problematic in these respects, and as proof of the genuineness of a text, the demand for appropriate patristic authority, and more sophisticated means of verifying texts mark the debates of the period, a further

complicating dimension is added to the problems confronting the historian of the theological discussions of the period from the seventh century on (Brubaker 1998: 1220–4; Cameron 1992a: 5–17).

Each category of source brings with it, therefore, its own particular set of problems, both in terms of context of composition, authorship and attribution, function and linguistic register, not to mention manuscript tradition, authenticity of attribution, and process of transmission. Questions of textual interpolations and variant readings further complicate the issue, and finally the interdependence and interrelationship of one text of the same type to another, and of a single version of a text to its own variant traditions. The value of a given written source, and the value of the interpretation placed upon it or its contents is thus always actually or potentially an issue for contention and debate.

Non-written sources are no less the subject of debate and disagreement, of course. Archaeological evidence provides us with insights into many key aspects of medieval life: dwellings, fortifications, diet, clothing, tools, and items of daily existence, as well as providing information on the production and distribution of luxury goods. It offers information about patterns of exchange, both commercial and non-commercial, about animal husbandry, technology, and related matters. Crucially, it provides data relevant to areas of medieval life about which written sources are often entirely silent (Sodini 1993, 2003; Lavan and Bowden 2003). Archaeological investigation is essential to any balanced picture of Byzantine economic and social history—written sources provide only very partial information about topics such as the appearance and extent of houses, palaces, fortresses, or the structure of village communities. But it is also the case that the archaeology of the Byzantine lands has lagged a long way behind that of the medieval West, although there have been some exceptions, an issue not simply of techniques and attitude, but also of national politics, finance, and scientific resources (Karayannopoulos and Weiss 1982: 37–45; 318, 335–6; 365–6).

Nevertheless, a considerable expansion and refinement in our knowledge of Byzantine society in its physical context have now been achieved through archaeology. The design, construction, and development of fortifications (Foss and Winfield 1986), of churches and related buildings, the history of specific urban sites and their hinterlands, are all aspects about which archaeology has been able to tell us a great deal, and at the same time act as a measure against which to judge the written sources. A particularly obvious aspect in which this is true is the history of Byzantine towns, where a very much more complex, both regionally and locally diversified picture is emerging. Indeed, were it not for the archaeological evidence, an entirely different view of the nature of urban life and its relationship to rural society would have prevailed, an idea based upon literary *topoi* and late Roman legislative terminology which revealed little of the physical or actual social-economic evolution of towns and cities in the Byzantine period. Archaeological investigation can reveal the general physical disposition of an urban centre, for

example, and give some idea of both appearance and land use, population density, social organization, and economic status. At the time of writing, however, relatively few sites (compared with, for example, work done in the western part of the empire) have been surveyed or excavated in detail (Russell 1986; Lavan 2001).

Another example of the ways in which the evidence is inflected by period concerns legal texts and imperial legislative documents, on the one hand, and archival materials—charters, exemptions from taxation, tax-registers, and so forth—on the other. Imperial legislation, for example, which is available in considerable quantity up to the early seventh century, almost ceases to figure among the primary sources of the later seventh to later ninth century. With the exception of the *Ecloga* of Leo III and Constantine V, issued in 741, and two *novellae* of the empress Eirene of the 790s, there is virtually no surviving imperial legislation between the last years of Herakleios and the middle of the reign of Basil I. It is, however, not the case that emperors in this period issued no legislative documents and promulgated no laws, rather that the forms they employed were different, more regionally determined and ephemeral—imperial ‘orders’ or *prostagmata* rather than *novellae*, documents which had a specific and limited purpose. Furthermore, the hiatus reflects also an approach to law and law-making according to which there was little or no need to introduce new legislation, merely to make sure that society adhered to the inherited legislation of great emperors and law-makers such as Justinian I. This is particularly evident in the late ninth- and tenth-century codifications, especially in the sixty-book *Basilika* and, even more clearly, in the handbook of practical law known as the *Peira* of the judge Eustathios, compiled some time after the 1030s (Pieler 1978; Karayannopoulos and Weiss 1982, I: 91–134; Brubaker and Haldon 2001: 286–93).

On the other hand, private recipients of imperial generosity, in particular those who benefited from tax exemptions on their land and property—monasteries in particular—preserved many of these imperial orders and grants, since they needed to demonstrate their rights vis-à-vis other landowners with whom they might come into conflict as well as the state and its tax officers. This explains in part the imbalance at different periods between surviving imperial legislative texts, which had an empire-wide purchase, and privately held documents enshrining individualized rights and privileges. But the imbalance can also be explained by the fact that the relationship between the state, centred at court and in Constantinople, and the taxpayer and landowner, also changed across time. The preponderance of archival documents over general legislative instruments in the period from the eleventh century until the end of the empire reflects a ‘privatization’ of rights and privileges associated with the raising of taxation and a change in the way the government, in the form of the ruling dynasty and its aristocratic allies, was understood to hold and dispose of ‘public’ or state lands. Thus, in the medieval west archival documents form a major strand in the written primary sources from a much earlier period because the nature of property relations and of the ruler to landowners was differently accented. This also impacted upon historiography and

chronicles—the large number of monastic communities in western Europe which maintained their own chronicles contrasts with the much smaller number of such annalistic records in Byzantium, even though the number of monasteries, large and small, was substantial, a reflection again, at least in part, of a differently nuanced relationship between regional communities and the various royal courts and their elites (Magdalino 1994).

In considering the value of different categories of primary evidence, therefore, the historian needs to bear in mind both the context of production for each specific document or set of documents, as well as the general historical and cultural context in which they were generated. This is especially apparent in respect of art, where different types of visual polemic or choice of style and format for images or cycles of images reflected developments in ecclesiastical politics and theology as well as cultural priorities and perceptions. Similar considerations apply to sigillography, too, where choice of invocative formula, types of monogram, and use of imagery are part of a contemporary political as well as cultural world (Brubaker and Haldon 2001: 37–79).

The category ‘primary sources’ thus embraces and implies a great deal more than medieval documents and artefacts. It implies also a vast body of specialist literature on each type of evidence, necessary in order to evaluate and use the sources in question, as well as a broad range of sub-disciplines which connect with cognate areas outside Byzantine Studies as such. Palaeography, codicology, art history, ceramology, to name but four of a score or more which will be found in this Handbook, draw upon a history of technical knowledge and study far wider than the study of Byzantine history and culture alone, and connect with the study, and the history of the study, of other related medieval and ancient cultures. The study of Byzantine culture and civilization is nothing if not international, but it is equally the case that it cannot be undertaken successfully or usefully without an awareness of its multi-disciplinary and cross-cultural intellectual and academic foundations.

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CHRONOLOGY AND DATING

ANTHONY BRYER

ESSENTIAL marks of Byzantine identity are most intimately expressed by a system or systems of *chronology* and *dating* which combine to place a subject in secular and cosmic order: eventually a Byzantine Era. Such identity may have been the last some starving Ethiopians had when the pop-singer Bob Geldof deprived them of it by composing a heart-rending plea for famine relief for 25 December 1984 entitled 'Do they know it's Christmas?' But did *he*? Christmas in Ethiopia, already bereft of an empire, was then on 29 Tahasas 1700 (not even the same day as Geldof's). That year opened a new century of the Coptic Era of Martyrs under Diocletian, a more ancient wrong.

Eras of political triumph can have greater longevity. Until the twentieth century AD (*Annus Domini*) Syrian Christians were dating by the Seleucid Era, which began with the entry of Seleukos Nikator into Babylon in 312 BC (*Before Christ*), which is simpler to compute than by a blink of the Babylonian Great Year which is 432,000 of our own years. Eras of Ideology take shallower root. The French Revolutionary Era ended with 'An XIV' in 1806 and the Fascist Era of 1922 expired with Mussolini without affecting the Coptic Era in the lands the French and Italians conquered, but they may now be more vulnerable to Geldof's calendar, where a Christian has become a *Common Era* (CE), all dependent on an Incarnation and Christmas, of which it is only safe to say that there is no agreed date.

There is no problem over the small end of time, whether reckoned in minutes, coffees, or cigarettes. Byzantines also inherited a 24-hour system which was to challenge later clockwork horologists because the lengths of 12 hours of light and

dark changed daily. They were often reckoned in threes of Christ's passion and monastic hours.

Historical Eras, such as the Seleucid, are common enough. But only two cultural traditions, Jewish and Christian, have ventured to apply cosmic eras to everyday calendar use, and only the Byzantine Era envisages the big end of time, with a Day of Judgement, on the Eighth Day, Millennium, or Era (Grumel 1958; Kuzenkov 2006; Magdalino 2003).

Everyday calendars have the minor confusion of reconciling the motion of lunar months with solar years. Byzantines followed the Roman Julian calendar (*Old Style*). Some Old Calendarists, including on Mount Athos, have yet to accept amendments introduced in the Gregorian calendar (*New Style*) by pope Gregory XIII from 1582. Orthodox and Protestant countries were wary of papal innovation, even if it was scientifically more accurate. Thus Shakespeare and Cervantes died on the same St George's Day, 23 April, 1616, yet met their Maker eleven days apart—but Shakespeare knew all about the *Twelfth Night* of Christmas. In St Petersburg, the October (OS) Revolution actually took place in November (NS), but the year was then 1917 because Peter the Great had abandoned the Byzantine Era on 1 January (OS), 1700 AD. Discrepancies which arise from using an exclusively lunar calendar are more serious. The Islamic year dates from the Prophet's *hijra* from Mecca to Medina on 15 July 622, since when the *Annus Hegirae* has slipped the notional *Annus Domini* by eleven days a year. This meant that the Ottoman Empire had to adjust its public debt to the fiscal solar year of Western bankers who financed it—allowing the state useful room for manoeuvre by employing one calendar for raising and the other for expending revenue. In 1878 Lord John Hay therefore took Cyprus armed with two mule-loads of sixpences to bridge the arrears of pay. But by 1882 or 1300 AH Sir William Ramsay reported Turkish anxiety on the new Islamic century (Ramsay 1897: 136). Yet the arrival of 1400 AH passed quietly enough in Turkey because by then it was 21 Ikindjiteshrin, 1979 CE—although many clung to a much older Iranian tradition and celebrated *Nevruz* New Year on 22 March (NS). But how to mark the Third Millennium CE or AD in officially secular, but actually Muslim, Turkey? In practice an unofficial and partial solution was found in conflating it with another round number. Happily the Third Millennium coincided with a revival of Turkish interest in the Seventh Century of the foundation of the Ottoman state on 27 July 1299—with the authority of a date affirmed from a Byzantine chronicle by Edward Gibbon (Gibbon 1788: vol. 6, 311).

Such discrepancies are minor compared with the staggered acceptance of a Byzantine Era. There was no political date (like the Seleucid), or foundation date of a city where Rome was *Ab Urbe Condita* in 753 BC. Eusebios makes Trebizond three years older, yet the dedication of Constantinople on 11 May 330 AD did not merit a calendar. Nor did the chronology of church Councils before 787, or the years of two rulers and five bishops, assembled by Theophanes the Confessor before 813, provide the effective Byzantine metronome. But Theophanes supported the

sequence of the Creation of the World (*Annus Mundi*) and the Incarnation and Resurrection of Christ some 5500 years later (Munitiz 1978: 202; Mango and Scott (trans.) 1997: lxxiii–lxxiv). The question was whether the AM followed the early fifth-century Alexandrian Era with a Creation on 19 March 5494 BC, or what was to become the dominant Byzantine Era with a Creation on 1 September 5509 BC. The Byzantine Era was basically designed on the Easter computations of Dionysius Exiguus in the early sixth century AD, when Christmas was in Rome's 753 AUC. No matter that the Jewish Passover and Christ's Last Supper on 14 Nisan does not actually fit any common day, or that the surviving Hebrew AM of 3761 BC (modern Israelis also use an Era of the Second Temple, which was destroyed in 70 CE) differs from any Christian computation by more than 1700 years, whether you used the Greek Septuagint or Hebrew Bible—as Eusebios found out. The practical problem focused on the date of Easter, which is the concern of the Prologue to the *Chronicon Paschale* of about the year 630 (Beaucamp and others 1979: 229–58). This was also the crux which was to divide the authority of the Celtic and Roman Churches at the Synod of Whitby in 663, when a Byzantine system was already known in Britain. In Byzantium, a hieromonk George established, if not invented, an Easter computation by 638/9 which had a common starting point of lunar and solar cycles that began with a Creation: the Byzantine Era AM in 5509 BC. It did more, by locating the first nominal *Indiction*.

The most commonly useful Byzantine mark of time was in fact the Indiction cycle of 15 years, beginning on 1 September 312, which became mandatory from 537. Originally a tax cycle, Indictions were not just a secular computation. Their New Year overtook the Roman one of January with the end of nominal consulships. A March New Year around the vernal equinox was more persistent, but the Byzantine Indictional New Year in September was established as integral to its Era and liturgical calendar by the tenth century (AD). Was it by convenient coincidence that the first *Indiction* should have begun on the day of *Annus Mundi*, to calibrate the two systems? Indiction years are more convenient to memory and need only another context to place in sequence. Within an Indiction Byzantines could at least remember their name or saint's day in the tenth-century *Synaxarion* of Constantinople.

The full Byzantine Era had the convenience of convergent cycles, including the nominal Indiction, to recommend it—rather slowly. Its seventh-century emergence is ill-documented. But, coincident with the building of the Dome of the Rock in Jerusalem, it dates the 'Quinisext' Council in Trullo of 6200 AM = 691/692 AD in Constantinople. In 693 in Athens comes the first recorded epigraphic date—on the Parthenon, then its cathedral: Sunday 19 October, Indiction 7, 6202 AM (Grumel 1958: 125). The full Byzantine Era does not reach official documents until Novels from 947, for monastic chronographic support of the Alexandrian Era (which Theophanes the Confessor used) seems to have been a mark of anti-iconoclasm. There were only about sixteen years' distinction between them but it was still a

matter of chronological embarrassment in the tenth century and Michael Psellos is evasive in the eleventh. For Armenians, always Orthodox in matters of religion (no one calls themselves heterodox), without consequently becoming secular subjects of the Byzantine Era, such questions were vital. But Armenians found it frankly difficult to justify their pre-Lenten fast called *arajavor* when Byzantines condemned it and in 1064 king Gagik II declared that they would ‘persist in it until the end, now and forever’ (Sharf 1995: 227). Some Byzantines were keenly aware of their own mid-seventh-millennium crisis, coinciding with 1000 AD in the West, but by 7000 AM the Day of Judgement had somehow passed them by (Magdalino 2003: 233–70).

Modern dating mechanisms are reaching absolutes. Radiocarbon (C-14) metrology still has its own calendars. More attractively Dendrochronology now offers precise dates for when the wood for an icon, or beam in Hagia Sophia, was cut—along with the climate of its growth. But chronologists take care. The absolute way of confirming a date in Byzantine record *should* be by an eclipse which can be placed in precise time (von Oppolzer 1887: 244, 246, 353). For example, the turning-point of Herakleios’s first Persian campaign was the lunar eclipse of 28 July 622, which took both sides by surprise (Oikonomides 1975: 5). Anna Komnene maintained that her father’s foreknowledge of a solar eclipse caught the Pechenegs off the hoof, yet if (among others) it was that of 1 August 1087, as was first proposed, it was barely visible in Byzantium so has been called a ‘literary eclipse’—a shady term (Newton 1972: 550–5). But a solar eclipse certainly darkened midday Trebizond, at the beginning of Lent 1337, between the fourth and seventh hours of Monday 3 March 6845 (AM), Indiction 5, when Panaretos adds that ‘the people rose against the emperor, so that they gathered together outside the citadel and hurled stones at him’ (Bryer 1986: 347–52). They rose against their emperor Basil for his adultery with Eirene ‘of Trebizond’, but as his empress was also called Eirene, his metropolitan assured the patriarch that they were praying for the ‘official’ Eirene. The chronologically obsessed Panaretos was protonotary of Basil’s son, Alexios III, by the local Eirene. Panaretos records eclipses that took Trebizond by surprise, accurately to the hour, at a time when its renowned astronomers should have been most able to predict them on paper. Perhaps they did. In the Pontos ample public forewarning of the lunar eclipse of 12 August 1971 did not stop people stoning open-air cinema screens and sacrificing sheep while shooting at the lost moon. In Constantinople the annual observance of the solar eclipse of 8 August 891 in the liturgical calendar was a kind of solution. Escape from this unrepeatably eclipse somehow marked the authority of Byzantium in the heavenly order. But the Byzantine Era also envisaged an Eighth Day or Octave of Time in 7000 AM, a concept known also to Armenians and those who count inclusively (Sharf 1995: 28–51).

The experience of Afanasii Nikitin, Russian and Orthodox merchant, vividly illustrates problems of time and identity on the eve of the last day. He set off from Tver to trade with the Tatars in 1466 and ended up in India. His account begins with

a regular Russian invocation: ‘For the prayers of our holy Fathers, O Lord Jesus Christ, Son of God, have mercy upon me, thy sinful servant . . .’. But the closing prayer in his diary, six years on in 1472, is in a sort of Arabic and runs ‘God knows the rest! Allah the Protector knows, amen. In the name of Allah the Merciful and Beneficent, God is great!’ By whatever name, monotheistic faiths have the same God, but Afanasii came near to losing his identity, along with his calendar—by stages. ‘The great feast of Christ’s Resurrection is not known to me: I deduce it by signs—the great Christian feast comes nine or ten days before the Muslim holiday. I have nothing with me, no books . . .’. With books and a calculator one may now estimate, for this Handbook, that the nearest that Orthodox Easter came before Muslim *Eid al-Fitr* during this period was on 17 April 1468, which was (counting inclusively) eight days before 1 Shawwal 872 AH—when Afanasii was probably in Persia.

Afanasii was soon travelling under the name of *hodja* Yusuf Khorosani. Challenged by a Muslim official, he responded: ‘Sir! You pray and I also pray, you offer five prayers and I offer three prayers. I am a foreigner and you are a native.’ The official replied: ‘In truth you seem not to be a Muslim, but you know not the Christian faith.’

Afanasii/Yusuf began to return from Hyderabad around 1471, but does not specify the date by its Gupta dynastic calendar, which starts on 26 February 320 AD. Back in Russia it was safely the Byzantine 6979 AM, so the Alexandrian was 6963 AM, but the Georgian was 7057 AM (159 of its Easter cycle). Of less ambitious live calendars it was then 1782 of the Seleucid era and 1187 of the Coptic martyrs. Afanasii passed through Armenia where it was in the words of a colophonist, ‘the year 920 of the Haykezean Era [= 387 of the Little Armenian Era] in most grievous times, when we lived in anguish at the hands of infidels and unjust tax-collectors, who persecuted and plundered our Armenian nation’ (Sanjian 1969: 301).

In 1472 or 876 AH Afanasii/Yusuf reached Trebizond, which had been conquered by the Ottoman state in 1461, and crossed the Black Sea to the Crimea. The Crimea, which the Ottomans did not incorporate until 1475, was then a hive of peoples and authorities, each clutching their own calendar for dear life. There were Armenians of all Eras. In Chufut Kale non-Talmudic, fundamentalist, Karaite Hebrews should have computed the year to 5233 AM—but were at calendrical odds with the Jews of Constantinople. In the Crimea, the dates that really mattered that year were those of its three principal secular authorities. In Caffa the Genoese consul, Antonietto Cabella, dated documents to AD 1472. In Theodoro-Mangup Alexander, prince of Gothia, used the Byzantine Era, but actually as Indiction 5. The Crim-Tatar Khan, Mengli Giray, used the AH calendar, but the Mongols were then happiest with the Year of the Rabbit (possibly Tiger?) in a 12-year Chinese cycle. Those wishing to find how Crim-Tatars observe their New Year in style today should climb at the vernal equinox to the white waterfall of Aksu, above Yalta in the Crimea, to find the trees festooned with flags and the fountain full of broken vodka bottles.

Afanasii Nikitin returned to Russia in 1472 in the same year, 6980 AM, that the monk Gennadios died in the Prodromos monastery on Mount Menoikeion. As Gennadios II Scholarios he had been the first Ottoman patriarch (1454–6, 1463, 1464–5) after the fall of Constantinople. He made a settlement with the sultan which established the legal and fiscal identity of Orthodox within the Islamic state, of which there is no precise contemporary record. But Gennadios put on record his Orthodox anticipation of the Eighth Day of the Byzantine Era (Turner 1964). Did this inside information influence the patriarch's mundane negotiations with the sultan? They should have been a short-term holding operation of less than forty years before the human leasehold of life was foreclosed.

However, no one seemed to notice when the day came in 1492. In Constantinople patriarch Maximos IV (1491–7), who as a monk of Athos himself wrote on the Day of Judgement, was more concerned with the status of Orthodox in Venetian territories. On Athos itself the monks of Pantokrator and Panteleimon dated a judgement on a disputed property to that very year, 7000 AM, without comment (Kravari 1991: 180). Yet the fearful consequences of the Last Judgement were depicted even more vividly in Orthodox painting after 1492. In fact most Orthodox quietly abandoned the AM for AD about this time, although Russia held out until 7208 AM and popular Ottoman Greek almanacs kept postponing the Last Day until 1773 AD.

What happened on the Last Day? As every schoolboy knows, Christopher Columbus 'discovered' America (or rather Cuba) on 27 October 1492. He therefore overshot the Last Day by a few days, for it had been 7001 AM since 1 September. But count again—inclusively. In Cuba president Fidel Castro was correct, if unusual, in refusing to celebrate the Third Millennium until 2001 CE. But 1492 gave rise not to a new calendar but the (now surely politically incorrect) name of 'Pre-Columban' for a whole archaeological era of the Americas.

At the time it took another former monk of Athos, called Maximos (*alias* Michael Trivolis, 1470–1566), to recognize that an entirely unpredicted new Era would begin on the Eighth Day. St Maksim Grek was the first to tell the Russians of America: 'and today there lives over there a new world and a new human society' (Denissoff 1942).

For most practical purposes, Byzantinists should have a calculator and tables in Grumel 1958, to hand, where for simplicity I omit his argument for a proto-Byzantine Era beginning in 5510 BC.

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LATE ROMAN AND
BYZANTINE
WEIGHTS AND
WEIGHING
EQUIPMENT

CHRISTOPHER ENTWISTLE

MATERIALS

BYZANTINE weights were produced in gold, silver, 'bronze', lead, glass, and stone. Surviving gold and silver weights are exceptionally rare. 'Bronze', in a strict sense an alloy of copper and tin, was also infrequently employed, no doubt a reflection of the loss of the tin-producing provinces in the west during the course of the fourth century CE. Most 'bronzes' are in fact either brass (copper and zinc) or 'gunmetal' (copper, tin, and zinc). Both these alloys can often be prefixed with the term 'leaded', that is, a deliberate admixture of lead from between 5 per cent and 35 per cent. The vast majority of Byzantine metal weights are of these two alloys. Lead and stone weights are a rarity. Glass, on the other hand, from around the end of the fifth to the middle of the seventh century CE was a popular alternative to metal, especially for coinage weights.

METROLOGY

A duodecimal weight system was employed throughout the Byzantine period. The basic unit of this system was the Byzantine pound (*litra*) which was in turn derived from the Late Roman pound. The *litra* was divided into twelve ounces, the ounce into multiples of the *scrupulum*, which at 1.13 g was the smallest unit of the libral system (see Table 1). The *litra* was also divisible into 72 solidi: the solidus, later known as the nomisma, was the standard gold coin introduced by Constantine the Great in 309, which was to retain its weight and fineness well into the tenth century. The solidus weighed 24 *siliquae* or carats, the *siliqua* being a naturally occurring unit, the average weight of the seed of the carob tree or St John's wort (*Ceratonia siliqua*), and now taken to be the equivalent of 0.189 g (see Table 1). Nothing has more bedevilled the study of Byzantine metrology than the attempts to fix to two or three decimal places the weight of the *litra*. Fourth-century legislation states that seventy-two solidi were struck to the pound. Thus the figure arrived at for the weight of the Late Roman pound, and subsequently the Byzantine pound throughout much of its history, has generally been reached by multiplying the weight of the solidus/nomisma by seventy-two. Numismatists have suggested various theoretical figures for the solidus—4.55 g or 4.54 g being the most frequently cited—thus giving a figure for the pound of around 327.6 g or 326.8 g in the Late Roman and Early Byzantine periods. Ernst Schilbach, in *Byzantinische Metrologie*, his comprehensive book on Byzantine metrology, has suggested the following figures for the pound from the fourth to the fifteenth centuries: 324 g (4th–6th century), 322 g (6th–7th century), 320 g (7th–9th century), 319 (9th–13th century), and thereafter falling below the latter figure (Schilbach 1970: 166–8). Any substantial deviation from these figures has often been explained by invoking the existence of a 'provincial' pound, suggested, for instance, by Schilbach to be around 285 g in the sixth and seventh centuries. But as Simon Bendall has pointed out: 'the difference between his (Schilbach's) Constantinopolitan pound and the provincial pound is some 12 per cent, which should mean that provincial solidi should weigh about 4.00 g instead of 4.50 g!' (Bendall 1996). This they do not. There is no doubt that a 'provincial' pound existed, at least in the Roman period. A lead weight from Baniyas is explicitly stated (in Greek) to be: 'a third of the local libra' (Kushnir-Stein 1995). The many one-pound weights which have survived in European and American collections suggest an added degree of caution in assessing the weight of the Late Roman/Early Byzantine pound. Of the thirteen one-pound weights in the British Museum's extensive collection the nearest example to 327.6 g weighs 323.76 g. Six of the remaining examples weigh between 318 g and 300 g. In practical terms a general figure of between 325 g and 327 g seems acceptable for the Late Roman/Early Byzantine period. Thereafter, when it becomes difficult to date weights due to the

Table 1 Late Roman and Byzantine Metrological System

1 pound = 12 ounces = 72 solidi = 288 scruples	= 1,728 carats (keratia)
1 ounce = 6 solidi = 24 scruples	= 144 carats
1 solidus = 4 scruples	= 24 carats
1 scruple (or gramma) =	6 carats
	1 carat (or siliqua)

lack of archaeological or internal evidence, it behoves one to be even more sceptical about the notion of a universally applicable ‘pound’. Indeed it remains highly unlikely that the bureaucratic system responsible—insofar as we understand it from contemporary legislation—had the means to produce and control the manufacture of thousands of commodity/coinage weights to a degree of accuracy to two decimal points. The Late Roman and Byzantine metrological system can be summarized as in Table 1.

ADMINISTRATION

For much of the Roman period the administration of weights and measures had devolved to the aediles or *agoronomoi* of individual cities. In an attempt to counteract the constant forging of coins Julian, in 363, ordered the appointment of an official named the *zygostates* (lit. weigher) to act in disputes between buyer and seller. Later fourth-century legislation commanded ‘measures (*modii*) of bronze or stone, and liquid measures (*sextarii*), and weights (*pondera*) to be placed in each station and city’. By Justinian’s reign the situation had changed further. Caput 15 of Novel CXXVIII (dated to 545) divides the responsibilities for the issuance of weights between the praetorian prefects (commodity weights) and the *comes sacrorum largitionum* (coinage weights) with the injunction that weights and measures were now ‘to be preserved in the most holy church of each city’. This seemingly rigid division of responsibilities is not confirmed by the very few surviving weights which bear relevant inscriptions. Although the names of three praetorian prefects—Valentinus, Ioannes, and Phokas—are recorded on commodity weights, so are the names of Ioannes and Ioulianos, both *comes sacrorum largitionum*, on respectively 3 and 6 oz examples. In the western empire a Catulinus, who was *vir clarissimus* and *praefectus urbi*, is recorded as having issued both commodity and coinage weights during the reign of Theoderic. Perhaps the most famous surviving series of coinage weights—examples weighing 72, 36, 18, and 3 nomismata respectively—were issued by a Zimarchos, eparch of Constantinople in the late 550s or early 560s. Indeed, it

is clear that from the middle of the sixth century at the earliest the urban prefect of Constantinople was issuing both commodity and coinage weights in glass and metal. The *Book of the Prefect* confirms his dominance over the administration of weights and measures in the capital by the ninth century (Nicole 1970: 32, 45, 47, 48, 56). Other titles recorded on surviving weights include: the *comes rei privatae*, *comes*, *comes* of Thrace, *anthypatos* and in the western empire, proconsul, *vir laudibilis*, and *vir clarissimus*.

TYPOLGY AND CHRONOLOGY

Metal

Three shapes were predominantly employed in the manufacture of Roman and Byzantine metal weights. The earliest, in the form of a flattened sphere doubly truncated, is derived from Roman stone weights (Fig. 1). Although a few sixth-century examples are known, the majority of this type found in the eastern Mediterranean are probably to be dated between 200 and 450 CE. Recent excavations in Rome at the Crypta Balbi suggest that, in the west anyway, the spheroidal type was still being produced in large quantities well into the sixth century. Flat weights in the form of a square seem to have been the main type for much of the fifth and sixth

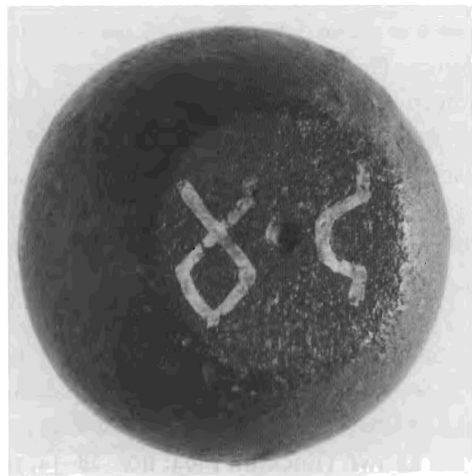


Fig. 1 6 oz spheroidal copper-alloy weight, c.200–400 CE

(Department of Prehistory and Europe, British Museum)

centuries, with weights in the form of a flat disk not becoming the predominant type until the seventh century. One of the earliest dated discoid examples comes from the 560s; slightly later dated examples are known from the tenth year of Justin II's reign in 575, and from the tenth year of Maurice Tiberios' reign in 592 (Buckton 1994: no. 81). Seventh-century weights from archaeological contexts tend to be discoid. All the weights, for instance, from the shipwreck at Yassi Ada off the south-western coast of Turkey and the recent excavations at Bet-Shean in Israel and Mafraq in Jordan are discoid and from the seventh or eighth century. Other discoid Byzantine weights were adapted for use by Arab officials who were in office in the 690s or between 705 and 715. The recent excavations at San Vincenzo al Volturno in Italy unearthed a workshop at the southern end of the site. Among the metalwork finds was a 2 oz discoid weight thought to have come from the first phase of occupation of the workshop, dated by coins to *c.*820–30. If the chronology at Corinth is correct then discoid weights were still being produced as late as the eleventh century, a dating supported by the recent excavations of the Serce Limani shipwreck. No commodity weights from the twelfth century to the fall of Constantinople have been identified (see Entwistle 2002 for bibliography on these sites).

Most Byzantine weights are simply marked with their relevant denomination and perhaps a subsidiary decorative motif such as a cross. It is possible, however, to identify and roughly date certain iconographic types. The most popular in the Early Byzantine period is the 'cross within wreath type'. This takes two forms: a wreath enclosing a prominent standing cross flanked by the denominational mark, or a wreath enclosing a cross above the denominational mark. These two designs are generally found on square weights dating from the fifth and sixth centuries and are found throughout the Empire, ranging from Holland in the north, to Portugal in the west, to the Sudan in the south and to the Crimea in the east. Other distinctive types include weights with architectural decoration—either a single arch enclosing a cross and the denomination (Fig. 2), or a façade composed of two triangular arches and one rounded arch enclosing the same—or 'imperial' weights, that is, weights decorated with one or more imperial figures. The standard format for this type depicts two imperial busts, nimbed, diademed, and wearing paludamenta, within a wreath. More elaborate examples show standing emperors with shields, spears, or bows engaged in abbreviated hunting scenes or juxtaposed with other figures such as Tyches or Victories; many of these weights are embellished with silver or copper inlays (Fig. 3). The only other series of weights exclusively decorated with imperial figures are *exagia solidi* (Fig. 4). Introduced by Julian, most are to be dated to the late fourth or early fifth centuries, although examples dating from the reigns of Marcian and Leo, identifiable from the imperial monograms which decorate their reverses, are known (Buckton 1994: nos. 28–34, 79–82, 108).



Fig. 2 3 oz copper-alloy weight with architectural decoration, 4th–5th century CE

(Department of Prehistory and Europe, British Museum)



Fig. 3 1 lb copper-alloy weight with two emperors, late 4th–late 5th century CE

(Department of Prehistory and Europe, British Museum)



Fig. 4a and b Copper-alloy exagium solidi with Honorius and Theodosius, and Fortuna (rev.), 408–23 CE

(Department of Prehistory and Europe, British Museum)

Glass

Byzantine glass weights are normally discoid in shape, with the majority of them bearing monograms or inscriptions relating to their issuing authority, the prefect of Constantinople. They were produced in a wide variety of colours, but with four predominant: a dark blue, a blue-green, a pale green, and a yellow-brown. The precise function of these glass disks, that they were intended to weigh the solidus and its divisions, has occasionally been disputed on the grounds that they do not always correspond exactly with known coin denominations. The assumption implicit in this argument is that these weights were originally intended to be highly accurate measures of coins, and not, as contemporary coin balances would suggest, simply rule-of-thumb weights for checking the tolerance above or below which a coin would not be accepted. A recent statistical analysis of over five hundred examples suggests that the majority of them were intended to weigh the solidus/nomisma (theoretical weight 4.54 g) and its divisions the semissis (theoretical weight 2.27 g) and tremissis (theoretical weight 1.55 g). A very rare group of glass weights stamped with denominational marks illustrates that they were made to weigh not only light-weight solidi and multiples of the solidus, but also multiples and divisions of the ounce.

Many different iconographic types of glass weights are known, but the majority fall into the following seven categories: weights stamped with a box monogram; with a cruciform monogram; with a central monogram enclosed by an inscription; with one or more imperial busts sometimes juxtaposed with a monogram or the bust of an eparch or Christ; with the bust of an eparch with accompanying inscription; with a denominational mark; and, finally, weights with debased monograms or busts, sometimes referred to as 'Arabo-Byzantine' because they are thought to have been issued by Coptic merchants in the administrative vacuum following the fall of Egypt to the Arabs in the 640s and before the introduction of purely Arabic glass weights by Abd al-Malik in 691. Of these seven categories the most

numerous are those simply stamped with a box or cruciform monogram. So many different types have survived that it suggests that if the rough chronology for glass weights is correct (most are dated to the sixth and first half of the seventh century) then the monograms must refer not only to the prefects of Constantinople but to the eparchs of the major cities of the empire. The eventual disappearance of glass weights during the course of the seventh century can probably be ascribed to both the contraction of the economy during this period and the disruption of the administrative apparatus involved in their manufacture and distribution following the loss of such key provinces as Syria and Egypt to the Persians and Arabs (Buckton 1994: nos. 82–91, with bibliography).

Weighing Equipment

The principal weighing instrument for large commodities during the Byzantine period was the *kampanos*, anachronistically known as the steelyard. This consists of a lever of two unequal arms and two or three fulcra. The mechanical principle involved is a simple one. When the lever is in a state of equilibrium, the two opposing forces, the weight of the item and the weight of the counterpoise are to each other inversely as the arms of the lever, or that the item to be weighed multiplied by its distance from the fulcrum equals the weight of the counterpoise multiplied by its distance from the fulcrum. The lever in most instances takes the form of a beam of rectangular cross-section with three suspension hooks acting as fulcra. From the shorter arm hangs a suspension unit to support the goods to be weighed, while the longer arm is graduated on three of its faces, corresponding to the fulcra. Along this arm, the counterpoise weight would be moved until a state of equilibrium was attained and the weight of the goods indicated by its position on the relevant scale. For the scale to be legible the steelyard would have to be hung with the suspension chains at the right and the scales rising towards the left. The outermost fulcrum was used for the heaviest, the innermost for the lightest amounts. Only one counterpoise weight was calibrated for use in all positions.

Counterpoises, which only survive for the Early Byzantine period, took various forms, both figural and non-figural. The latter normally consist of spheres or hemispheres of copper-alloy sheet covering a lead core. Figural counterpoises included animals such as bears (Fig. 5) or baboons, or human representations of emperors, empresses, Tyches, or Greek goddesses, with Athena/Minerva being the most popular type (Franken 1994).

For weighing lighter amounts or coins two other weighing implements were preferred: the equal-arm balance and the folding counterpoise balance. The former is a simple beam from the ends of which are suspended two pans. One is used for the goods to be weighed, the other for the weights. The fulcrum was either a central

Fig. 5 Copper-alloy counterpoise weight in the form of a bear cuddling its cub, 5th–6th century CE

(Department of Prehistory and Europe, British Museum)



hook or a central indicator or pointer. The folding balance, which seems to have been employed mainly for coins, has a collapsible beam which has a joint in each arm equidistant from the fulcrum, allowing it to be folded when not in use.

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ARCHAEOLOGY

JAMES CROW

AMONGST the various archaeologies of the Mediterranean world, Byzantine archaeology has not fared especially well. Cleansed from the Parthenon to reveal the glory of classical Athens, Byzantine remains and monuments rarely take the centre stage in the major archaeological sites of the ancient world. With the notable exceptions of the great monuments of Constantinople and Thessalonike, or the medieval town of Mistra, the physical relics of the Byzantine world have been at the best neglected and in many cases demolished to reveal earlier structures and stratigraphy. Outside of Greece the subject is taught in few universities and there are very few general introductions (Zanini 1998; Paliouras 2004; Dark 2005).

Yet archaeology as a distinctive discipline has made a contribution to the understanding of the Byzantine world and increasingly there is a much greater awareness of how the study of buildings, historic landscapes, and material culture, including ceramics, will produce differing and wider perspectives of the past. The recent *Economic History of Byzantium* makes extensive use of archaeological evidence throughout (Laiou 2002; see recent publications on 'daily life' by Rautman 2006; on housing and material culture in later medieval Greece by Sigalos 2004 and Vionis 2008, and on ceramics by Vroom 2003).

HISTORICAL METHODOLOGIES

Any discussion of the character and development of Byzantine archaeology needs to recognize the associated disciplines of Byzantine art and architectural history.

All three are concerned with differing aspects of the material world of Byzantium and their study ultimately rests on the physical traces of past structures, artefacts, human landscapes and environments. Although each subject can be informed by historical texts to illuminate and contextualize past perceptions and motives, ultimately they are each rooted in the physical survival of differing categories of remains from the past. A consequence of these symmetries is that the investigation of Byzantine archaeology has often been conducted by scholars with a range of backgrounds, and this has given rise to differing and changing definitions of how the discipline of archaeology is understood. Thus in Britain before the First World War it is possible to identify three distinct approaches. Firstly, one which draws from the experience of a museum curator, O. M. Dalton of the British Museum, who published his *Byzantine Art and Archaeology* in 1911. This was a handbook of early Christian and Byzantine art and artefacts, covering an impressive range of material from the visual arts of wall-paintings, mosaics, icons, and manuscripts, to the 'minor decorative arts', including coins, metalwork, glass and ceramics, and architectural decoration. Apart from wall-paintings and mosaics that still remained *in situ*, most of what he described was drawn from the collections and catalogues of international museums and included categories of evidence often excluded by Byzantine art historians today. Secondly, the archaeology of buildings and especially churches was represented by the researches and travels of scholars such as Gertrude Bell, whose work with William Ramsay recorded the Binbirkilise ('1001 Churches'), one of the major stone-built settlements in central Anatolia (Fig. 1). Above all she was concerned to establish a taxonomy of churches, by recording, documenting, and classifying ancient buildings but with little concern of why they were built or



Fig. 1 Gertrude Bell's workers at the excavations of the Byzantine settlement of Maden Şehir, Binbirkilise, Turkey 1907

how they were used (Ramsay and Bell 1909; Kleinbauer 1991). Thirdly, an approach exemplified by a number of scholars associated with the British School of Archaeology at Athens in the decades before the First World War which demonstrated a broader interest in the material culture of the Byzantine world, often set within the context of what would now be termed the ‘long-term history’ of the Hellenic world, reaching from prehistory to recent times (Kleinbauer 1991: xlvi–xlviiii). One work which exemplifies this is F. W. Hasluck’s study of Kyzikos (1910), which includes not only a study of the monuments, topography, and epigraphy of the classical city, but also extends to the Byzantine and later Ottoman monuments in its territory. From this can be seen the beginnings of an approach to landscape archaeology and history, no longer confined to specific monuments or objects. The examples cited are drawn from British Byzantinists but similar approaches are replicated by other European scholars at that time such as Josef Strzygowski and Charles Diehl.

CHRONOLOGY

Archaeologists have different definitions of Byzantine archaeology in various parts of the eastern Mediterranean. For those working in Jordan, Israel, and Syria, but also Egypt, the term is defined as the Christian period in the eastern Roman empire from the Tetrarchy (c.300 CE) to the Arab invasions in the 640s; a period which many others would prefer to describe as Late Antique rather than Byzantine, and for which a specific archaeology has emerged (see Lavan and Bowden 2003). For the purposes of this introduction, however, the period begins in the later sixth century and continues to the final conquests of the Ottomans between 1453 and 1461. Further, we need to consider the geographical definition of Byzantine lands and in this chapter these are confined to a core area of the modern republics of Greece, Turkey, and Bulgaria. A good case could be made to include parts of Italy, Albania, the southern republics of former Yugoslavia, the Crimea, and Cyprus, but for brevity they are excluded, although specific studies will be noted as relevant. Each of these three core states emerged from the Ottoman empire during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries (Finkel 2005) and in each there were differing responses to the creation of new national identities, which in turn had a direct influence on the divergent character of the developing archaeologies of Byzantium found in each.

NATIONAL AGENDA

In contemporary Greece, although the Byzantine past is seen as a core element of the national identity, Byzantine archaeology is organized separately from the

archaeology of the prehistoric and classical periods, both in the museums and the administration of state archaeology, the regional ephorates—thus maintaining a dichotomy in Greek culture between the classical and the Christian medieval pasts. The consequence of this is that classical and earlier periods have often been given greater significance to the detriment of the study and preservation of the Byzantine past (see Kotsakis in Meskell 1998: 54–5). In addition, until recently, there has been an overwhelming emphasis on ecclesiastical archaeology; this is not surprising given the background to the foundation of the main museum and of the discipline as part of the wider European interest in early Christian archaeology (Frend 1996; Konstantios 2004: 9–13).

In Bulgaria, independent from the Ottoman empire after 1878, medieval archaeology has fared better as part of the wider national agenda, with benefits for the wider field of Byzantine archaeology. The medieval First and Second Bulgarian empires were seen to provide a legitimacy for the new Bulgarian state and from the late nineteenth century the centres of the early kingdoms at Pliska, Preslav, and later Turnovo were the focus for major excavations, although since the majority of the reports are in Bulgarian the full significance of these has not always been recognized (see Mijatev and others 1974). In Sofia medieval antiquities are divided equally between the National Archaeological and National Historical Museums, with major regional collections at Preslav, Shumen, and Veliko Turnovo (Evans and Wixom 1997: 321–35), while medieval Bulgarian and Byzantine archaeology are components of the National Institute of Archaeology.

The republic of Turkey is the most recent of these new nation states (1923) and although it is defined as a secular state, the population is predominantly Muslim following the population exchanges after the Treaty of Lausanne (1922) (see a survey of Turkish archaeology by Özdğan, in Meskell 1998: 111–23 and for the disjunctions with Greek archaeology see Ousterhout and Bakirtzis 2007: 1–6). The prehistoric archaeology of Anatolia has played a crucial role in the creation of a new Turkish national identity, most clearly displayed in the Museum of Anatolian Civilizations in Ankara where only limited exhibits of the classical and later periods are presented in opposition to the wealth from the more distant past. By contrast the Archaeological Museum in Istanbul is a late nineteenth-century foundation and represents the wider possessions of the Ottoman empire and at the same time exhibits the treasures of the Byzantine city. Public archaeology is administered through regional museums and Byzantine archaeologists remain underrepresented since only recently has there been a growth in the number of degree programmes which include Byzantine archaeology and art history. In addition, with few exceptions (notably Semevi Eyice and Yildiz Ötügen), the majority of projects concerned with Byzantine archaeology were led by foreign academics, either as part of long-term projects such as the Austrian excavations at Ephesos, or of specific monuments like Alahan, studied by a British team. With the rapid expansion of universities in Turkey over the past decade this situation has significantly improved and in

addition numbers of Turkish graduates have studied in Europe and elsewhere ensuring a broader approach to the national archaeology.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL APPROACHES

Like all academic disciplines the study of archaeology has been transformed over the past three decades by new theoretical perspectives often drawn from literary theory and social anthropology (see Greene 2002 for a clear introduction to archaeological method and theory). Any study of archaeology may be divided into a number of categories depending on the types of sites and monuments, the techniques which have been used for their investigation, the range of differing artefacts and other material which is recovered from survey or excavation. Furthermore we need to consider the various approaches to the physical evidence and the differing understandings and interpretations which can be derived therefrom. The archaeology of the Byzantine world is a historical archaeology, set in a chronological framework, informed by texts. A simple way of using this evidence is to allow the archaeology to illustrate the historical narrative derived from written sources; an example of this is the way that in the past biblical archaeology was seen to demonstrate and support the biblical texts as fact (Silberman, in Meskell 1998: 175–88). Archaeologists and textual historians have come to recognize that the relation between text and material culture is altogether more complex and potentially more enriching for an understanding of the past. Both sides have narratives, one derived from text and memory, the other from the physical narratives of structures and artefacts. To understand the relationship of these is to engage in an equal dialogue, not to prefer one over the other.

SETTLEMENTS AND PLACES I: VILLAGES

Archaeologists often distinguish between sites—defined places of human activity represented by archaeological deposits and artefacts—and landscapes—the physical setting for human activity, which is the product and interaction of both natural and human agency. In Byzantine archaeology, through the influence of historical geography and notably the project of *Tabula Imperii Byzantini*, initiated in Vienna over thirty years ago, the emphasis has been on sites, since unsurprisingly this is what the texts record. Sites can be divided simply by situation between rural and



Fig. 2 Skeleton excavated from the later church at Kilise Tepe in Isauria

The bones can be dated by radio-carbon dating to the late 12th–13th centuries (M. P. C. Jackson in Postgate and Thomas 2007; for the C-14 date see Bronk Ramsey and others 2000: 73–4).

urban. Studies of the Byzantine village have developed dramatically with the publication of the papers from the session on villages held at the Paris Congress in 2001 (Lefort and others 2005). These cover each of the three core countries and much more beside. Inevitably the early Middle Ages (600–850) is least well represented in the chronological cover, but what is clear is that for Greece and Bulgaria there is some evidence to document the structure of village houses and village material culture (see especially Pitarakis 2005, for metalwork and Vorderstrasse 2005, for the patterns of coin distribution and loss). However, if the fabric of the Byzantine world was villages (see Howard-Johnston 2004), archaeologists in Anatolia have done little to illustrate or investigate them. Until very recently there have been virtually no published excavations of villages, except as part of the work on earlier sites such as the Hittite capital of Boğazköy (Neve 1991) or more recently at Bronze Age Kilise Tepe in Isauria (Postgate and Thomas 2007) (Fig. 2). Other rural settlements are known at Binbirkilise and Karacadağ north-west of Konya, where Bell published surveys of the churches, although the overall site plan was lost by Ramsay (Ramsay and Bell 1909). Significant changes are, however, affecting the nature of archaeological discoveries in the eastern Mediterranean and two can be noted. Recent excavations before the construction of the new Eleftheris Venizelos airport outside Athens revealed a range of settlements, dating from the prehistoric to later medieval times and including an early medieval to mid-Byzantine village, the plans and finds from which are now displayed in the Airport Museum. Excavations in advance of the construction of the major BP pipeline across eastern Anatolia to Mersin investigated a medieval village north-east of Kars.

Rural settlements can also be located from surface surveys and survey archaeology, especially in Greece, and this technique has made a significant contribution for the understanding of the distribution and change of settlement in the context of

multi-period studies. Amongst the most important recent surveys have been those in Boeotia directed over twenty years by John Bintliff (Bintliff 2000); others include Armstrong 2002 in Lakonia, and Baird 2004 in the Konya plain, as well as ongoing surveys in Anatolia associated with the Sagalassos project and with excavations at Haci Musular in northern Lycia. (See also in general II.6.2 Villages, below.)

SETTLEMENTS AND PLACES II: TOWNS

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A major concern for archaeologists and historians in the early medieval period (7th–9th centuries) is the fate of the classical city. Views differ about whether this should be understood as an end or a transformation (see the review of the historical and archaeological approaches in early medieval Italy in Ward-Perkins 1997). The archaeological and historical evidence allows a number of interpretations (see Wickham 2005: 626–35; Haldon 1999) although discussions are not always sufficiently nuanced in recognizing regional diversity from the Adriatic to eastern Pontos (cf. Hodges 2006: 184–5). It is important to recognize that there is greater diversity in the range of evidence than is frequently admitted; for Anatolia we simply do not have clear archaeological evidence from cities like Ikonion or Caesarea, and very little for major centres such as Ankyra or Nicaea. A case can be made that the monumental archaeology of city defences and a few major churches either represents effective resistance and the maintenance of urban centres with an effective imperial administration (Howard-Johnston 2004) or alternatively as ‘the hollow parodies of a classical town’ (Hodges 2006: 185). The excavations at Amorion reveal continuing economic activity (Lightfoot 2007) and it is important also to recognize how some urban centres came to take on specific functions but did not necessarily conform to the pattern of *città ad isole*, like some cities in the west which ‘had gone over the edge into deurbanization’ (Wickham 2005: 676). Without the archaeology of early medieval housing (see Dark 2004), as is now known from Rome at this period, it remains difficult to contextualize the surviving Christian and defensive monuments from Byzantine *poleis* (see Crow and Hill 1995, and Crow 1996 for a discussion of examples from Amastris and northern Anatolia).

Middle Byzantine and later towns are more readily understood from surviving remains such as Mistra and Geraki in the Peloponnese and from excavations at Corinth (see a general discussion by Ousterhout in Evans and Wixom 1997: 192–9, and the studies of late Byzantine and Ottoman housing by Sigalos 2004 and Vionis 2008). In Anatolia the excavations at Amorion reveal settlement and economic activity up to the late medieval period, but elsewhere investigations from this phase are more restricted and the neglect of the Byzantine past in Anatolia is matched

for Seljuk and later periods (see Özdğan, in Meskell 1998: 119), where the main academic interest until recently has remained art historical.

MONUMENTS

Fortifications were an important element in the urban and rural archaeology of the Byzantine lands. Urban defences have already been noted: the only synthesis is Foss and Winfield 1986, although the second part of that study is more concerned with establishing a chronology of building styles than trying to understand the purpose and role of fortifications in Byzantine society. This field is, however, developing and Bakirtzis and Oreopoulos 2001 consider not just the form of fortifications but also the economic and symbolic aspects of their construction. Rural defences are considered in the volumes of *TIB* and it is quite clear from these and other studies (see also Dunn 1999, Crow 1996) that some represented intervention by the state as part of the imperial system of security, while others were either centres of local refuge or of regional power. An exceptional study considering these themes in a regional setting is Bryer and Winfield's account of the monuments of the Byzantine Pontos (1985).

Churches are certainly the best documented single type of building, known from both architectural surveys and excavations. Architectural historians have tended to privilege the buildings of the elite over those more ubiquitous structures (Ousterhout 1999) found throughout the Byzantine world, although the recent study of Canlı Kilise in Cappadocia sets the free-standing church in the context of a broad range of rock-cut buildings (Ousterhout 2005). A recent development is to consider churches as part of their wider setting, whether urban (Ousterhout 2000) or rural (Nixon 2006). The construction and repair of churches may be viewed as one of the general signs of economic life as well as indicator of specific patronage (see the assessment of Iconoclast buildings by Ousterhout, in Brubaker and Haldon 2001). An outstanding problem is the limited availability of detailed databases of churches or associated remains to draw upon; see, however, the survey of ecclesiastical sculpture from Bithynia by Ötügen 1996, or the recent guide to the churches of Naxos (Mastropoulos 2006) which provides for the first time a nearly complete catalogue of the churches and their decoration. This latter study also reveals the extent to which art historical research into the internal decoration has militated against a fuller study of the buildings within their social and landscape context. Such studies can lead on to wider debates relating to the religious world of Byzantium including the consideration of pilgrimage, and the sacred and profane (see Gerstel 2005; Maguire and others 1989; Nixon 2006). Finally, in considering

monuments we need to remain aware of how past monuments and places continue to be negotiated, contested, and re-imagined by contemporary communities (for a recent example see Costa and Ricci 2005).

Landscape archaeology can also contribute to an understanding of land use and changing land tenure although such studies have been rarely applied in the eastern Mediterranean, except in those areas such as the Pontos or the Cyclades where there are documents surviving from the later medieval periods. Similarly there has been limited application of environmental archaeology to the scientific study of landscape changes, especially in those areas outside the Aegean basin. One potential area for research is the use of irrigation, known from monastic and other texts (Gerolymatou 2005) although until now fieldwork has been confined to Cappadocia (Bicchi 1995).



Fig. 3 The reconstructed fragments of an 8th–9th-century amphora of the 'Byzantine globular' type, representing a survival from earlier Late Roman forms of LR 1 and 2

Found from excavations of a late antique and Byzantine olive-press at Pyrgos Cheimarrou, Naxos. Amphorae of this type are also known from excavations in Constantinople, Crete, and Aigina, and are indicative of continuous long-distance trade in the Aegean (information and photograph by A. Vionis).

Studies of Byzantine ceramics have already been noted and the strengths of the traditional art historical approach are apparent in the *Glory of Byzantium* catalogue entry (see Evans and Wixom 1997: 255–71; but for a study guide with an extensive bibliography see Vroom 2005) although the full potential for the study of pottery as a source for the economic life of the Byzantine world has yet to be realized (see also II.8.4 Ceramics, below). Vroom, Vionis (2003, 2008) (Fig. 3), and others are beginning to explore the social archaeology revealed through the study of material culture, including ceramics and metalwork. Ceramic evidence from field survey has been effectively combined with historic sources in Armstrong's study of Byzantine Lakonia (2002). An important additional source for trade and technology is provided by underwater archaeology. A number of wrecks have been excavated off the south-west coasts of Turkey, especially Yassı Ada and Serçe Limanı, dating respectively to the seventh and the eleventh century (Kingsley 2004). Closer to Constantinople Nergis Günsen's excavation off the island of Proconessus in the Sea of Marmara has shown the scale of trade in wine-carrying amphorae in the tenth and eleventh centuries. On the southern shore of the city itself since the summer of 2005 excavations on the site of the Harbour of Theodosios have revealed the remains of over twenty-seven ships, some up to 30 metres in length, grounded in the silt of the Byzantine harbour. Their decks and holds still contain the daily cargoes of the time, amphorae, small finds, smashed pots together with rope and other organic remains. The site remains under excavation at the beginning of 2007, but it serves as a vivid reminder of the potential which archaeology can provide for a wider understanding of the life of the Byzantine world.

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CRITICAL
APPROACHES TO
ART HISTORY

LESLIE BRUBAKER

THERE have always been ‘critical approaches’ to Byzantine art, and art historians have always relied on various methodological approaches. With the notable exception of Kurt Weitzmann, however, an explicit emphasis on theory is recent, with most Byzantinists tacitly adopting particular critical tactics without comment. For most art historians, theory is a methodological tool: like knowing a range of languages, it is necessary to pursue the discipline, but it is not an end unto itself.

BEFORE 1980

The eighteenth- and nineteenth-century debates on the nature of art and art history recognized, but rarely focused on, Byzantium; hence, critical approaches to the art of the East Roman Empire remained largely indistinguishable from approaches to medieval art in general until the twentieth century. The most significant inheritance from this background is the paradigmatic importance of form, which became the essential element of ‘art’ in the nineteenth century (Summers 1989: 375). Since then,

art history, including Byzantine art history, has remained an inherently formalist discipline, which means that *how* something is represented normally has been considered to be more important than *what* is represented. One result is that Byzantine art is normally classified by medium, and according to when and where it was produced, rather than by subject matter. Another is that the 'rehabilitation' of Byzantine art in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century was based on a new admiration of its stylistic properties (Nelson 2000: 160), not on an appreciation or understanding of its content.

After the Second World War, the main currents that dominated American and European scholarship on Byzantine art until the 1980s were developed by three great theorists who carried the Austrian and German scholarly tradition to the academies of Great Britain and America. Otto Demus, Ernst Kitzinger, and Kurt Weitzmann were implicitly formalists or structuralists, a critical approach closely related to formalism in that it privileges construction, though in terms of genre rather than style. Demus and Kitzinger were primarily interested in imagery that was publicly accessible, particularly mural decoration; Weitzmann concentrated on manuscripts, which he believed disseminated information and imagery widely, a position that few would now champion. A fourth major player, André Grabar, a Russian émigré based in Paris, was more interested in visual themes, principally the transformation of imperial Roman motifs into Christian iconography (Grabar 1936; Grabar 1968).

Demus's major contributions were twofold: he recognized the significance of spatial hierarchy and he appreciated the importance of artisanal technique. Early Byzantine authors had identified particular areas of church interiors as representative of various sites associated with Christ's life (Maguire 1987: 24–8; Palmer 1988; Rodley 1988; McVey 1993); Demus was more concerned with the Middle and later Byzantine periods, and, while his model appreciated content, its main focus was structure. The premiss of *Byzantine Mosaic Decoration* (Demus 1948)—written in Canada under the inhospitable conditions of an internment camp during the war—was that the interior space of a Byzantine church replicated the hierarchical relationship between humanity and divinity, with representations of human saints leading upwards toward the narrative of the incarnate Christ's life and, finally, to images of the divine Christ in the dome. This schema has met with some criticisms (e.g. Mathews 1988; James 1994), but its basic outline remains paradigmatic. Its progeny includes examinations of the relationship between the Orthodox liturgy and church planning (e.g. Mathews 1971) and, more broadly, studies of political and ecclesiastical topography (e.g. Krautheimer 1983).

Demus's second major contribution was based on his long involvement with the restoration of the mosaics at San Marco in Venice, which led him to promote study of the technical aspects of artisanal production in Byzantium and its appendages (Demus 1984; and now James 2006). This also fed into increasing interest in the relationship between Byzantium and the West (*Byzantine Art* 1966; Demus 1970),

and particularly Byzantium and Italy (Demus 1950), which initially favoured the Byzantine contribution to western art but has recently become more balanced (Buckton 1988; Brubaker 1991; Derbes 1996; Derbes and Neff 2004).

Kitzinger was a more obvious formalist. His main concern was how style communicated meaning. Like Demus, he was often interested in hierarchies, but for Kitzinger these were created by using different stylistic 'modes' (Kitzinger 1958: 36–7): he argued, for example, that the angels, the Virgin and child, and saints painted on a sixth- or seventh-century icon at Mt Sinai became less 'impressionistic' and increasingly solid in order to demonstrate their relative degree of humanity (Kitzinger 1977: 117–18). This use of style to convey meaning culminated in *Byzantine Art in the Making* (Kitzinger 1977); it was later applied to imperial portraits by Kitzinger's student, Henry Maguire (1989), who argued that the distinction between flat, incorporeal bodies and modelled heads visualized imperial associations with divine messengers, angels.

In addition to contributing to the stream of publications on the relationship between Byzantium and Italy (Kitzinger 1960; 1966; 1990) Kitzinger's other important contributions were the promotion of 'perennial Hellenism'—a recurrent return to the Graeco-Roman heritage of the East Roman Empire (Kitzinger 1958)—and a study of the developing role of icons in the sixth and seventh centuries (Kitzinger 1954). Both have been critiqued in more recent literature (e.g. Kinney 1982; Brubaker 1998; Mathews 1999—who also takes on Grabar).

Unlike Kitzinger, Weitzmann's formalism was based on morphology: his basic building block was iconographic composition rather than pictorial style. He too, however, emphasized the significance of the Graeco-Roman past, but he concentrated on manuscript illumination, a medium with a far more restricted audience than the decoration of church interiors. This was not, it must be said, an opinion he would have shared, for his credo was that manuscripts, as portable objects, had the potential to influence all other media. He set out a theoretical model for the development of manuscript illumination from scrolls (*rotuli*) to books (manuscripts; *codices*), the principal theses of which were that miniatures were initially developed for a primary text, that these original images were detailed and faithful to that text, and that later painters borrowed images from the primary texts, simplifying and distorting them in the process (Weitzmann 1947). The more densely illustrated a text, the closer to the 'Ur-manuscript'. Hence, Weitzmann argued that the heavily illustrated Middle Byzantine Octateuchs must follow an early Christian model; ultimately, he proposed a Jewish source for miniatures of the Old Testament (Weitzmann and Bernabò 1999: 299–312). This model was very influential in countries open to theory, less so in the United Kingdom, with its emphasis on pragmatism. Its drawback, however, resided not in its overt theorizing but in the application to miniatures of a methodology devised to analyse texts (philology). While texts may have been relatively stable, the miniatures were used to make them appealing and relevant to their contemporary audience, and it is not surprising

that miniaturists could, and demonstrably often did, add details or invent whole new cycles of imagery to supplement the adjacent text.

SINCE THE 1980S

In the late 1970s, what the anthropologist Clifford Geertz has made it fashionable to call ‘thick description’ was beginning to emerge: in a multi-layered reinterpretation of the ivory ‘sceptre’ associated with Leo VI, Kathleen Corrigan laid her methodological cards on the table and provided a classic and sophisticated early exemplar of ‘art in context’ (Corrigan 1978). By the mid-1980s, the contextual approach was the dominant mantra of art historians in general, yet it is clear from a contemporary review of the discipline (Cormack 1986*a*) that little had managed to affect British views of Byzantine art history in the preceding ten years. In 1987, however, John Haldon—not an art historian but one of the earliest British Byzantinists to introduce an explicitly theoretical framework (Haldon 1984–5)—invited speakers to consider material culture from a broadly theoretical viewpoint at the Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies in Birmingham on *The Byzantine Eye*, and two of the papers delivered there appeared soon thereafter, one on ekphrasis (Macrides and Magdalino 1988), the other on perception (Brubaker 1989*b*). Since then, historians of Byzantine art have increasingly welcomed the theoretical models developed in the broader context of cultural studies, especially literary criticism (e.g. Thomas 1990; Wharton 1990; Nelson 1999), anthropology (e.g. Cutler 1991), theories of visuality (e.g. Nelson 2000), and media studies (e.g. Belting 2001). Indeed, it became clear by the early 1990s that parallel universes of ‘traditional’ and ‘theoretical’ Byzantine art history coexisted in uneasy counterpoint (Brubaker 1992; Maguire 1992).

Among the critical approaches that remain current are considerations of the significance of gaze (Kalavrezou 1994), colour (James 1996), and gender (e.g. James (ed.) 1997; James 2001); how the historiography of the discipline has affected modern understandings of Byzantine imagery (e.g. Nelson 1996); and arguments against the ‘tyranny of the typical’ (Cutler 1987: 154). Though not always explicitly theorized, reception theory (which, crudely speaking, emphasizes the role of the viewer) and the relationship between verbal and visual communication have emerged as dominant themes of the new millennium, and both of these intersect with questions about the role of the patron and issues of interpretation—that is, how to look at Byzantine imagery.

Reception theory began as a way of interpreting literature that stressed the dynamic between text and the reader, who is always implicated in the text itself

(Eagleton 1996: 64–78 provides a good introduction). Translated into visual terms, this is a move from the ‘beholder’s share’ (Gombrich 1969: 181–287)—where viewers interpret what they see through the filter of their own experience and backgrounds—to the viewer as ‘seeing subject’, where ‘the individual who looks’ is central to the meaning of that which is seen (Burgin 1986: 69). What is particularly appealing about this approach is that it removes artificial distinctions between style and subject matter, and sees viewing as an active event, with the viewer participating in creating the meaning of a work. There is, in effect, a dialogue between the viewer and the viewed (Maguire 1996).

However, we must always acknowledge that there are, in fact, two viewers: the modern observer (ourselves) and the medieval one. And ‘the Byzantines’ were of course not a static entity; their ‘ways of seeing’ (Berger 1972) were as affected by context as ours are: amongst a myriad of other factors, time, place, social status, gender, and genre all participate in the interaction between viewer and image. This was brought out forcefully by Robert Nelson (1989), and differences between modern and medieval viewing—or, as it is sometimes called by reception theorists, the consumption of images—inform publications from the mid-1980s onward (e.g. Vikan 1989; Cutler 1995; Maguire 1995). It has been argued that Byzantine imagery made the past part of the present and was thus fundamentally unlike medieval (and modern) western pictures, which showed the past as the past or heralded future events (Kessler 1985: 88; Nelson 2001).

Our understanding of the world inevitably differs from that familiar to any East Roman: while we have masses of information at our fingertips, our own experiences colour our interpretation of this material, and its correlation with what the Byzantines knew is anyway impossible to determine. This has led some scholars to argue that we over-privilege our own knowledge, and thereby over-interpret Byzantine imagery or assume too readily that Byzantine patrons thought like we do (e.g. Cormack 1986*b*; Cutler and Oikonomides 1988), arguments that have been countered with some vigour (e.g. Kalavrezou 1989). Perhaps more profitably, it has also forced a reassessment of how the Byzantines saw, and responded to the seen (e.g. Brubaker 1989*b*; Maguire 1996; Nelson 2000); and particularly to a re-evaluation of the relationship between Byzantine words about images and descriptions of the visual and the images themselves (e.g. James and Webb 1991; Brubaker 2006). Words and images communicate differently: words describe, images show. This is likely to be a recurrent theme in future work.

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ICONOGRAPHY

KATHLEEN CORRIGAN

ICONOGRAPHY, from the Greek ‘image-writing’, is generally paired in encyclopedias and dictionaries of art with Iconology (e.g. Lash 1996), and both are defined as referring to ‘the descriptive and classificatory study of images with the aim of understanding the direct or indirect meaning of the subject matter represented’ (Cassidy 1993; Bialostocki 1963). The most influential statement of the iconographical/iconological method has been that of Panofsky, as laid out in his *Studies in Iconology* (Panofsky 1939). Panofsky described three levels of interpretation: first, pre-iconographical description, in which figures and objects are identified primarily on the basis of the interpreter’s general familiarity with objects and events depicted (e.g. a man playing a harp, or a woman being addressed by a winged figure); second, iconographical analysis, in which secondary or conventional subject matter is identified based on the interpreter’s knowledge of literary sources and specific themes and concepts as well as of the history of types (e.g. the man playing a harp represents Orpheus, and the woman addressed by a winged figure represents the New Testament story of the Annunciation); third, iconological interpretation in which the intrinsic meaning or content is uncovered. To quote Panofsky, ‘it is apprehended by ascertaining those underlying principles which reveal the basic attitude of a nation, a period, a class, a religious or philosophical persuasion—qualified by one personality and condensed into one work’.

Though iconographical and iconological analysis has long been a staple of art historical writing, in recent years there have been criticisms of and challenges to Panofsky’s method (e.g. Cassidy 1993). It also has been noted that not all critics or practitioners of Panofsky’s method exhibit a full appreciation of its nuances. The following are some of the criticisms that have been levelled in current scholarship:

there is a tendency to privilege the text over the image; scholars look for a textual source to explain the image, and tend to see the image as an illustration of the text rather than as a form of expression that has its own history and operates according to its own principles. Art historians are more apt to depend on religious, philosophical, or literary texts as opposed to texts of a more popular nature, for example, fables, songs (Camille 1993). They see the image as encoding the ideas of the patron and artist, and tend to neglect the importance of the viewer's input in the construction of meaning. A final or authoritative interpretation of the image is offered, whereas contemporary art historians prefer interpretations that are more flexible and recognize the multivalence of images (Bann 2003). Art historians today have taken these criticisms to heart. They still use iconographical analysis as a tool, but many of their questions and assumptions have changed.

Iconography has always been fundamental to the study of early Christian and Byzantine art. In fact, some of the primary early projects on iconography were devoted to Christian art of the late Roman and medieval periods. What follows is a discussion of only a selection from among the many important issues that have been investigated by scholars of Early Christian and Byzantine iconography.

The earliest Christian art—that is, the catacomb paintings and carved sarcophagi—was one of the first objects of study for nineteenth-century iconographers. This art consists primarily of single figures or motifs such as orants (figures in an attitude of prayer), the good shepherd, anchors, fish, or abbreviated subjects such as Abraham and Isaac, the Samaritan woman at the well, Noah and his ark. Early scholars focused especially on identification and classification of the imagery, which they mainly dated to the first or second century. They also tried to coordinate the subjects depicted with inscriptions and biblical and patristic sources, using these to identify or explain the images (de Rossi 1864–77 and 1857–; Didron 1843; Wilpert 1903, 1916, and 1929–36; see also III.16.1 Art and text).

Scholars of the mid-twentieth century were critical of this effort to find a scriptural or patristic source for every scene or motif. They found their predecessors' methods somewhat unscientific and questioned the early dating of the catacombs, preferring a date in the third century, which is generally accepted today. Thus, a fundamental question for these scholars became: why did Christian imagery first appear so late? Some argued that this was due to an anti-image stance on the part of the early Church, one that was only overcome by pressure from the Church's less educated laity (Klauser 1958–67; Kitzinger 1954). André Grabar suggested that the Church's early experiments in Christian iconography might have arisen in response to the figural art being developed by competing religions such as Judaism and even Manicheism (Grabar 1968). More recent scholarship has suggested that the early Church was not necessarily anti-image, and that Christians may have used art before the third century, but that it was iconographically undifferentiated from that of its contemporaries (Murray 1977, 1981; Finney 1977, 1994; Jensen 2000).

Another issue concerns the elaboration and development of Christian iconography. From the time of Constantine to the reign of Justinian (fourth to sixth centuries) more complex and elaborate imagery was developed that would lay the foundation for much of Byzantine iconography. Old and New Testament narratives were being developed during this period, as were more abstract or symbolic images expressing various dogmas of the Church, and iconic images of Christ, the Virgin, and the saints (*ODB*: ‘Old Testament Illustration’, ‘New Testament Illustration’; Kitzinger 1977, 1980; Weitzmann 1979). Also developed were various techniques of presentation such as pictorial narration; typology, that is, the juxtaposition of Old and New Testament scenes, or even two New Testament scenes; or the combining of elements from various textual and pictorial sources to create complex visual statements. Scholars have been concerned not only with describing these new forms of imagery, but also with determining the sources and processes used in their creation. The question of how and to what extent the creators of Christian iconography drew on pagan (Klauser 1958–67), Roman imperial (Grabar 1968; Mathews 1993), and Jewish (Goodenough 1953–68, 1962; Weitzmann and Kessler 1990; Gutmann 1984) imagery has been of particular interest. In the area of manuscript illumination, Kurt Weitzmann and a number of his students have investigated which biblical books were illustrated during the early Christian period, often relying on middle Byzantine (ninth- to tenth-century) exemplars that they argued could be traced back to early Christian models (e.g. Weitzmann 1947, 1975, Weitzmann and Bernabò 1999; see also I.2.5 Critical approaches to art history and II.8.7 Book production).

For the seventh to the ninth centuries, discussion has focused especially on the impact on Byzantine art of iconoclasm and the theory of images (see III.16.4 Art and iconoclasm). The paucity of works from the iconoclastic period has made it difficult to follow the process of iconographic development and led scholars to wonder about the extent to which there is continuity in iconography (as well as in style and technique) among works produced before and after Iconoclasm (Cormack 1977; Kitzinger 1988; Grabar 1957). Because contemporary scholars seem less interested in describing iconographic development over long periods, this issue is of less concern today. Current scholarship has centred on how debates about the nature of Christ and the representability of the divine, as well as the politics surrounding Iconoclasm, fuelled the creation of new iconography and new strategies of representation (Barber 2002; Brubaker 1999; Cormack 1985; Corrigan 1988, 1992; Kartsonis 1986).

By the ninth century Byzantine iconography, especially that based on the New Testament, had become quite standardized. This certainly was due in part to the theory of images that was developed during the iconoclastic controversy. Images—that is, biblical scenes as well as iconic images of Christ, the Virgin, and the saints—were thought to bear a special relationship to their prototype. Established iconography had the authority of tradition, and was not to be changed

without reason. Innovation was to be avoided (Brubaker 1999; see III.16.4 Art and iconoclasm). Nevertheless, while adhering to tradition, new ideas were expressed and elaborations on old themes were created. One way was through the combination, juxtaposition, or modification of traditional images. Scholars today are interested in how images derive their meaning from the context in which they exist and function, and as such attempt to be sensitive (as Byzantine viewers presumably were) to new meanings derived from subtle iconographic changes or new juxtapositions of scenes or motifs. For example, much attention has been given to the deployment of traditional images (e.g. the 'feast scenes') in church decoration. While Demus's mid-century (1948) analysis of middle Byzantine church decoration attempted to define a 'classic system', scholars today are more interested in the variations—the multiple meanings created by different arrangements and combinations, and by the varying circumstances in which the images were viewed (e.g. Maguire 1981, 1987, 1998; see also II.7.4 Wall-paintings and mosaics).

But there were also new directions in iconography in the middle Byzantine period. There were, for example, significant innovations in passion iconography: new subjects such as the Threnos and the Man of Sorrows were created, and these and existing images were presented with greater emotionality (Pallas 1965; Belting 1980–1). An interest in context, in this case the liturgy, has allowed scholars to better understand how this new iconography evolved and functioned. It has also inspired current discussions of the iconographic programmes of different areas of the Byzantine church in the middle and late Byzantine periods, for example, the narthex and sanctuary (Gerstel 1999; see III.16.2 Art and liturgy).

In the medium of manuscript illumination, the middle Byzantine period, especially the eleventh and twelfth centuries, was a fertile one for the development of new iconography. A number of new image cycles was created to illustrate biblical, monastic, and liturgical texts, such as the Octateuchs, the Gospels, the Book of Kings, the Heavenly Ladder of John Klimakos, and the Romance of Barlaam and Joasaph. Systems of decoration were developed for various liturgical books as well. Again, a change in approach has allowed scholars to identify these iconographic innovations, that is, scholars are less interested in tracing preserved middle Byzantine cycles back to an early source, and more concerned to understand them in their middle Byzantine context (Lowden 1992; Dolezal 1998).

The history of the iconic representations of Christ and the Virgin is another topic of importance for students of early Christian and Byzantine iconography. It is a complex history, one that is bound up with theology and theories of representation. Especially important for iconography is the history of the different 'types' of Christ and the Virgin appearing in Byzantine art (e.g. Christ Pantokrator, Virgin Eleousa). When these types were created, how they received their titles, what the relationship is between title and iconography, and of course the deeper meaning of these various

icon types are all important issues for discussion (*ODB*: 'Christ' and 'Virgin Mary'; Belting 1994; Kessler and Wolf 1998; Pentcheva 2006; Vassilaki 2000; and also III.16.5 Icons).

Iconography of the saints in Byzantine art is to be distinguished from that found in western medieval art in that the focus is primarily on portraits rather than narrative cycles. In the early Christian period there were some short 'passion' cycles located at the shrines of certain martyrs, and beginning in the twelfth century hagiographical cycles for some saints appear in monumental painting and on *vita* icons (*ODB*: 'Hagiographical Illustration'; Ševčenko 1983). Otherwise, even in manuscripts of saints' lives (*menologia* and *synaxaria*), portraits or single, standardized martyrdom scenes are the rule (Ševčenko 1990). As was the case with New Testament imagery discussed above, after Iconoclasm the iconography of saintly portraits became standardized so that they would be clearly recognizable and the relationship to the prototype maintained. In this instance as well, it is the choice of saints and their location and arrangement that becomes the focus of iconographic inquiry (Maguire 1996).

Imperial iconography in the early Christian period continues many of the subjects found in late Roman imperial art, for example, individual portraits of the emperor and empress, hieratic depictions of the emperor and other public officials, and public ceremonies. The Arch of Constantine, for example, includes images of *adlocutio*, *largitio*, and *profectio* among its fourth-century friezes, while the base of Theodosios I's obelisk has scenes depicting him presiding from his box at the Hippodrome in Constantinople. Also in Constantinople the sculpted columns of Theodosios and of Arkadios, modelled on those of Trajan and Marcus Aurelius in Rome, continued a long tradition of martial imagery. One of the major issues in the scholarship on this period has been the degree of continuity with the Roman past and the impact of Christianization on the iconography of imperial portraits and scenes. By the time of Justinian imperial art had fully incorporated Christian symbols and the Byzantine emperor was represented as the head of a Christian state appointed by God (Grabar 1936; MacCormack 1981; McCormick 1986).

In the middle and late Byzantine periods imperial iconography is much more limited in scope and comprises primarily portraits in all media, including coins and seals. One job of the iconographer has been to identify the various costumes and insignia of the emperor and his court, and to decipher their meanings (Parani 2003; Grierson and Bellinger 1966–99; Nesbitt and Oikonomides 1991–). Standardization in imperial iconography has again inspired scholars to try to understand small changes in costume, insignia, pose, gesture, and the arrangement of figures, and to try to relate these to political, dynastic, or religious concerns of the imperial figures represented (Kalavrezou 1994; see also III.9.1 Emperor and court).

Representations of pagan gods and mythological subjects form another area in which the relationship to the Graeco-Roman past is obviously important. The

question of continuity or discontinuity in both iconography and meaning from the Roman into the early Christian and Byzantine periods has long occupied scholars. For the early Christian period, scholars have questioned to what extent pagan iconography survived, how its meanings changed, how and to what extent it was utilized by Christians (Hanfmann 1980). These questions are intimately related to the whole issue of pagan–Christian interaction in the fourth century, on which there is substantial literature. Contemporary interest in the multivalence of images and the relationship between iconography and cultural identity has led scholars to look at this problem somewhat differently (Elsner 1995; Shelton 1981).

For the middle Byzantine period the question of the survival or revival of iconography from the pagan past has also dominated the scholarship. Kurt Weitzmann's numerous works on this issue, including his influential article on the 'Macedonian Renaissance' of the mid-tenth century, set the parameters of the discussion. He drew attention to the use of classical personifications and mythological scenes in manuscripts and other media, and the illustration of a number of, primarily scientific, classical texts (Weitzmann 1951, 1971*a*, 1971*b*). At a time when medieval 'renaissances' were an important topic of scholarly discussion (Panofsky 1960; Kitzinger 1940, 1977), Weitzmann was intent on showing how Byzantine art and culture preserved and transmitted to the West the works of classical antiquity. Later scholars have questioned the idea of a tenth-century renaissance, and prefer to focus on the meanings given to these classical subjects and motifs in their Byzantine context (Cutler 1974; Kalavrezou-Maxeiner 1985). Students of Byzantine iconography can turn to handbooks and encyclopedias of classical mythology to discover the original meanings of these subjects (see *Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classica*) but have the challenge of also understanding them in their Byzantine context. Simply identifying figures and scenes that appear to derive from the classical, pagan tradition can be a challenging task, since, unlike Christian iconography, specificity and recognizability was not always important.

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Further Reading

There is no single authoritative source for early Christian and Byzantine iconography, though there are a number of dictionaries and encyclopedias that include substantial entries and these are listed below. Also useful are articles such as Bann 2003; Bialostocki 1963; Lash 1996 (referred to above). Sometimes, however, the best place to turn is monographs on individual monuments (e.g. Mouriki 1985; Hadermann-Misguich 1975; Underwood 1966–75), corpora of particular media (e.g. Kalavrezou-Maxeiner 1985), or the several recent exhibition catalogues (included in the list below). Students should also consult the Princeton Index of Christian Art, which is now available on line, and which has been systematically increasing its coverage of Byzantine material.

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LITERARY CRITICISM

PANAGIOTIS A. AGAPITOS

It is only in the past thirty years that any concerted attempt has been made to apply literary criticism, partly with the support of literary theory, to a literary understanding of the texts written in Byzantium. The reasons for such a delay were the lack of various basic philological tools (grammars, dictionaries, critical editions, commentaries, translations), but also a reluctance to allow for the possibility that Byzantine texts could have a literary meaning distinct from their value as historical or cultural documents. It is therefore not surprising that the first efforts at literary criticism concentrated on texts that fitted more easily into modern concepts of literature, such as the romances. Yet even these first attempts at literary interpretation have amply shown that Byzantine texts, beyond fulfilling various functions within their cultural context of production, are carriers of literary meaning and that an effort to understand such a meaning contributes substantially to a better appreciation of Byzantine culture as a whole. The vast and varied amount of writing in Byzantium poses a formidable challenge to the critic who would wish to interpret Medieval Greek texts from a literary point of view. There are two broader areas which the critic will find useful for such an interpretation, the Byzantines' own concepts of literature and literary criticism, and the tools offered by modern literary theory. However, both areas need to be approached with a certain degree of caution.

For example, authority and mimesis (Hunger 1969–70; Kustas 1973; Ševčenko 1981) are two medieval concepts that run contrary to modern notions of artistic creativity. Medieval texts were mostly written under the 'authority' of a patron (a ruler, a bishop, a learned friend, even a saint) and in 'imitation' of mostly

older models. These concepts, inculcated at school level and through the everyday practice of rhetoric, were the result of a meta-cultural and meta-linguistic ideology that refrained from promoting originality in the romantic sense of the term. Yet these restrictive concepts allowed for substantial creative approaches because they forced authors to challenge the canons and to innovate by pretending not to do so.

The role of the text in a manuscript culture is a further difficulty facing the modern critic: a medieval text is part of a handwritten book but, at the same time, that book is a text in its own right. The layout of the book, its contents, ornaments, and marginal notes are part of a text; its correct interpretation lies in the appreciation of this inextricable unity of the word and its material presence. When John Mauropous in the late eleventh century prepared a selection of his works (poems, letters, and orations) for publication, he had a book made (the existing manuscript Vat. gr. 676) that included introductory material (poems and a list of contents) and that presented the individual works as a unity to be read as whole. Similarly, a miscellaneous manuscript produced at the Laskarid court of Nicaea in the thirteenth century (Florence, Laur., Conv. Soppr. 627) includes seemingly unrelated texts that upon closer examination prove to have influenced each other and thus reflect literary tastes in a given historical moment. Within a manuscript culture, the critic is faced with the stability and uniqueness of each individual manuscript and the fluidity and multiplicity of existing copies and versions of each text. Thus, in a miscellaneous manuscript of the early sixteenth century (Naples, Bibl. Naz. III Aa 9) a group of vernacular works with an admonitory character have been put together for the education of a young man; the unrelated texts (dating from the twelfth to the fourteenth centuries and surviving in other manuscripts as well) have been revised to form one new text. Similarly, six homilies on the Virgin by James of Kokkinobaphos have survived in two 'identical' twelfth-century illuminated manuscripts (Paris, BN gr. 1208 and Vat. gr. 1162), where text and image form one entity. In this sense, the medieval text is a private as well as a public image. When epigrams were attached to objects or buildings (Hörandner 1992; Talbot 1999), or when they accompanied the portrait of an author in a manuscript (e.g. Manuel II Palaiologos in the manuscript Par. BN Suppl. gr. 309), they were intended to be read and to be seen at the same time, establishing a particular notion of visual textuality for the reader/viewer.

The peculiarity of medieval literariness makes necessary the study of the Byzantines' own perception of literature and of the process of writing. Even a cursory glance at the evidence shows that the Byzantines placed a strong emphasis on education and reading. Thus, the general Kekaumenos in the eleventh century advises his son to read books carefully (Litavrin 1972: 154, 212, 240), while the poet Manuel Philes in the fourteenth offers instructions on how to read correctly an erotic romance (Knös 1962). In numerous instances the Byzantines responded critically to what they read, giving us momentary glimpses into issues of literary taste. Michael Psellos, for example, censures Emperor Leo VI as a rather frigid

author of mediocre homilies (Aerts 1990: 90. 13–19), while Constantine Akropolites in the late thirteenth century takes offence at the provocatively successful satire of the twelfth-century dialogue *Timarion* (Romano 1991: 180–1). Such reader responses necessitate authorial self-representation as a means of pre-empting criticism. On the one hand, Theophanes Confessor explains to the readers of his *Chronographia* that he has written nothing of his own (de Boor 1883: 4. 12–15); on the other, Nikephoros Basilakes in the twelfth century composes a large prologue to an edition of his works, where he expounds his literary concepts and vindicates the use of an extremely experimental and mannerist style (Garzya 1984: 1–9). The Byzantines also placed extreme importance on the public presentation of a work, connecting its literary qualities to its potential performance. Thus, Psellos praises the monk Kroustoulas as an orator because he succeeded in performing his oration as a true actor (Littlewood 1985: 141–3), while Michael Italikos underlines the literary quality of a letter by pointing to the power of his own recitation of it (Gautier 1972: 153–4).

Such occasional remarks on their own literary production are the background to a substantial corpus of texts that can be broadly classified as literary criticism in Byzantium. In most cases such texts, parts of the school curriculum or the philologist's work, are concerned with the interpretation of ancient Greek literature. These texts (scholia, commentaries, essays, lectures) are of the utmost importance for understanding Byzantine perceptions of literature. In reading, for example, through the scholia written to accompany editions of the ancient tragedians (Smith 1996), the modern critic will be able to form an opinion on literary and philological preoccupations at different times in medieval and late Byzantium. Thus, discussions of ancient metres more often than not will disclose to us medieval concepts of rhythmic structure, so different from the ancient forms (Hörandner 1995; Lauxtermann 1998). Similarly, an examination of different texts at different times will allow the critic to discern important changes in literary tastes and aesthetic appreciation of older literature. Such cases are the development of the concept of 'drama', applied in the ninth century by Photios to the ancient novel and leading through a reinterpretation of tragedy to the reappearance of the novel as 'rhetorical drama' in the twelfth century (Agapitos 1998a), or the changing tastes in the writing of hagiography (Hägg 1999). Critical essays by Byzantine writers on older authors, such as Psellos' on John Chrysostom (Hörandner 1996) or Theodoros Metochites' on Dio Chrysostom and Synesius (Hult 2002), give us important insights on the medieval authors' own approach to literary composition.

Equally important are the Byzantines' concept of genre, an area to which modern scholarship has paid little attention. However, a closer examination of what the Byzantines have to say about genre and the way in which they compose texts belonging to ancient genres (e.g. epistolography or historiography) shows a steady trend in juxtaposing convention and innovation or in experimenting with mixture and deviation. Two broader categories might be singled out here as examples of different approaches to genre. The first category comprises funerary literature.

While the terms distinguishing funerary genres of antiquity (poetic laments and epitaphs, funeral orations for groups or individuals, consolatory addresses) have been kept, their meaning and structure have been substantially altered to the point of completely cancelling the traditional rhetorical patterns (Agapitos 2003). An attempt to approach these texts solely as endless variations on the same theme would fail to understand the capacity of genre to develop within the concept of mimesis. The second category includes texts that display an autobiographical discourse. While there is no ancient genre of 'autobiography', the Byzantines developed a consistent discourse of self-representation that crossed through generic boundaries and created new modes of writing in historiography, homiletics, hagiography, even testaments and other 'non-literary' documents (Angold 1998; Hinterberger 1999).

Faced with this vast complex of Byzantine literary and critical discourse the students of Medieval Greek literature will have to turn to literary theory, should they not wish to remain within the confines of positivist and empiricist approaches. Obviously, modern literary theory has with few exceptions dealt only with modern literature; this makes a strict application of any theory impossible because of the vast socio-cultural differences between medieval and modern text production. However, the notions of meta-culture and meta-language that pervade so much of Byzantine literature are also typical of modernist and post-modernist literature, and this allows for critical approaches that utilize the artistic tensions created between canonical works of art and their antagonists.

The last section of this chapter attempts a presentation of various literary theories, while pointing out indicative examples of studies that have used such theories in their approaches to Byzantine literature. One line of approach is through a socio-historical examination of the texts. Thus, the relation between literature and society as reflected in the texts' literariness gives important clues to the construction of artistic images within Byzantine society, be it the way in which the lives of saints recreate social history (Patlagean 1968) or how rhetoric becomes a literary device for political propaganda (Odorico 1983). Historicist analysis is also a useful approach to the understanding of changes within Byzantine society, as is the case with the literary image of the court writer (Magdalino 1997) or the development of autobiographical discourse (Angold 1998). New Historicism, in particular, offers important insights into the social and aesthetic function of texts within the network of literary and political communication, as is the case with epistolography (Mullett 1997).

Another line of approach is the study of textuality and poetics. Of particular importance is the appearance of the author as a literary persona, for example, the historiographer as a character in his own work (Ljubarskij 1991) or the epistolographer as creator of his own rhetorical persona (Papaioannou 2000). Especially in connection with art, the study of Byzantine authors' insistence on representing the textual as visual, as is the case with narrative in the romances (Agapitos 1999), or the

visual as textual, as in the case of descriptions of buildings or works of art (James and Webb 1991; Webb 1999), allows for a deeper understanding of medieval poetics. In this context, the study of stylistics is crucial, such as the varied use of many levels of style by different authors working in the same genre (Hunger 1978) or by the same author writing in different genres (Hörandner 1993). Style may infuse a text through the use of a subversive discourse, particularly so in the case of social and political criticism couched as praise, as in Psellos' *Chronographia* (Ljubarskij 1978; Kaldellis 1999) or the *Timarion* (Alexiou 1982–3). The study of rhythm also contributes to an understanding of Byzantine literary aesthetics, both in the rhythmical organization of prose (Duffy 1999), as well as in the metres of quantitative and accentual poetry (Lauxtermann 1999).

Moving to broader approaches, one area of fruitful analysis is thematics, for example, the study of the garden as a motif in the romances (Littlewood 1979), the wonder-tale themes of hagiography (Guidorizzi 1983) or the abduction of the bride in heroic poetry (Mackridge 1993). Similarly, formalism and structuralism offer intelligent tools in understanding the literary mechanics of the texts' constituent parts. Such approaches have been applied in the study of the dreams in the Komnenian novels (MacAlister 1996 on the basis of Bakhtin) or the function of characters in the Palaiologan romances (Aleksidze 1979 using Propp); they have also shaped the reading of historiographical discourse, for example, the stereotyped work of John Malalas (Ljubarskij 1982) or the highly unconventional work of Nike-tas Choniates (Kazhdan and Franklin 1984). Obviously, the study of structure plays an important part in narratology, a theoretical framework that has been used in the study of different types of texts, such as the hymns of Romanos the Melodist (Barkhuizen 1986 on the basis of Uspenski), historiography and rhetoric (Cupane 1997 with the use of Genette), or the love romances (Agapitos 1991 and Nilsson 2001, based on a broad selection of theoretical models).

The importance of meta-language and performative qualities in Byzantine literature allows for a creative use of reader-orientated approaches. Intertextuality offers an excellent tool in understanding the complexities of mimesis, for example, in the handling of literary allusions by Anna Komnene (Reinsch 1998) or the transgressive dialogue with the literary canon of a genre (Agapitos 1998*b*), while reception theory helps to explain the peculiar relation of text and audience in medieval Byzantium, for example, in the case of hagiography (Reinsch 1991) or of the vernacular romances (Cupane 1995). The relation of text and audience plays an important part in the formation of public images of the self and of gender in Byzantium. In this context, psychoanalytical approaches, such as the study of mental space in Kekaumenos and the *Digenes Akrites* (Galatariotou 1996) or the emotional self-representation in the letter of consolation (Littlewood 1999), are a fertile ground for a deepened understanding of the Byzantine textual psyche. Similarly, feminism and gender studies offer insights into the socio-literary images of Byzantine men and women as producers and recipients of texts, be it the 'ambivalent' image of

female sanctity (Galatariotou 1984–5; Constantinou 2005) or the images of authorial maternity in the *Alexiad* (Gouma-Peterson 2000).

The gallery of theoretical approaches presented here summarily shows that the paths for a fruitful interpretation of Byzantine literature are wide open to the interested critic. However, two points should be stressed. The first is the need for interdisciplinarity; the cooperation between different fields ranging from history and sociology to philology and art history must form an integral part of contemporary interpretative approaches, leading to comparative studies between Byzantine, Western Medieval, Islamic, and Slavic literatures. The second point is the need to use ‘Theory’, both Byzantine and modern, together with ‘History’ as complementary methods in the application of literary criticism to Byzantine texts.

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Further Reading

There is no guide to literary criticism of Byzantine literature, but A. R. Littlewood's essay on literature in J. Harris (ed.), *Palgrave Advances in Byzantine History* (Basingstoke, 2005): 133–46 is very useful. The interested student might profit from the papers in the collective volumes on classicism in Byzantium (M. Mullett and R. Scott (eds.), *Byzantium and the Classical Tradition* (Birmingham, 1981)), the study of the Komnenian novels (P. A. Agapitos and D. R. Reinsch (eds.), *Der Roman im Byzanz der Komnenenzeit* (Frankfurt am M. 2000)) and of the Palaiologan romances (P. A. Agapitos and others, 'Genre, structure and poetics in the Byzantine vernacular romances of love', *Symbolae Osloenses* 79 (2004): 7–101), the literary study of Byzantine historiography (Ja. N. Ljubarskij and others, 'Quellenforschung and/or

literary criticism: narrative structures in Byzantine historical writings,' *Symbolae Osloenses* 73 (1998): 5–73), and of rhetoric in its broadest sense (E. Jeffreys (ed.), *Rhetoric in Byzantium* (Aldershot, 2003)). The acts of Hermeneia, an ongoing symposium on Byzantine literature directed by P. Odorico and P. A. Agapitos, are being published in the Parisian series *Dossiers Byzantins* (four volumes have been published since 2002). Some of the issues touched upon in the present chapter have been intelligently discussed by a group of Western Medievalists for Medieval Latin and vernacular literatures (S. G. Nichols (ed.), 'The new philology', *Speculum* 65 (1990): 1–108), while a broad spectrum of medieval literary theory has been now presented in A. Minnis and I. Johnson (eds.), *The Cambridge History of Literary Criticism*, vol. 2: *The Middle Ages* (Cambridge, 2004). A succinct presentation of contemporary literary theories with substantial bibliography will be found in R. Selden (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Literary Criticism*, vol. 8: *From Formalism to Poststructuralism* (Cambridge, 1995).

TEXTUAL CRITICISM

MICHAEL JEFFREYS

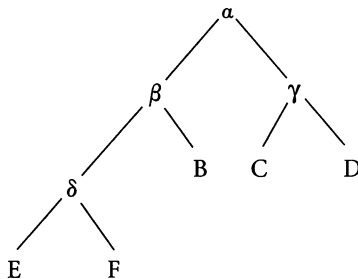
TEXTUAL criticism examines surviving copies of a text, seeking to recapture an earlier, usually 'original', form. It aims to remove errors inevitable in copying, especially when copying by hand. It was first applied to the ancient classics and the Bible, and so developed methods appropriate to works preserved in manuscripts dated long after the time of composition. But it was later extended to more modern manuscripts and printed editions, and now faces the new challenge of electronic texts (Greetham 1994). This section will concentrate on editions of Byzantine texts by modern scholars. Several examples of textual analysis carried out by Byzantines themselves are given in I.2.10.

It is not easy to choose material for an introduction to textual criticism of Byzantine works. It is unnecessary to stress the need for close engagement with the author, his language and thought-world, with a dose of creativity to solve problems—though these are the reasons for the discipline's high prestige. There is no room to list palaeographical rules necessary for the textual critic, even in Greek (ignoring Byzantium's other languages). These are visual ambiguities in the developing writing system, likely to cause copying errors. A framework for their study is given in the section on Palaeography (I.2.10), and references are provided in the bibliography (Thompson 1912; briefly in West 1973: 15–29). The main subject remaining for this chapter is the complex system developed over the centuries for dealing with variations between manuscripts. Even this may appear at first unnecessary, since Byzantine Studies (in its Greek dimension) seems just like Classical Greek in the demands made on textual critics, and extant handbooks of classical

literary criticism are masterpieces of clarity and brevity (Maas 1958; West 1973). Many manuscripts of Byzantine texts are indistinguishable from those of classical authors, and it is tempting to apply classical rules indiscriminately. But there are often significant differences between classical and Byzantine textual situations. The case will be made here for more nuanced treatment.

The preliminaries to an edition are uncontroversial. The editor should find from the relevant bibliography and standard general listings of manuscripts all the manuscripts of the text under scrutiny. Indirect witnesses embedded in other works are equally important. Microfilm or digitized images should be accessed for as many manuscripts as possible. The next task is the most onerous: the manuscripts must be compared ('collated'), and full lists made of differences between them in text and layout. Usually a transliteration of a good manuscript is printed out and used as the base, and differences from other versions marked on it. Sometimes a previous edition is used as base, not without danger of repeating its errors. Manuscripts copied directly from other surviving texts are removed from consideration as *descripti*.

The key technique of classical literary criticism isolates errors common to more than one manuscript. If a mistake occurs at the same point in two or more cases, it is unlikely to result from separate miscopyings: we may assume it was made once, then conscientiously copied into other versions. Manuscripts sharing the fault may be tabulated as a family within the population of witnesses to the text. In a long work, this process may be repeated many times and many family groupings recorded. Techniques exist to produce from these a family tree, or *stemma codicum*, a historical chart of manuscript connections. If conditions are favourable, it may also become a tool for deciding between variants. Analysis of the affiliations of manuscripts preserving a mistake shows where it entered the tradition. The same process may be extended to other cases: the tracing of pairs of variants through the stemma may prove one to be original and the other a mistake, even where this is unclear from the context. The method has a positivist precision unusual in humanistic studies. (For all this see Reynolds and Wilson 1968: 137–62; West 1973: 15–29; and exemplary Byzantine practice at Reinsch 1990.)



The invented stemma illustrated here shows five surviving manuscripts (BCDEF) and three whose existence may be assumed ($\beta\gamma\delta$), deriving from the original

archetype (α). If a variant is in family BCD and not EF, for example, or in BEFC and not D, it was probably in the original. In the first case it was a mistake of the scribe of δ , in the second of the scribe of D. Stemmas are often more problematic than this.

Two limitations have long been identified to this methodology, and their consequences discussed. In some cases (e.g. the Bible or other central religious texts), surviving manuscripts are too numerous to attempt a complete stemma. Elsewhere there has been contamination—that is, a scribe has compared (or remembered) more than one previous version when deciding on the text to write in his copy. This practice undermines the precision of the stemma, sometimes fatally. Opponents of stemmatics in editing insist, not without reason, that contamination is more common than textual critics often claim (Pasquali 1934: 111–83). The consequences of these problems will be examined later.

The techniques of textual criticism were developed for Classical Greek and Latin. Here a modern scholar, armed with dictionaries, grammars, and on-line tools, can reach back to the classical authors over the heads of the medieval scribes who wrote and often miscopied the surviving manuscripts. The scribes did not have native-speaker competence in Classical Greek or Latin. Their errors and misunderstandings may often be analysed with precision and certainty, and used to construct stemmas and reconstruct ancient works. Positivist methodology is often matched by the clarity of the evidence on which it works.

This is less likely in Byzantine studies, for several reasons. First, the language of Byzantine texts is less predictable than Ancient Greek. It often results from conflicting pressures, for example, mimesis of classical authors versus contemporary Byzantine language, making it harder to define mistakes. More significantly, in later Byzantine texts the scribe may be a contemporary of the author, sharing his linguistic situation. Sometimes scribes transcribe texts approaching the spoken language they share with the writer, and in which the editor cannot have equal competence. The extreme case is the autograph text—preserved in the hand of its composer—which has an authority no scholar can match. Such cases are not found in ancient studies outside papyrology, and in dealing with them the editor needs help from modern textual methods.

Classical textual criticism usually retains a role in the edition of Byzantine texts, but significant preliminary thought is necessary, by cultural triangulation between the work, the witnesses, and the editor. To use the stemmatic method, editors must be able to identify common errors between witnesses. Variants of equal weight which may not be judged wrong are inappropriate for stemmatic analysis, and force another approach. (For parallel arguments over editing Old French, see Bédier 1928.) In the examples which follow reference will be made to classes of text rather than specific writers, because individual texts have particular problems which impede generalized discussion of method.

The first example concerns works of Byzantine mimesis written on the model of classical authors. With few exceptions, the imitation will be less than perfect. It may be that ancient details are over-used: characteristic features from the model may be repeated more often than that model would accept. An experienced scribe might know the model (perhaps by copying it), and succeed in detecting weaknesses in mimesis. He might, in copying, 'improve' the Byzantine text to read more like its model. The positions of scribe and modern editor are here dangerously close. Editors faced with one manuscript containing original lapses in mimesis by the Byzantine author, and another where they have been corrected, might judge the latter more authentic. Scribal corrections might look better than faulty authorial mimesis. Such a judgement may lead to a false stemma and a bad edition. Editors sensitive to the danger should try to construct a stemma restricted to errors unconnected with mimesis (e.g. lacunas and interpolations).

The second category involves texts with a surviving copy in the author's own hand. Does this mean that editors need only print the autograph, ignoring other witnesses? Relevant here is a major change in the practices of textual criticism when it spread from antiquity to cover the modern world. Ancient textual criticism (with few exceptions) assumes a single original authorial version for each text: most classical stemmas show one archetype isolated at the top, often followed by centuries of lost copies before the first surviving text. However, in later manuscript cultures where authorial and near-authorial manuscripts survive, they frequently appear in several discrepant versions. Some recent editions of Shakespeare's plays include multiple chronological versions (e.g. Warren 1989). (Later, with the coming of printing, authorial texts would proliferate further, especially proof-texts corrected by the author.) Thus, while Byzantine autographs demand strong influence over editions, caution must be observed. If one autograph has been preserved, other witnesses should be examined to see if they are similarly, if less directly, privileged. In that case they may also demand a place in the edition.

The third category comprises less learned levels of Byzantine writing like popular hagiography and the 'vernacular' texts which eventually admitted elements of spoken Greek. In many saints' lives and all the vernacular literature of Byzantium, the verb 'copy' needs careful definition with reference to scribal work. These genres somehow authorized copyists to vary the text at different levels, maybe including or omitting episodes for the needs of intended readers (or hearers, if the text was read aloud). Elsewhere there may be consistent raising or lowering of linguistic levels. In many languages such genres show few exact copies, only 'redactions', with many changes (Cerquiglini 1989; Zumthor 1987). The concept 'copy' was stretched to include cases where a scribe read a passage of some length, kept it roughly in memory and then wrote it out, with many small and sometimes larger changes, in linguistic form probably resembling that of the author. It is often clear from mistakes that memory worked by ear rather than eye, mistaking one homophone

word for another. It can be claimed that such scribes represent an extension of the compositional process whenever they recopy the work for new readers (Doane 1991).

Despite countless variations from manuscript to manuscript, it is hard to convict these scribes of mistakes. Rewriting is the rule, not the exception, and the status of variants is equal. Even large-scale changes are ambiguous, either inserted by one scribal family or omitted by another. A change of linguistic level may mean raising by one group or lowering by another: neither is 'wrong'. In such cases the stemma must be based on insertions or omissions unlikely to be intentional. Where such texts are close translations or rewritings of previous work, it may be possible to argue that phrases directly reflecting the original are 'right', while variants without equivalents in the source are 'wrong'. Otherwise, standard critical methodology becomes powerless.

When choices over the wording of the edition are completed, the favoured version becomes the text, in the main part of the page, while rejected variants are placed in the *apparatus criticus* beneath it. This binary division is often unsatisfactory, if the words chosen for the text are hardly more valid than those rejected, which is reason why editors may prefer a non-standard editorial presentation. I shall say nothing of the construction of the apparatus, save advising a reading of the relevant section of a handbook (West 1973: 86–94). And is Latin still the best language for its construction?

I shall end by listing editorial methods to be considered when standard practice fails, as in some cases above. The first regards the use of electronic media rather than books, while others discuss alternative ways of organizing the edition, whatever the medium chosen. Discussion will now become less detailed. All editors must decide on the place of traditional editing in their work, but the following suggestions concern different minorities of cases where non-traditional solutions are adopted. I hope that inevitable oversimplifications will be pardoned.

Electronic media are either distributed as CDs or DVDs, or held on a central server and accessed via the Internet. The former are easy to sell and satisfactory for buyers who receive boxes for their shelves. The second, if money changes hands, demands systems of registration and passwords, but is easier to update (if required) and may use a powerful and flexible application on the server rather than relying on the user's machine and a small program on the disc. The advantage of both over the book is a vast capacity for the printed word (though CD limits are soon reached if illustrations or manuscript facsimiles are included). If, for example, the editor wishes to show ten versions of a text 100 pages long, this will cause few problems in an electronic edition, but will probably be rejected by a book-publisher. Furthermore, it is hard to print the thousand pages so as to provide a satisfactory experience for readers. Yet it is easy to sketch an electronic program to allow users, for example, to change from version to version in reading without losing their place, to compare two versions on the screen, together with translations, facsimiles,

comparative material, and notes as needed. Alternative editions made by different methodologies may be included. If sensitive IT help is available, the possibilities are limited only by imagination, funds, and stamina. It is increasingly possible for those who are half-literate in computer terms to achieve much on their own. No details will be provided on these issues, because they would be out of date before they were printed. One final warning: electronic texts, though spreading in modern literary publishing, remain less common in medieval editing (see Duggan, *Piers Plowman*; Kiernan, *Beowulf*; Robinson, *Chaucer*). They are rarer still in non-Latin scripts, which have only recently achieved functional parity (via unicode) with the Latin-script languages for which computers were first used (but see Kapsomenos 2005). Byzantine electronic editions (beyond the simple provision of text) have no ready-made audience. But potential advantages are such that their emergence is inevitable.

There also exist specialized computer programs to collate manuscripts, some of which add a provisional stemma and apparatus. In my limited experience, these programs are inventive and effective. The question is whether the extensive preliminary work demanded is worthwhile. The preparation, for example, in advance of accurate transcriptions of all manuscripts, requires much more work than a collation, and may decide the editor against the program. This calculation may change as technology improves (Greetham 1994: 359–61).

One alternative method of editing and presenting texts is the printing of two or more irreconcilable manuscripts set out on the page so that different versions may be compared. Several such editions exist for popular texts of late Byzantium (Schmitt 1904; Trapp 1971; Bakker–van Gemert 1988). Once the reader masters the format, the editions achieve their purpose, though they have been criticized for being too long, demanding expensive book formats, and leaving ugly blanks where manuscripts have no reading. Texts demanding such treatment may be good candidates for electronic edition.

Another alternative already used for Byzantine vernacular texts is the *best-text* (*Leithandschrift*) edition (Eideneier 1991). Faced with manuscripts with many different variants but providing essentially the same work, the best-text editor prints one as the most representative, choosing on grounds including age and completeness. The readings of other manuscripts, even when clearly better than those of the best, are relegated to the apparatus. Other manuscripts are only called into the text when the *Leithandschrift* is inadequate, and a corrupt passage needs replacement. Major advantages are the printing of a basically medieval text rather than a modern editorial construct and the avoidance of pointless agonizing over variants of equal weight.

Biblical texts and others with large numbers of manuscripts, or texts affected by extensive contamination, tend to be edited by ‘eclectic’ methods. The adjective is positive when used by its supporters but negative for its opponents. Eclectic editors put special stress on sensitive knowledge of all aspects of author and language,

backed up by whatever objective criteria may be found to support them, like sampling (where complete analysis is impracticable) and a partial stemma where a full picture is impossible. Editorial decisions in the special case of the Greek Bible and the status of its early versions, gradually evolving with the publication of New Testament and other contemporary papyri, have at times depended on majority voting of scholarly committees. It is unwise to add now to the number of texts edited in this way.

To turn to editorial practice on modern works, an Anglophone orthodoxy which dominated the third quarter of the twentieth century has since been undermined and fragmented from within and through French and German influence. This was the Greg–Bowers theory of copy-text (Greg 1950–1; Bowers 1964; Tanselle 1988). It used a division of textual variants into substantive and accidental categories. Substantives are real differences of wording and meaning, accidentals (spelling, punctuation, etc.) a writer might expect to be normalized by his publishing house. In contrast to editions in Greek, most serious editions of early modern works use original manuscript spelling.

The Greg–Bowers theory developed from best-text editing, but with two model texts. For substantives, the copy-text seeks final authorial intention, typically the last edition before the writer's death; for accidentals, the latest text prepared by the author, usually the draft for the first printing. After decades of dominance this system, as positivist as the stemmatic method, was undermined by its rigidity and false criteria. It was shown that last editions did not always show final intentions, while many writers expected publishers to tidy accidentals. If one deletes the printing-press, the distinction between substantives and accidentals may interest Byzantine editors. But the Greg–Bowers method is now obsolete.

Its place has been taken by post-modern confusion (Bornstein and Williams 1993). I shall only indicate some more-or-less general views which seem useful in Byzantine editing. The influence here of the *Annales* school is obvious, as is a hostility to classical methods:

1. editing should deal with real past texts, not modern constructs (Doane 1991);
2. texts should be edited not as deriving from individual intention, but as cultural constructs, often involving a team (McGann 1983);
3. editions should treat composition as a process, not one creative moment (Eggert 1991);
4. the ambitious demands of 2–3 may be achievable by electronic means (Shillingsburg 2006).

A final recommendation is that Byzantine editors, as an antidote to the classical methodologies which are still dominant, should read a good recent book on editing in the Renaissance world that followed Byzantium, where the methods of classical scholarship are only one of many tools available (Hunter 2007). Chapters on printing are interesting, though less relevant than those on manuscripts. Even

after this inoculation against hyper-classicism and Helleno-centrism, most editions of regular Byzantine texts will continue in traditional style. I hope, however, that editors will benefit from keeping a window open to the world towards which Byzantium was heading as well as to its classical past.

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LEXICOGRAPHY
AND ELECTRONIC
TEXTUAL
RESOURCES

ERICH TRAPP

HISTORY AND THE PRESENT SITUATION

BYZANTINE grammarians, lexicographers, and philologists showed little interest in the development of their own living language. The most conspicuous exception is Eustathios of Thessalonike who, in his commentaries on Homer, often quotes contemporary vernacular forms or words in order to explain Homeric vocabulary or facts. As for lexicographers, one can find valuable material in the *Souda* (especially concerning technical terminology) as well as in Pseudo-Zonaras, in the *Etymologicum Gudianum* and in some others.

Modern lexicography of medieval Greek began in the seventeenth century with Meursius and Du Cange. Although the latter took into account many then unpublished texts from Paris manuscripts, his *Glossarium* (1688) has long since become outdated, both through the flood of new editions which have appeared in the meantime and by errors of various kinds. Much assistance can still be had from the Paris edition of Stephanus' *Thesaurus graecae linguae* (1572) (Hase and others 1831–65), whose scope was widened from ancient Greek to reach the fifteenth century although it did not deal with vernacular vocabulary. Sophocles' *Lexikon*

of the *Roman and Byzantine Periods* (1870) owes a great deal to this *Thesaurus*, although Sophocles took an important step towards modernizing quotations by using Migne's *Patrologia Graeca*. A valuable supplement to these standard lexica appeared in 1888 (Koumanoudes), which, however, functions as a mere index as it hardly ever provides a translation or comment on the lemma.

When we come to the twentieth century, it was England that first made important contributions to Greek lexicography by including many Byzantine texts (up to the sixth century) in the new edition of Liddell and Scott (1925–40, Supplement 1996), and then by treating patristic Greek in particular, up to Theodore of Stoudios at the beginning of the ninth century (Lampe 1961–8). A much greater project is the Greek–Spanish Dictionary (Adrados and others 1980–) where, apart from the necessary modernizing and a quantitative improvement in the number of quotations and the inclusion of selected proper names, a major error has been avoided—pagan and Christian vocabulary of the first to sixth centuries is no longer treated separately. While the completion of this huge task will take many more decades, a very important, complete bibliographical companion appeared in 1998 (Colera and Somolinos).

However, the main task of treating actual Byzantine vocabulary still remained to be done. This time it was Greece itself that produced the excellent philologist and pioneering demoticist E. Kriaras who undertook the creation of a dictionary for vernacular literature (1969–), two-thirds of which have now been completed (see also Kazazes and Karanastases 2001). Thus it became clear that the large gap between Liddell and Scott, Lampe, and Kriaras (with regard to the quantity of texts to be worked through) had to be covered by a new intermediate lexicon (Trapp 1994– ; = *LBG*): on completion, this new dictionary should become an indispensable tool for Byzantine studies. It takes as its base Liddell and Scott and Lampe, and therefore does not record words that are attested twice or more in these works. The main emphasis is laid on texts written from the ninth to the beginning of the thirteenth centuries; vernacular texts of the twelfth to the fourteenth centuries, which are fully treated by Kriaras, have not been taken into account. The collection of material has been completed with the help of the *TLG* (see below) as well as the older printed lexica already mentioned, a fact that has made it possible to remedy many deficiencies in Liddell and Scott and above all in Lampe. Special attention has been paid to early hagiography (fourth to eighth centuries), which has been treated in a rather miserly fashion in the *Patristic Lexicon*. Additional material from (mainly Paris) manuscripts has been taken from the unpublished collection of Emmanuel Miller. In cases where a word occurs very frequently the number of references is restricted to the early periods, especially if it is well attested in the *TLG*. At the end of each lemma references are given to other dictionaries, if possible, as well as to selected specialist literature. All additions and corrections that come to the editor's attention are being collected but will not be dealt with until the project

is completed, in order not to lose time (thus following a very different process from Kriaras's lexicon).

After the idea of creating a new printed *Thesaurus linguae graecae*, following the pattern of the *Thesaurus linguae latinae* then in progress, had been dropped nearly one hundred years ago because the relevant material would be nearly eight times as great, more than sixty years passed before a computer data bank, rather than a regular lexicon, was created (*TLG*). The *TLG* was first produced in several CD-Rom versions, which gradually widened in scope until it now covers not only all ancient and most patristic authors but also all the important Byzantine historians as well as some other medieval texts. Since 2001 hundreds of further Byzantine editions have been added, but they are accessible only from the Internet (with the great disadvantage of being too expensive for ordinary academics). This data bank, of course, is even more useful, especially for Byzantinists, for finding new words, tracking down quotations and parallels from the most important authors, correcting and completing editions, etc. But we must not forget that, in its present form, the *TLG* does not eliminate the need to consult printed texts with their critical apparatus. An important supplement to this indispensable electronic tool is another CD-Rom containing Greek Documentary Texts (1991–6, containing editions of inscriptions and papyri up to c.1995). Although the major part of its material concerns antiquity, nevertheless some early and middle Byzantine inscriptions, and even some seals, are taken into account—not forgetting the very important papyri of the seventh to the beginning of the ninth century, mostly written during the period of Arab rule in Egypt. As the latter sources have been totally excluded from Liddell and Scott and its Supplement, their new and rare vocabulary has had to be included in the new *LBG*. In addition to using the CD of Documentary Texts papyrologists, and also any Greek philologist, should look up the Internet where once a year D. Hagedorn offers an updated list of words taken from new publications, thus supplementing the dictionary of Greek papyri founded by Preisigke and continued by Kiessling, Rupprecht, and others in the form of indexes (1925–2000) (see also I.2.11 Papyrology).

One might think that the creation of printed concordances which took place, in particular after the Second World War, in Europe as well as in the USA, would come to an end in the near future. However, new examples are still appearing, of which the most important is the *Thesaurus Patrum Graecorum* (1990–). This project, which takes its raw material from the *TLG*, has the following advantages: the emendation of relevant editions, the listing of rare or problematic words, exhaustive discussion of proper names, full lemmatization, and the production of word-statistics. The only doubtful aspect is the use of microfiches containing the concordances proper (replacing the printed versions). Surely the average user would prefer to go directly to the *TLG* rather than having to obtain an additional piece of mechanical equipment?

MAIN PROBLEMS

(a) Although ancient and medieval Greek scholars and grammarians showed interest in etymology, as least as regards classical vocabulary, it was not until the development of modern linguistics that the real foundations were laid. For modern Greek we have Andriotes' lexicon, whereas for Byzantine studies research is now in full progress. When considering the origins of Byzantine vocabulary we have to distinguish two main aspects: on the one hand, the evolution of ancient Greek vocabulary towards more modern forms and, on the other, the influence of neighbouring languages, whether in terms of time or locality. By far the most influential is Latin, which produces words derived from traditional Roman terminology (for law, military matters, administration), followed at a distance by Arabic, the Slavic languages, and later Italian, French, and Turkish.

(b) Another problem, which affects Byzantine much more than ancient Greek texts, is the reliability of editions. Only gradually, through the interaction of (re)editing and the lexicographical process, will we be able to eliminate the still numerous inappropriate atticizing corrections of early editors, to find solid foundations for necessary emendations, and to consolidate our knowledge of medieval orthography (especially accentuation and the development of single words from prepositional phrases). However, it would seem very unwise to accept the model followed by Kriaras from his volume 5 onwards, and use *monotoniko* accentuation. This system of accentuation is not a product of historical development but of modern practical use, and therefore hardly consistent with the activities of Byzantine copyists.

(c) Philology has a tendency to aspire to completeness; one may take as an example the *Thesaurus linguae latinae* which has taken rather more than a hundred years to cover about two-thirds of the alphabet. As for ancient Greek, the numerous gaps in Liddell and Scott can now be filled with the help of the *TLG*, as can the many deficiencies of Lampe for the patristic period. But for the Byzantine period proper, only the vernacular literature is in the process of acquiring a lexicon which deals with every important word (Kriaras). The *LBG* is in a quite different situation. The mass of texts with which it has to deal requires a different, twofold aim: to dig out a large number of new and rare words from thousands of editions, and to make as few mistakes as possible. Of course there will remain many gaps regarding semantics which will have to be filled by future generations, by reading and re-reading the texts.

(d) A very important question concerns variant readings, which arise primarily during lengthy manuscript traditions. However, it has been known for more than a hundred years that vernacular literature is especially susceptible to intentional alterations; this is a fact that has now more and more also to be taken into

account for other (mostly) atticizing texts. Thus the apparatus of certain editions, for example the chronicle by Constantine Manasses or the romance by Eustathios Makrembolites, will be used exhaustively for the *LBG*.

(e) This leads us to the problem of indices and special glossaries. During the preparation of the *LBG* it has often become clear that the indices not only of old but also of modern editions (including some volumes of the *CFHB*) omit not only interesting variants but even many rare or unique words. In comparison with classical philology, Byzantinists have not been so fortunate with special dictionaries, with very few exceptions. One is the now long-outdated lexicon to Psellos (Renauld 1920), another an exhaustive tool for studying the medieval Greek documents of Sicily and South Italy (Caracausi 1990). Although nowadays with the help of the *TLG* we will not feel the absence of good indices too deeply, works like Caracausi's will still remain the best way to penetrate deeply into the vocabulary used by an author or a group of texts.

(f) Specialist vocabulary plays a very important role in medieval Greek: law, administration, military matters, medicine (including *iatrosophia*), astronomy and astrology, names of plants, etc. As one may see from the introduction to Liddell and Scott, many specialists made contributions to the elucidation of technical terms of this kind. This needs to be done also for a lexicon of the Byzantine period, especially for the *LBG* (hitherto only botanical terms have been treated satisfactorily)—at least for necessary addenda, or for a possible new edition.

(g) For Byzantine studies it is in any case necessary to look both backwards and forwards in history to gain a true perspective. In the field of lexicology we must also take the modern period into account. Thus we can find many instances of medieval, and even late ancient, vocabulary (especially forms which appear in the non-literary papyri) which are poorly attested in literature but which survive in modern Greek and its dialects (and Pontic in particular).

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GREEK PALAEOGRAPHY

NIGEL WILSON

I

PALAEOGRAPHY owes its existence to the dishonesty of monks and theologians. It was invented when the need arose to test the authenticity of documents and manuscripts cited in ecclesiastical controversy in the latter part of the seventeenth century. The credit for this invention belongs to the French Benedictines of the Congregation of St Maur, and in particular to Jean Mabillon, whose *De Re Diplomatica* of 1681 put the study of old Latin charters and documents on a firm footing, and Bernard de Montfaucon, who in 1708 published *Palaeographia Graeca*, a work which even today can be consulted with occasional profit. The titles of the two books established the names of the two ancillary disciplines that were being created: diplomatic and palaeography; the distinction between them derives from the fact that Mabillon was primarily concerned with documents, whereas Montfaucon's main interest was the evaluation of the manuscripts used for new editions of the Greek fathers published under the aegis of his order (see Wattenbach 1896: 1–39).

No branch of inquiry is entirely novel and without precedents. We hear, for example, of ancient grammarians who proposed to explain a strange word at *Iliad* 4. 412 as the product of misreading letters that could be similar in shape, in this case *tau* and *lambda* (cited in the résumé of Helladios in Photios' *Bibliotheca*, 'codex' 279

(531 b 15–21)). Occasionally medieval scholars referred to ‘old’ or ‘very old’ copies; Demetrius Triklinios is an example, for instance, in his notes on Aischylos, *Persians* 632 and 1025 and Sophokles, *Electra* 850. But they go no further and the best scholars of the Italian Renaissance made little additional progress. Ambrogio Traversari was impressed by the age of the famous copy of Aischylos, Sophokles, and Apollonios Rhodios that is now in Florence (Laur. 32.9), and said it was six hundred years old. Cardinal Bessarion, when investigating a problem of forgery in the text of St Basil, admitted that an obviously very old manuscript could not be dated accurately because the year was not given in a colophon (Easterling 1977: 179–87; Wilson 1992a: 61).

Few scholars had the opportunity to examine a large number of manuscripts and so gain the experience that would have allowed them to establish the outlines of the subject, and even after Montfaucon’s book most were still handicapped in the same way. Progress was therefore slow. The next contribution of note was the *Commentatio Palaeographica* added by F. J. Bast to the 1811 edition of Gregory of Corinth, *De Dialectis* (Schaefer 1811: 701–861, 914–38, with seven plates; cf. Sirinian and D’Aiuto 1995: 11).

Montfaucon was superseded by a full-scale treatise when Viktor Gardthausen published his *Griechische Paläographie* in 1879; the second edition in two volumes (Leipzig, 1911–13) was substantially revised. It was not illustrated with photographs; instead there were diagrams tabulating letter forms taken from numerous papyri and dated manuscripts up to the end of the fifteenth century. Although such charts can still be helpful for the inexperienced student, they fail to convey an overall impression of a script, which is also important; if undue consideration is given to a few selected features of a given hand, the conclusions drawn can be misleading. Gardthausen’s work is now antiquated, and it is unfortunate that a plan for a comprehensive new manual did not come to fruition.

There are differences between Greek and Latin palaeography. First comes the question of chronological range. In principle, all Greek scripts from antiquity onwards should be included. In Montfaucon’s day only coins and inscriptions existed as evidence from the ancient world, but once papyri began to be discovered in large quantities the situation changed completely, and the history of scripts used from c.350 BCE onwards has been studied extensively. In practice, papyrology has become a separate discipline (see I.2.11), and Greek palaeographers usually think of their subject as beginning c.350 CE, which is the approximate date of the most celebrated examples of the calligraphic script that became standard in literary texts for a considerable length of time. On the other hand, the lower chronological limit is perhaps a little later than for Latin palaeography. It is a well-known fact that the printing of Greek texts did not begin in earnest until the end of the fifteenth century and therefore manuscript copies were still being produced, especially of rare texts, well into the second half of the sixteenth century; as a result the year 1600 is generally regarded as the end of the period.

A second difference concerns identification of styles that are characteristic of a region or of a single scriptorium. For Latin books such identifications are often possible; in the Greek-speaking world there seems to have been a greater degree of uniformity. The one region whose products can often be identified is the so-called Italo-Greek area, that is, southern Italy and Sicily. But the evidence is not always decisive, and in some cases attributions have been made with too much confidence (see Reinsch 1991: 79–97, esp. 90–1). As to individual scriptoria, it has been claimed that manuscripts produced at the Stoudios monastery in Constantinople are distinguished by having the first page of each quire marked with two or three crosses in the upper margin; but it is fairly clear that this habit was not peculiar to one monastery, and so the crosses amount to a hint rather than a proof of origin (as was realized by Leroy 1961: 48–9; cf. Wilson 1972–3: notes on plates 25 and 26).

In an important respect therefore Greek palaeography achieves less precise results than Latin. It is also fair to say that until recently many Greek manuscripts posed an additional problem: accurate dating was made difficult on the one hand by the deliberate archaism practised by some scribes, on the other by the rapid evolution of the cursive script used by certain readers, especially teachers and scholars, who had no pretensions to calligraphy. Substantial progress has now been made in the treatment of both these categories. One common form of archaizing script used c.1280–1330 can now be recognized with reasonable confidence, as is discussed below, and the development of scholarly hands is also better understood.

II

In the middle of the fourth century, when the codex form of book had largely replaced the roll, a new calligraphic script was being perfected. This script, commonly called uncial, developed gradually over a long period; for several centuries it was probably the most important, though by no means the only, script in use for literary texts. (For a copiously illustrated discussion of uncial see Cavallo 1967; a most useful album showing the other hands is Cavallo and Maehler 1987.) For an example of a conservative liturgical use of uncial, see Fig. 1.

Because the most notable early specimens of uncial are both biblical, the Codex Sinaiticus (London, BL, Add. 43725) and the Codex Vaticanus (Vat. gr. 1209), this type of hand is commonly referred to as biblical uncial or majuscule. But the adjective is misleading, since there are small fragments which prove that classical texts were also written in it (Cavallo 1967: 64–5 cites several examples from the papyri). The main features of the script in what may be called its canonical form are its almost epigraphic regularity, the contrast between thick and thin strokes,

dated a few years after the compilation of the *Digest* in 533. Accents and breathings seem to have been written by the scribes, not added later. One scribe uses a very gross form of the letter *phi*, almost as in Coptic uncial. Otherwise these scribes, who were bilingual, achieve a reasonable standard without being calligraphers of the highest order (see Wilson 1992*b*: 1–6). As with dating, so with the question of origin: it is hazardous to argue for origin in any particular region. When minor stylistic differences can be observed, there is no safe means of deciding whether they are characteristic of a single scriptorium or a whole region or a period of time. Cavallo (1967) made a valiant attempt to distinguish the products of different areas, but scepticism is legitimate (see Wilson 1971: 238–40). However, T. C. Skeat (1999: 583–625) has now argued strongly that both the Codex Sinaiticus and the Codex Vaticanus were written in the same scriptorium in Caesarea.

Other varieties of uncial existed. One that is worth mentioning is known as Alexandrian or Coptic because it appears to have been the model for the Coptic alphabet. It seems to have been popular in the fifth and sixth centuries and continued in use for some time. The angularity of biblical uncial is replaced by curved strokes, especially in *alpha*; *mu* and *phi* are often large, *epsilon* and *sigma* surprisingly narrow. It was used in literary texts, the most famous being P. Oxy. 2258 of Kallimachos, notable for its copious marginal scholia. Where this script originated and to what extent it was used outside Egypt remains uncertain. (For a list of examples and discussion see Irigoin 1959: 29–51, extended by Hemmerdinger 1964: 125–8.)

The other main variety is the sloping, pointed style, used from late antiquity until the tenth century. The slope is usually to the right, but an exception is Oxford, Bodl. Auct. T. infra II.2, commonly dated to 979. In the later specimens of this script the main features are broad strokes and prominent serifs. The result is often ugly.

In all types of uncial abbreviations tend to be rare; one finds the *nomina sacra* regularly used, but otherwise scribes restrict themselves to κ or S for *καί* and a horizontal stroke at the end of the line for *nu*.

III

Capital letter scripts are extravagant in their use of writing material, and cannot be written as quickly as cursives. Whether there was ever a serious shortage of papyrus or parchment remains unclear (for discussion of the use and supply of papyrus in late antiquity see Lewis 1974: 90–4, and on writing material more generally in the Dark Ages see Wilson forthcoming). However that may be, at some point, probably in the eighth century, scribes began to look for acceptable alternatives

to uncial, experimenting with modifications of scripts used in documents. The various styles of hand are known as minuscule. The result of one experiment is seen in Vat. gr. 2200; it requires great skill on the part of the reader to decipher it. There is evidence of other experiments, notably in the finds made at St Catherine's monastery on Sinai in 1975; see illustrations 9a–d in the provisional publication by Politis 1980: 5–17, supplemented by Nikolopoulos 1999. Another example is found in some marginalia in Wolfenbüttel, Helmst. 75a (illustrated in Cavallo and Maehler 1987: plate 44). But the solution which found general favour is a script capable of great elegance while posing few problems for the reader; although it was probably devised towards the end of the eighth century and some of the extant examples may be as old as that, the first securely dated example is from the year 835 (St Petersburg 219, a copy of the Gospels). It is not certain where this successful form of minuscule was invented; one possibility is the monastery of St John the Baptist founded by Stoudios at Constantinople (see Allen 1920: 1–12).

At first sight the script seems strange and hard to read. It becomes easier when one realizes that there are ligatures joining two or three letters together, and in these ligatures a single stroke may have a double function: it represents the last part of one letter and the first part of the next letter. Although the script of the first dated example appears elegant and mature, it should be noted that in ninth-century minuscule the accents and breathings are often omitted and word division is not respected. In the ninth century and the early years of the tenth many scribes wrote pure minuscule, that is, a script reduced to an appropriate size which does not include letters of uncial form. However, already in the ninth century some scribes began to deviate from the standard style and introduced small uncial letters. The frequency of such letters might be expected to serve as a rough guide to dating, but caution needs to be exercised; it has been suggested that books produced in the Italo-Greek area were old-fashioned by comparison with metropolitan and eastern products. (Statistics were offered by Follieri 1962: 15–36; caution was expressed by Irigoin 1966: 263.) The latest dated examples of pure minuscule appear to be Oxford Auct. D.4.1 of c.950 and Meteora 565 of 969 (see plate 24 in *MGB*, with notes). From this time onwards it became regular practice for the script to be placed below the ruled line instead of resting on it. Fig. 2 is an example of a standard tenth-century minuscule hand.

The best calligraphy of the ninth century is perhaps to be seen in the manuscripts from what is commonly called 'Allen's scriptorium', recognizable from the striking hand of the main calligrapher and the use of a rare compendium. (Most of the manuscripts were identified in Allen 1893: 48–55; the compendium is √ for the syllable *alpha-iota*.)

Those books may have been produced in the circle round Photios. A little later, at the turn of the century, several books written for the bibliophile Arethas exhibit hands of a high standard; the best is perhaps the Euclid written for him by Stephanos in 888 (Oxford, Bodl., D'Orville 301). In this and other volumes Arethas

personally added marginalia in a very neat miniature version of the uncial hand which appears to have had precedent in late antiquity. This kind of half-uncial remained in use for a while; it is found in some classical manuscripts of the middle of the tenth century, for example, Florence, Laur. 32.9 of Aischylos, Sophokles, and Apollonios Rhodios, and Ravenna 429 of Aristophanes.

In the marginalia written by Arethas one finds many compendia. Such abbreviations could also be used in the main text, but in practice most scribes used them very little except at the end of the line in order to help with justification of the right-hand margin; it is noteworthy that they so often resisted the temptation to save expensive writing material. The same abstinence had been observed by most ancient scribes before the first century BCE and by many thereafter (McNamee 1981: xi).

The origin of these compendia is not clear; some go back to antiquity, but by no means all; for instance, a list of ancient abbreviations for syllables common in inflections shows little affinity with the Byzantine system except in the sign f for *alpha-iota* (McNamee 1981: 115–17). But forms of the verb $\epsilon\iota\mu\acute{\iota}$ are represented by similar compendia.

Although Byzantine compendia are not uniform in all areas throughout the period, most scribes adhere to what could be called the normal system. Another system, in which a higher proportion of syllables are represented by tachygraphic signs, was in use for a time at Grottaferrata near Rome in the monastery founded in the tenth century by St Nilus. There are also a few manuscripts, apparently from that same monastery, which exhibit a fully-fledged shorthand. For ordinary purposes one does not need to master the second and third types; on the other hand, manuscripts dealing with technical material often exhibit special abbreviations for important terms, for example, of grammar. Further research on compendia would yield dividends: Allen 1889 is still useful, but the only systematic survey is by Cereteli 1904².

Regional styles of early (i.e. ninth- and tenth-century) minuscule have not been identified with certainty. For instance, controversy surrounds the type named after a scribe called Anastasios (scribe of Paris, BN, gr. 1470 (dated 890), and 1476 (undated)). A famous classical manuscript in this style is Paris, BN, gr. 2934 of Demosthenes. Many scholars believe that this style is Italo-Greek (see D'Agostino 1997).

Origin in the capital seems likely for another popular tenth-century style known as 'bouletée' or 'Kirchenlehrerstil' discussed in detail by Agati 1992, and the same is doubtless true of the extremely common style created in the eleventh century and known as 'Perlschrift'; see Hunger 1954. It is so named because in its best form it looks a bit like a string of beads; the plain, rounded style owes something to the 'bouletée' style; it is the basis of formal hands used long after the eleventh century. For a provisional classification of bookhands used in the eleventh and twelfth centuries see Canart and Perria 1991: 67–118.

IV

Conservatism was a feature of Byzantine literature, and it is also found in the script of certain periods. Scribes imitated a style of hand which they treated as a model, suppressing any inclination to display individual character. This is especially true of biblical, liturgical, and theological texts. The imitations were often successful, and so for us many are difficult to date. The fashion for archaism was very marked in the Palaiologan period c.1280–1330. Many surviving books from this period exhibit a stiff but not wholly unskilled imitation of the calligraphy of the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Some contain classical texts, for example, Plato in Vat. gr. 225–6, Theophrastos in Vat. gr. 1302. Recent research has put us in a better position to distinguish between originals and copies (Prato 1979: 151–93).

Three cases of extreme archaism, the Prague Plato of c.1300 (Prague, VI. Fa. 1) and fifteenth-century copies of Apollonios Rhodios and Archimedes, have received individual attention: on the Prague Plato, see most recently Irigoien 1997; on the Archimedes (Florence, Laur. 28.4), see Irigoien 2000; on Vat. Pal. gr. 186 of Apollonios Rhodios, see Irigoien 1981. In this last case the parchment gave a clue; the colour and texture suggested an Italian rather than Byzantine origin. In other cases it may be possible to argue that some dates are excluded because the book is written on a certain kind of paper. As with other palaeographical problems, here too experience is needed before one can exercise judgement with any confidence. One useful hint can be given: as a rule even the most careful archaizing scribe betrays himself eventually by some anachronism, for instance, the use of a compendium in a form unknown in earlier times, or by combining accents and breathings or accents and letters or compendia.

The later Palaiologan period saw the introduction of a new style of formal hand that came to be regarded as a possible model for a long time. It is named after the Hodegon monastery in the capital where it originated, and associated particularly with a scribe called Ioasaph, who was active from 1360 till 1406 (see Politis 1958: 26 ff. and Politis 1982; Ioasaph is no. 208 in *RGK*, vol. 1).

V

In the twelfth century one finds various styles which, though not meriting the epithet calligraphic, are not cursive or highly individual. Some are attributed to provincial areas of the Byzantine world. A prominent and easily recognized example is the so-called Reggio script, used by many Italo-Greek copyists, especially those

working in the area influenced by the important monastery of San Salvatore at Messina. *Lambda* is prominent, *epsilon* narrow, and *mu* broad. (On this style see Canart and Leroy 1977 and Foti 1989.) Less easy to recognize is the script associated with the Calabrian monastery of the Patirion at Rossano. It is similar to and presumably the ancestor of the Reggio script. Some specimens exhibit an *omega* in the last line of the page with a superfluous descender; another habit is that of writing an accent before a breathing. Neither feature is particularly common (see Lucà 1985–6). A different style evolved at the other end of the Italo-Greek area, in the heel of Italy around Otranto; the most characteristic examples are from the thirteenth century (see Jacob 1977).

Rather more controversial is the attribution of another style, although it might be better to speak of two styles, to Palestine and/or Cyprus. One of these has been called the *epsilon* style, the other is known either as 2400 or Karahissar, in allusion to two manuscripts, one now in Chicago and given that number in the list of New Testament manuscripts, the other now in St Petersburg (gr. 105) but bought at Karahissar near Trabzon. Books in this second style are numerous; more than eighty have already been listed. The most recent study of the problem argues for the view that these types of script were developed at the same time in the capital and Palestine (Gamillscheg 1987).

VI

Scribes who copy texts for personal use are often less concerned to achieve a calligraphic appearance. Individual habits are not suppressed, and the identification of these scribes is relatively easy. Many of these scribes may have been teachers; they often copied classical texts. Even as early as the tenth century there are occasional signs of a move towards more personal or cursive hands, but it is just after the middle of the eleventh century that one finds a marked individuality of script with cursive elements, in particular strokes of exaggerated length in *alpha*, the compendia for *ov* and *ovv*, and in the accents. An Isokrates dated 1063 (Vat. gr. 65) is a fine example. The development of such hands is not easy to trace, because few are dated by a colophon. However, some official documents, which bear a date and are originals rather than copies, have some similar cursive features and help to build up a picture. One can correct the dates formerly assigned to most manuscripts in cursive style; the cursive elements were believed to point to a later date, say in the thirteenth or fourteenth centuries. The most striking example is the scribe Ioannikios. He was very productive; his protean hand can be identified in nearly twenty manuscripts, almost all of them classical texts and most of them important

in their respective traditions. He used to be dated confidently c.1320, but he must be relocated in the twelfth century, since several of his books have marginalia by the Pisan translator Burgundio, who died in 1193; the most recent work on the Latin versions of Aristotle prepared from the copies made by Ioannikios suggests that he was active as early as c.1135–40. His hand, though important, is something of an extreme case; more typical is the script of his contemporary Eustathios, which might be described as scholarly without being untidy. (For the tenth-century precursors of cursive or scholarly hands see Menchelli 1996; on the development in the eleventh and twelfth centuries see Wilson 1977; for Ioannikios see Wilson 1983, 1986, and 1991, and also Vuillemin-Diem and Rashed 1997: 178.)

In the early Palaiologan period the numerous scholars' hands are in marked contrast to archaizing script. There is a wide range; one common type c.1280–1310 is the picturesquely named 'Fettaugenmode', a variant of which can be called the 'beta-gamma hand' because of the prominence of those two letters. This last style is not normally seen later than 1300, though there is an example from 1312–13 in Paris, BN, Suppl. gr. 462 (RGK II, plate 150). 'Fettaugenmode' was a term coined by H. Hunger (1977: 283–90); the term 'beta-gamma hand' is due to N. G. Wilson (1977: 263–7). The hand of the later patriarch Gregory of Cyprus (d. 1291) shows some affinity with this script. But some scholars managed to write very neatly, witness the case of Demetrios Triklinios, whose hand may have served as a model for the pupils of his school.

For the period c.1350–1600 a great variety of individual styles is observable, and a high percentage of the extant manuscripts can be identified as the work of known scribes (even if some remain anonymous). Suggestions for a classification of types can be found in Harlfinger 1977.

When the time came for printers to design typefaces, it would ideally have been desirable to take account of the history of Greek script in the ancient world and the Middle Ages. In one celebrated case that procedure was adopted, the result being the capital letters in epigraphic style used by Janus Lascaris for his Florentine editions of 1494–6. But in general printers preferred a simpler solution, choosing as a model the script of a contemporary copyist who had a good reputation as a calligrapher. Certainly this is the explanation which accounts best for the designs adopted by the most influential publisher of Greek texts, Aldus Manutius (see Barker 1992).

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Further Reading

A brief and very basic introduction is given by H. Hunger in H.-G. Nesselrath (ed.), *Einleitung in die griechische Philologie* (Stuttgart–Leipzig, 1997), 26–44. It includes some illustrations and bibliographical guidance. Despite its brevity it is more useful than the books by B. A. van Groningen and E. Mioni. E. Maunde Thompson's *An Introduction to Greek and Latin Palaeography* (Oxford 1912; repr. 2000) provides useful transcriptions for the novice. A reasonably complete bibliography up to c.1966 was given by M. Wittek, *Album de paléographie grecque* (Gand, 1967), 11–15. A more recent bibliography is P. Canart, *Paleografia e codicologia greca: una rassegna bibliografica* (Littera Antiqua 7; Vatican City, 1991).

Invaluable are the specimens of named and dated hands in *RGK*, which now covers libraries in France, Britain, and the Vatican. Many important contributions to the subject have appeared in the well-illustrated proceedings of congresses on Greek palaeography held from 1974 onwards: *La paléographie grecque et byzantine* (Paris, 1977); *Paleografia e codicologia greca* (Alessandria, 1991); *Scritture, libri e testi nelle aree provinciali di Bisanzio* (Spoleto, 1991); *I manoscritti greci tra riflessione e dibattito* (Florence, 2000).

PAPYROLOGY

TODD HICKEY

In its narrowest sense papyrology refers to the decipherment and interpretation of texts written or incised upon various media: papyrus, of course, but also treated animal skins (e.g. parchment), linen, wood, and pottery (*ostraka*), among others. The preservation of these texts also falls within the brief of many papyrologists. Although papyrology has traditionally been regarded as a subsidiary or auxiliary discipline, a sort of *Hilfsmittel* for Classical Studies and other fields, many editors of texts are also interested in synthesis, in exploiting the often unmatched opportunities that the papyri provide for the historian. The value of papyrological material for the study of 'mainstream' issues has also been increasingly recognized by those outside the (sub)discipline; Beaucamp 1992 is simply one (excellent) example.

Most of the texts with which the papyrologist is concerned are of Egyptian origin; that land's dry environment is especially suitable for the preservation of ancient organic material, though the rise of the water table (as a result of the construction of the Aswan High Dam) and the expansion of agriculture have now made it less so. The desert fringe of the Nile Valley has been particularly fruitful, while the damp Delta and other areas under cultivation, as well as current settlements (most grievously, Alexandria), do not possess conditions conducive for preservation. Papyri may frequently be found in abandoned buildings (e.g. Bell 1944: 22) or in rubbish mounds (perhaps most famously, Grenfell 1896–7); in earlier periods they often were recycled, in a kind of papyrus-mâché (cartonnage), to create mummy masks, pectorals, and footcases (cf. Petrie 1891: 34). Carbonization (through exposure to fire) makes papyrus resistant to moisture but extremely difficult to read without the aid of special (e.g. multi-spectral) imaging techniques (cf. Booras and Seely 1999; www.papyrology.ox.ac.uk/POxy/multi/index.html). It surely aided the survival of

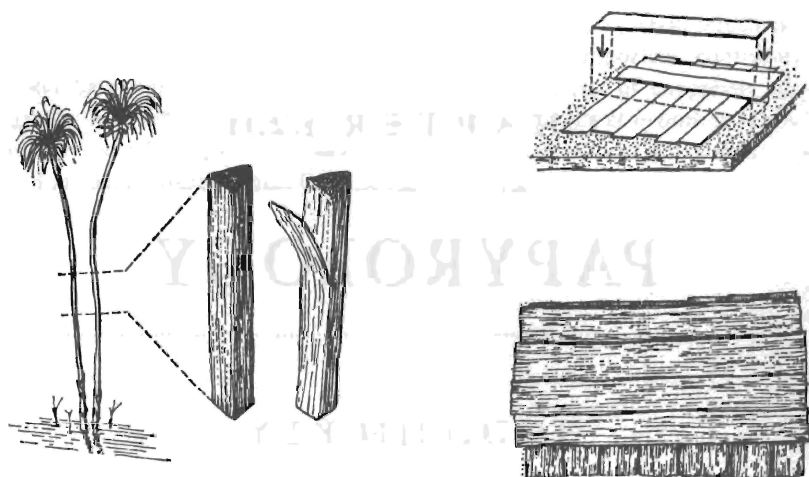


Fig. 1 The manufacture of a sheet of papyrus

the papyri recovered during the excavations of the church at Petra (cf. Frösén and others 2002), but non-carbonized pieces have also been preserved outside Egypt, not only at arid sites like Khirbet Mird (e.g. van Haelst 1991) and Nes-sana (e.g. Kraemer 1958), but also in the archiepiscopal chancery of Ravenna (e.g. Tjäder 1954–82) and in the library of the Graf von Schönborn in Pommersfelden, where they were discovered in the binding of a medieval codex (Sirks and others 1996).

When referring to the source of most texts, that is, to Egypt, Byzantine papyrology may be considered as having the reign of Diocletian as its *terminus a quo*, but there are good arguments for more precise periodization, for distinguishing a late antique period (up to c.450) from the Byzantine epoch (c.450 to the Islamic Conquest; cf. Giardina 1989; Bagnall 2003). The principal languages of the papyri of these centuries are Greek, Latin (generally in military and legal contexts), and Coptic; among the other attested languages are Pahlavi (from the Sassanian occupation of Egypt; cf. Weber 1992, 2002), Syriac (Brashear 1998 with Brock 1999), Gothic (with Latin; cf. Kuhlmann 1994: 196–207), and Armenian (more precisely, the Armenian script; see J. Clackson 2000). Texts not in Greek and Latin have traditionally been considered the province of Egyptologists, Iranologists, Semiticists, and so forth, but there have been calls for more holistic approaches during the last twenty years (e.g. Hobson 1988; MacCoull 1992). Many Byzantine papyrologists now have command of Coptic in addition to Latin and Greek, while Coptologists are increasingly including relevant Greek papyri in their publications (e.g. S. Clackson 2000).

Papyri are broadly classified as literary or documentary; often a third category, subliterate, covering texts like amulets and horoscopes, is employed (for such texts, see e.g. Jones 1999; Papaconstantinou 1994; Preisendanz and Henrichs 1974).

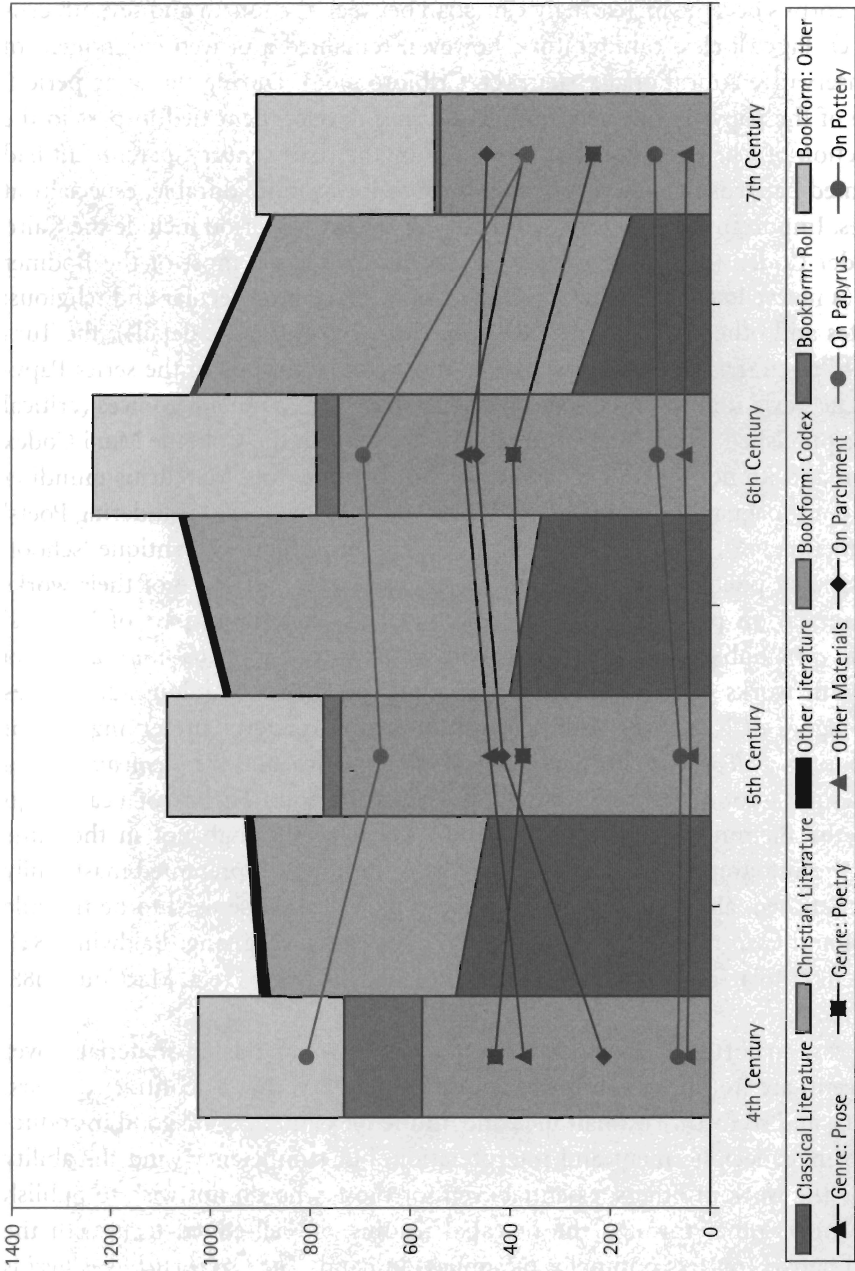


Fig. 2 Quantifying and qualifying literary texts, 301–700 CE

(data source: Leuven Database of Ancient Books)

Literary papyri comprise both texts of known authors (whether also preserved in the medieval manuscript tradition or not) and *adespota* (unattributable pieces); Turner 1980 remains the best introduction to their study. Not surprisingly, the literary corpus became increasingly Christian between the fourth and seventh centuries (cf. Fig. 2); classical literature, however, remained a proven component of the conservative educational system (cf. Criboire 1996). During the same period, the use of the papyrus roll also diminished, in a development tied in part to the predilection of Christians for the codex; and by the sixth century, parchment had supplanted papyrus in codices, possibly because it was more durable, especially at its edges. Important literary texts dating to the Byzantine period include the Cairo Menander Codex (Austin 1973: nos. 136, 139, 174, 185, 197); most of the Bodmer Papyri (a marvellous library of Greek and Coptic texts, both secular and religious; see Oates and others 2005, under 'P.Bodmer', for bibliographic details); the Tura papyri (Origen, Didymus Caecus; for the most part published in the series *Papyrologische Texte und Abhandlungen*); the Gnostic Nag Hammadi codices (critical editions published in the Nag Hammadi Studies series); the Cologne Mani Codex (Koenen and Römer 1988); and the Strasbourg cosmogony ('Mercurius mundi et Hermupolis magna conditor'; Gigli Picardi 1990). Many of the 'Wandering Poets' (so Cameron 1965; also see Cameron 2007), the important late antique 'school' of classicizing poets, were of (Upper) Egyptian origin, and some of their works are preserved on papyrus. There is a Berlin codex containing part of Nonnos' *Dionysiaca* (Schubart and von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff 1907: 94–106); a Vienna codex with works of the colourful Pamprepus of Panopolis (alongside epistles of St Gregory of Nazianzos; Livrea 1979); the Oxford papyrus preserving part of Triphiodorus' *Fall of Troy* (Browne and others 1972: 9–10); and the *Blemyomachia*, a Homeresque account, perhaps written by Olympiodoros of Thebes, of a campaign against the Blemmyes (Livrea 1978; Steinrück 1999). Although not in the same league, the autograph poems of Dioskoros of Aphrodite, (re)presented masterfully in Fournet 1999, also merit mention; harsh criticism of these used to be the rule (cf. Bell and Crum 1925: 177; Cameron 1965: 509; more forgiving: Baldwin 1984), but recent scholarship has sought to contextualize the poems (e.g. MacCoull 1988; Kuehn 1995).

The vast majority of Egyptian texts on papyrus and related materials, over 90 per cent, are not literary, however, but documentary, that is, contracts, letters, accounts, and so forth. Pestman 1994 and Youtie 1963 and 1974 are good introductions to their decipherment and interpretation, but competency (and the ability to judge the work of others, essential even for those who do not wish to publish papyri) only comes through the repeated reading of well-edited texts with the original papyri (or, less optimally, facsimiles) in hand. *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri* is a reliable series that continues to publish Byzantine material with some frequency, and images of these papyri are readily available through the Oxyrhynchus Online website (<http://www.papyrology.ox.ac.uk/POxy>).

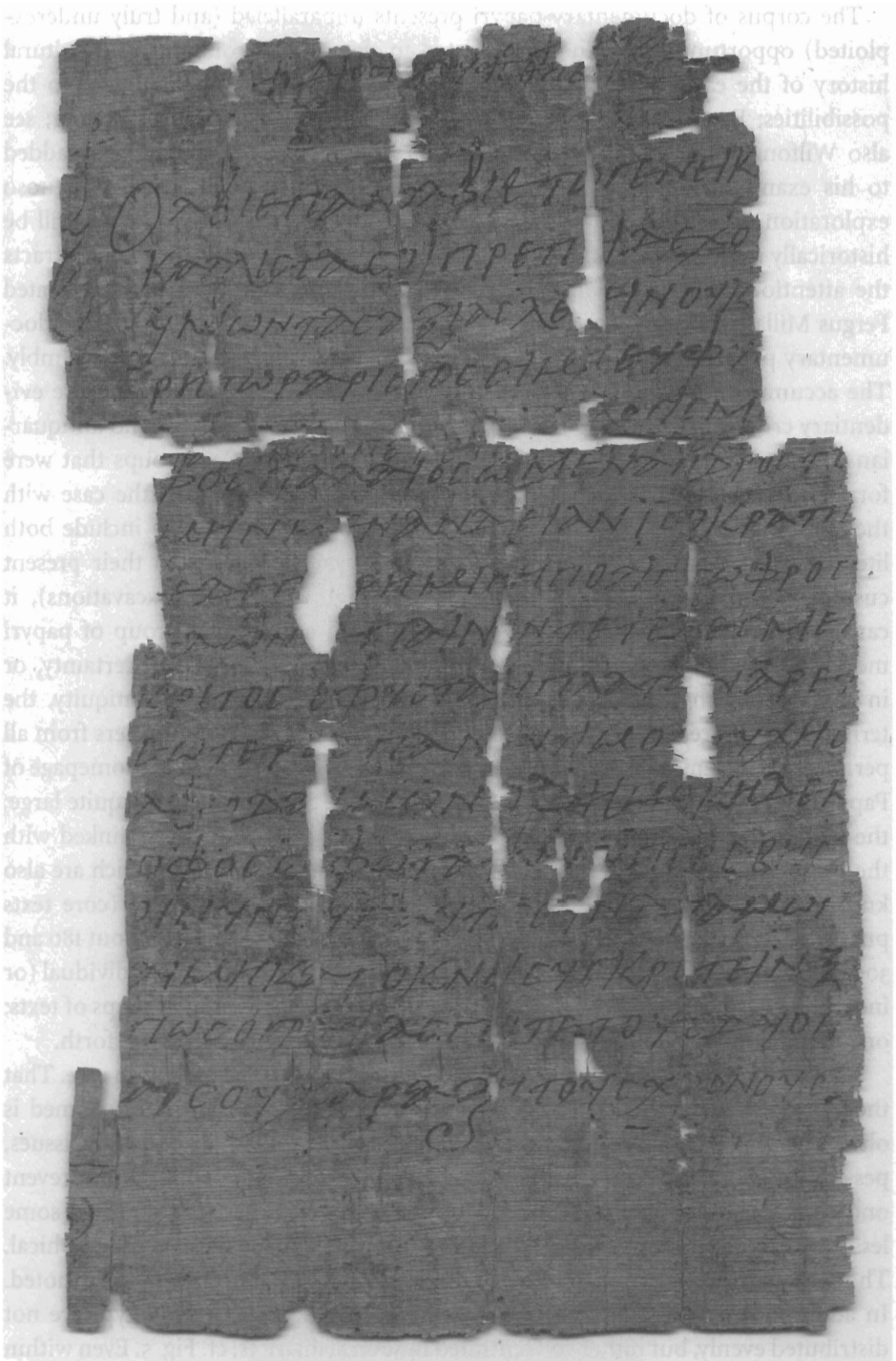


Fig. 3 Dioskoros of Aphrodite, iambic encomium on Romanos (P. Rein. II 82; joins with P. Lond. Lit. 98)

The corpus of documentary papyri presents unparalleled (and truly underexploited) opportunities for those interested in the social, economic, and cultural history of the early Byzantine world. Bagnall 1995 is a nice introduction to the possibilities; Banaji 2002 (economy and society) and Wilfong 2002 (gender; see also Wilfong 2007) are just two of the more recent works that might be added to his examples, while Keenan 1992 deserves a second mention as a virtuoso exploration of a documentary text. Occasionally a documentary papyrus will be historically important in its own right, sometimes even to an extent that it attracts the attention of non-specialists (e.g. Feissel and Worp 1986, which inaugurated Fergus Millar's Sather Classical Lectures; see now Millar 2006), but typically documentary papyri have their greatest value when contextualized through assembly. The accumulation of interrelated data in such groupings often provides the evidentiary critical mass required to formulate questions that move beyond antiquarian concerns to matters of broader historical significance. Text groups that were formed deliberately in antiquity are referred to as archives. As is the case with the archive of the poet Dioskoros, they may be bilingual and may include both literary and documentary texts. Since many papyri have come to their present custodians via the antiquities market (or through unscientific excavations), it can be difficult (if not impossible) to determine if a particular group of papyri meets the 'deliberate assembly' criterion. When faced with such uncertainty, or in cases in which related texts clearly were not kept together in antiquity, the term dossier is preferable (cf. Martin 1994). Papyrus archives and dossiers from all periods are conveniently presented (with bibliography) on the Leuven Homepage of Papyrus Archives (<http://trismegistos.org/arch.php>). Some of them are quite large; the papers of Dioskoros, for example, number over 600, while those linked with the Flavii Apiones (an extremely important family, the members of which are also known from literary sources; cf. Mazza 2001) and Aurelius Isidorus (core texts published in Boak and Youtie 1960, Bagnall and Lewis 1979) comprise about 180 and 300 pieces, respectively. Former ownership or connection to a certain individual (or individuals) is not, of course, the only fruitful basis for (re)creating groups of texts; one might employ (alone or in combination) genre, provenance, and so forth.

Like any body of evidence, the documentary papyri must be used with care. That they do not provide the coverage to which a modern historian is accustomed is obvious and need not be dwelt upon; it suffices to note that for a good many issues, pessimism about the corpus is unwarranted (and in any case should not prevent one from constructing models and testing the evidence). There are, however, some less apparent limitations that should be recognized. One of these is geographical. The lack of material from the Delta (and Alexandria) has already been noted. In addition, the texts that have survived from Middle and Upper Egypt are not distributed evenly, but rather concentrated in several districts, cf. Fig. 5. Even within the represented districts, the distribution is not optimal; this is most strikingly illustrated in the Antaiopolite, which hardly would have registered in Fig. 5 had

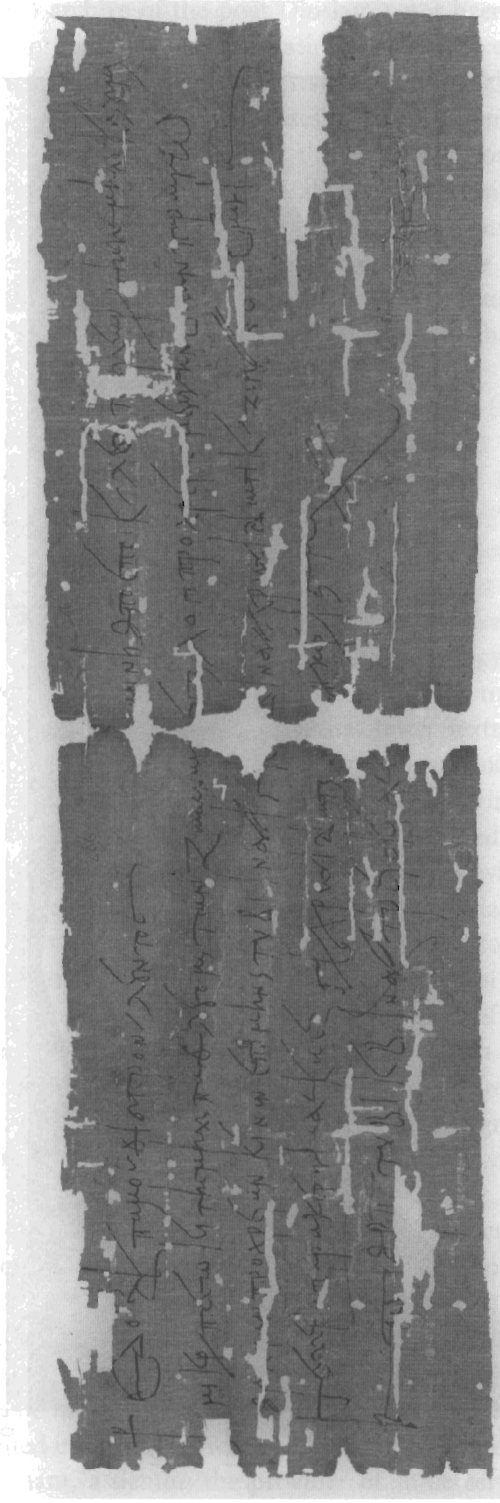


Fig. 4 A receipt for a wage advance from the Apion dossier (P. Oxy. descr. 19)

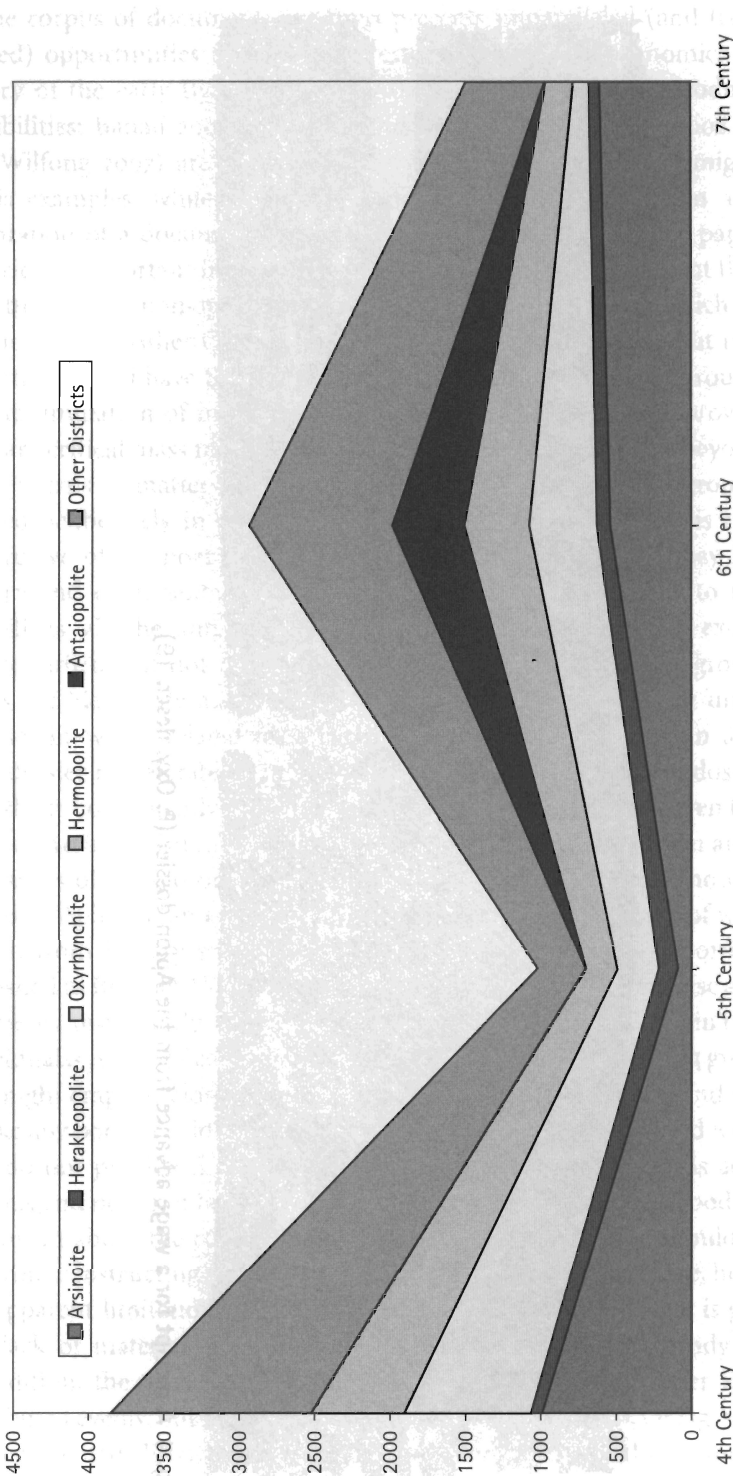


Fig. 5 The provenances of Greek and Latin documentary papyri

(data source: Heidelberger Gesamtverzeichnis der griechischen Papyrusurkunden Ägyptens)

the (sixth-century) archive of the poet Dioskoros not been discovered within its borders. For the most part, the documentation from these well-represented districts is urban, deriving from the *metropoleis* (Arsinoe, Oxyrhynchus, Hermopolis, etc.); rich village finds, like those that we possess for the *komai* of the Ptolemaic and Roman Fayyum, are lacking. Aphrodite, the home of Dioskoros, might be cited as an exception, but it is a poor representative: It had been a nome capital as late as the Roman period, and its administrative centrality would increase again after the Muslim Conquest. The texts from the Byzantine *kome* Aphrodites, moreover, predominantly concern the affairs of village elites like Dioskoros, his father Apollos, and the son-in-law of Apollos' sister, Phoibammon (for the villages of Byzantine Egypt, cf. Keenan 2007).

Fig. 5 also depicts the chronological distribution of the (Greek and Latin) documentary corpus: a wealth of texts in the fourth century (though only about a third of the second-century total and lower than any of the three Roman centuries), a precipitous decline in the fifth, a healthy recovery in the sixth, and then a significant decline again in the seventh. If Fig. 5 included only Byzantine texts (i.e. material from before the Islamic Conquest), this last drop would be much more dramatic; there are, for example, only about 70 Greek texts dating to the critical period between the Sassanian withdrawal from Egypt (629) and the final capitulation to Muslim forces (642). The fifth century has traditionally been called a dark age, and there can be little doubt that fewer texts are extant from that period; this is unfortunate given the important transformations (e.g. the rise of the bureaucratic elite, cf. Banaji 2002) that occurred during the period. Yet the decline in the fifth century is surely not as steep as suggested in Fig. 5; it is, to some extent, the construction of those editing the texts. Editors, when selecting papyri to publish, often choose pieces that somehow relate to material that has already been edited, and the odds are that such material dates to the fourth or sixth century. More critically, editors are cognizant of the chronological trends, and on those occasions when one is required to date a text on the basis of its handwriting alone, there is a tendency to gravitate to those periods in which texts are plentiful. Of course, these periods also provide greater numbers of securely dated comparanda. (The seventh-century decline is more difficult to assess, given that some editors have preferred the Byzantine period over the Muslim era when assigning dates to handwriting.)

Most treacherous, however, is the perception (probably enhanced by the immediacy of the texts) that papyri give access to the 'masses' or to 'ordinary people'. While their social compass is indeed greater than that of the literary sources, it is still rather narrow. Documentary texts are the product of those who were educated enough to write or wealthy enough to afford scribes, typically the possessors of landed property, be they people or institutions. Less affluent members of society are only represented in the papyri when they become an interest of the propertied: for example, a tenant, a debtor, the provider of some service, a taxpayer. Even

then, such relationships are not always recorded: the extremes of permanence—e.g. customary arrangements—and transience—e.g. casual labour—tend to remain unwritten. The impact of such silence on the investigation of certain topics (e.g. the rural economy) is obvious but not insurmountable; methods and data from fields like anthropology can serve as heuristic devices (cf. Keenan 1989).

ADDITIONAL RESOURCES

The Leuven Homepage of Papyrus Collections (<http://www.trismegistos.org/coll.php>) provides a wealth of information concerning the world's papyrus collections, as well as links to collection websites, many of which include images of papyri. The APIS (Advanced Papyrological Information System) Project union catalogue (<http://www.columbia.edu/cu/lweb/projects/digital/apis>) is another excellent source of images. Published papyri (and papyrological corpora, instrumenta, etc.) should be cited in accordance with Oates and others 2005, which is also a useful tool for decoding papyrological sigla. The *Bibliographie Papyrologique*, a FileMaker database (with annual updates) available for purchase from the Fondation Égyptologique Reine Élisabeth in Brussels, is an essential research tool. The standard catalogues of literary texts are Pack 1965 (Greek and Latin classical texts; cf. the website for the Centre de Documentation de Papyrologie Littéraire, <http://www.ulg.ac.be/facphl/services/cedopal>) and van Haelst 1976 (Jewish and Christian texts; being updated by Cornelia Römer, <http://www.ucl.ac.uk/GrandLat/research/christianpapyri.htm>); the Leuven Database of Ancient Books (<http://ldab.arts.kuleuven.be>) covers much the same ground, references both, and is more convenient. The LDAB (as well as Pack) includes legislation (*Codex Theodosianus*, *Corpus Iuris Civilis*, etc.), while Amelotti and Zingale 1985 collects references to Justinian's laws in the papyri (and inscriptions). For Coptic literary texts, see the Corpus dei Manoscritti Copti Letterari (<http://cmcl.let.uniroma1.it>).

The corpus of documentary papyri may be searched via the Duke Databank of Documentary Papyri, currently hosted by the Perseus Project (http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/cache/perscoll_DDBDP.html), with mirrors at Chicago and Berlin. More recent editions are not available in searchable form, so one should also consult the *Wörterlisten* prepared by the Seminar für Papyrologie at the Universität Heidelberg (<http://www.papy.uni-hd.de/WL/WL.html>). Corrections to published documentary texts are collected in Preisigke and others 1922–; Clarysse and others 1989 is a concordance of its first seven volumes. Since Greek documentary texts are inadequately served by the standard lexica (LSJ, Lampe, etc.), one must consult

specialized dictionaries, of which Preisigke, Kiessling, Rupprecht, and others 1925– is the most important. Crum 1939 is the essential Coptic lexicon, while Förster 2002 is a useful compilation of Greek words found in Coptic documentary texts. Richter 2002 is an excellent reference for the vocabulary and grammar of Coptic legal texts. For the grammar of Greek documentary papyri, see Gignac 1976–81 and Mandilaras 1973. Turner and Parsons 1987 is a standard reference for the palaeography of Greek literary texts, while Seider 1967–90 may be consulted for documentary texts; Cavallo and others 1998 is an excellent source for comparanda of both varieties. A good handbook of Coptic palaeography is a desideratum. The chronological systems (consular and regnal dates, indictions, etc.) employed in documentary texts are thoroughly illuminated in Bagnall and Worp 2004. The indices in Kenyon and others 1893–1917 are a helpful starting point for abbreviations and symbols.

Bagnall 1993 is an excellent synthesis of Egyptian history from Diocletian until the fifth century. For the period up to the Islamic Conquest, see the essays in Bagnall 2007, as well as the relevant parts of Wickham 2005. Keenan 2000 is a chapter-length study (ending in the year 600) that may be recommended; Kaegi 1998 and Wilfong 1998 are also helpful. Older works like Hardy 1931, Johnson and West 1949, and Rouillard 1928 and 1953 still have value but must be used with caution. Keenan 1993 is a nice *point de départ* for the historiography of Byzantine Egypt.

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DOCUMENTS

IMPERIAL CHRYSOBULLS

ANDREAS E. MÜLLER

In comparison with western Europe during the Middle Ages, the original tradition of imperial writings began late in Byzantium and continued to be relatively restricted in volume down to the end of the Empire. Whereas the Western medievalist has almost 900 original imperial documents for the reign of Emperor Frederick II alone, the Byzantinist has for the whole period of the Byzantine Empire (330–1453) only about 250 imperial documents in the original, the earliest of which date from the mid-eleventh century (apart from the aberrant so-called ‘imperial letter of St Denis’, from the ninth century). Down to the mid-thirteenth century no more than about 30 imperial documents have survived in the original; it is only then that the tradition gradually starts to become more abundant. This critical situation in regard to the tradition is not fundamentally altered if one considers manuscript copies alongside original documents: even then the total of preserved imperial writings for the Byzantine Empire falls short of the number of originals surviving for Frederick II. This situation has serious consequences for our knowledge of the nature and development of the Byzantine imperial document; it means that many areas, such as the question how and when the imperial charter of privileges came into existence, have to remain obscure for lack of material.

In general terms one can say of the Byzantine imperial document that the originals known to us from the period 1052 to 1451 fall into three main groups (if we disregard the foreign correspondence and statutes (on which see e.g. III.14 Justice: Legal literature): (1) the ‘great charter of privileges’, known from the time of Alexios

I Komnenos to the end of the Empire as *chrysoboullos logos* (about 150 originals are preserved); (2) the ‘small charter of privileges’, known as *sigillion* or *chrysoboulon sigillion* (altogether no more than a dozen originals survive from the period between 1092 and 1342); and (3) the *prostagma* or *horismos*, a type of administrative document (of which about 60 examples are extant, dating from the beginning of the thirteenth century to 1445).

The first two of these types, as their names imply, had a golden seal which hung down from the lower margin of the document on a ribbon of purple silk; in most cases this is now missing. The great imperial charter of privileges, in the form encountered from the middle of the eleventh century to the beginning of the twelfth, is, more than any other type of document, a dignified expression of imperial majesty, in accordance with the ideology of the Byzantine ruler and the representational needs of that ideology. Such a charter is composed of many separate leaves glued together, often reaching a very considerable length (up to 7 metres). At the head of the document stands the *invocatio* of the Trinity and the *intitulatio* of the issuing emperor, written in a lattice-work of tall letters. This is followed by the introductory promulgation, written in Greek but using a mixture of Greek and Latin characters; this is directed to the whole world (+ *pasin hois to paron epideiknytai sigillion*; see Kresten 1971). Next comes the main part of the document, the text written in a minuscule script pervaded by letter forms which were apparently reserved for the imperial chancellery. Within the text itself the scribe left spaces for certain words to be added (usually *logos*); these were filled in later by the validating official (*epi tou kanikleiou*), in the red ink used only by the imperial chancellery. This official likewise filled in dating elements which the scribe had omitted in the last lines of the text (month, indiction, and parts of the universal year; cf. I.2.2 Chronology and dating), and also wrote the Latin word *legimus* in ornate strokes beneath the text, thus vouching for its factual accuracy. The great charter of privileges, having been prepared in this way, was brought to the emperor for his subscription. He added this in person by writing his name in red ink. From 1079 to the end of the Empire this occurs in the unvarying formula N. N. *en Christo to Theo pistos basileus kai autokrator Romaion (o Doukas, Angelos, etc.)*. Finally, the charter was sealed by placing a golden seal in a fold (*plica*) on the bottom margin, and was handed, rolled up, to the recipient.

On the reverse of the document we quite often find various sorts of annotation. One type is the so-called ‘fixing mark’ where an official has written something across the places where the individual sheets are glued together (this could be a continuous text, or a simple wavy line), so as to prevent later manipulation through an insertion or rearrangement of leaves. In many cases the fixing marks are at the same time ‘arrangement marks’ by which the official in question documents that he arranged the issue of the present charter (*dia tou N. N.*; on this see Karayannopoulos 1998). In other cases these arrangement marks may be placed on the front of the document too, below the imperial signature. Also on the reverse of the documents one may find the so-called ‘registration mark’, in other words, notes made by

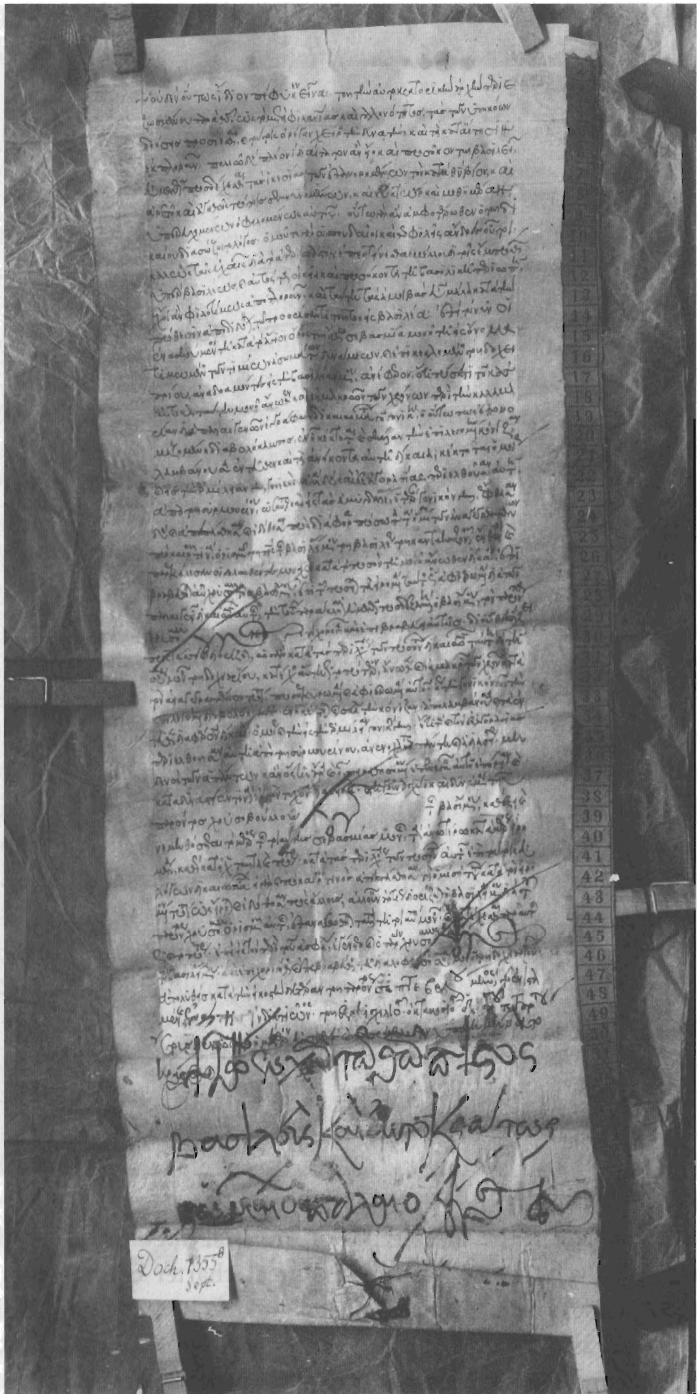


Fig. 1 Chrysobull, 22 Sept. 1355, issued by John V Palaiologos for the Docheiariou Monastery, Mt Athos (Dölger 1965: no. 3048)

officials of those departments of the imperial administration through which a document had to pass in order to be entered in the registers (*katestrothe eis to sekreton* ...).

Even towards the end of the twelfth century one can see a definite simplification in the external form of the great charter of privileges; this had probably occurred no later than the middle of that century. There is little left of the careful script and the reserved letter forms; the script used in the text is assimilated to contemporary bookhand, perhaps even everyday script; the verbal invocation, intitulation, and introductory promulgation begin to be lost, and towards the end of the twelfth century the *legimus* as well. Other features remained to the last: the words in red ink (see Müller 1995) and the golden seal. In the fourteenth century parchment replaced oriental paper as the preferred writing material, a change which led to a reduction in the former length of the document (see in general Oikonomides 1985).

The 'small charter of privileges', of which there are comparatively few surviving examples, does without the verbal invocation, the intitulation, and the introductory promulgation, but has the words in red (here called *sigillion*), the *legimus* (until the end of the twelfth century), and the golden seal. The autograph subscription of the emperor is in this case not the signature of his name but the appending of the so-called *menologema*, that is, the date according to month and indiction (*meni N., indiktionos N.*), in red ink (see Kresten 1994). Notes can be added to this type of charter in the same way as to the great charter of privileges.

As for the third main type of Byzantine imperial document, the *prostagma* or *horismos*, the oldest surviving original is as late as the year 1214. In accordance with their character as administrative orders, these documents are mostly short. The writing material is always paper, at first oriental, later of western origin. The script is usually the everyday script of the period, sometimes extremely sketchy and cursive. The *prostagma* is usually square in shape, and has as its subscription the autograph *menologema* of the emperor in red ink; until the end of the fourteenth century this is generally its only indication of date. As is shown by the surviving originals, the *prostagma*, unlike the charter of privileges, was folded before being dispatched. At least in the thirteenth century it bore a wax seal, impressed with the emperor's signet-ring (the *sphendone*), which probably held together two meeting edges of the folded paper. The *prostagma* could also bear the same chancery marks mentioned above.

In their internal form, the three types of imperial document described above differed considerably from each other. The great charter of privileges begins as a rule with a proem in rhetorical style, which adapts some common theme (the emperor as helper, as promoter of all goodness, etc.; see Hunger 1964), and then leads on to the *narratio* of the particular case; this mostly concerns the surrender or confirmation of property, immunities, remission of or exemption from taxes, and similar topics. The *narratio* is followed by the *dispositio*, which usually repeats word for word the factual sections of the *narratio*. The text of the documents is very

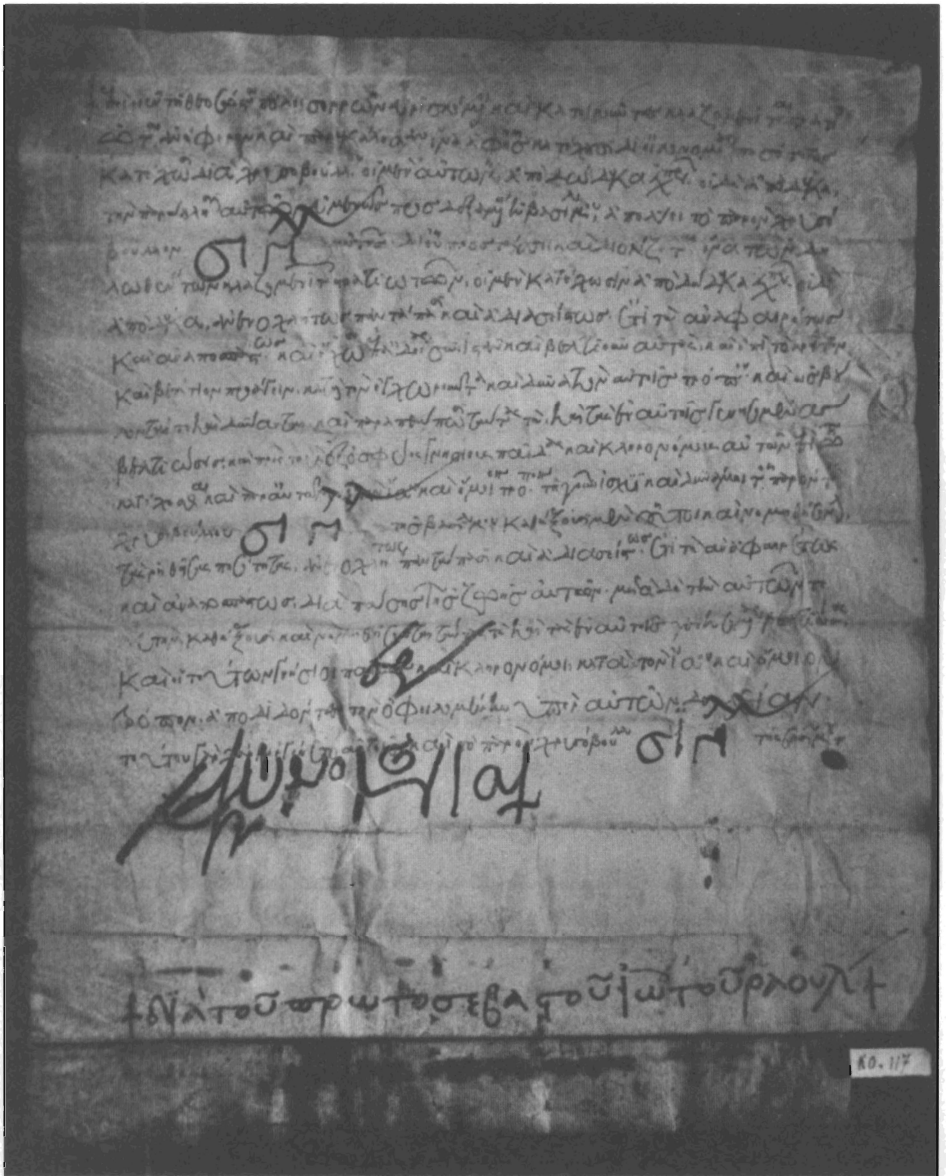


Fig. 2 Chrysobullon sigillion, Nov. 1342, issued by John V Palaiologos to the soldiers of Klazomenai (Dölger 1965: no. 2883)

formulaic. The emperor regularly speaks of himself in the third person (*he basileia mou/hemon* and the like); and the text ends, in a form which hardly varies at all from the eleventh to the fifteenth century, with a statement about the handing over of the charter, the date, and what is known as the *kratos*-formula, containing an announcement of the emperor’s autograph subscription written below (see Dölger 1962).



Fig. 3 *Prostagma*, Jan. 1344, to the protos of Mt Athos, issued by John V Palaiologos (Dölger 1965: no. 2893)

Simpler in this respect, as in its external form, is the small charter of privileges. It lacks the solemn proem and the *kratos*-formula, and its text is more similar to that of the sober administrative order (*prostagma* or *horismos*). This last type, when directed to an individual, begins by addressing the recipient, and then sets out the emperor's instructions in simple language. The end of the document often contains the assurance that the order has been made *di' asphaleian* of the recipient, or else instructions to the responsible official to take note of the *prostagma di' asphaleian* and thereafter hand it to the person concerned, or to notify him of the order.

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DOCUMENTS

ATHOS

ROSEMARY MORRIS

THE modern history of the monastic archives of Mt Athos begins with the photographic missions of the French Byzantinist Gabriel Millet in the years immediately following the First World War. Aided by the Photographic Section of the French Army then stationed in Thessalonike, and supported by the French School at Athens, Millet brought back photographic plates and copies of documents from the monasteries of the Lavra, Koutloumousiou, Pantokrator, Rossikon, Xenophon, and Docheiariou. He also collected material from the Protaton, the administrative centre of the Holy Mountain (Rouillard and Collomp 1937: ix–xiii). While Millet's missions placed the study of the Athonite archives on a firmly scientific basis and made their study a prime concern for subsequent generations of French Byzantinists, they were not the first attempts to record these rich resources. As early as 1843, the Paris-based Greek scholar, Minoïdes Mynas (c.1790–1860), had been sent by the French government to Athos to purchase manuscripts for the Bibliothèque Nationale and had taken copies of documents at Esphigmenou, Chilandar, Xeropotamou, and Kastamonitou which were subsequently catalogued by the palaeographer Henri Omont (Enepekides 1953: 61–5). In the mid-nineteenth century, Russian expeditions led by P. I. Sevastianov had collected material, including photographs, which later resulted in the publication of Athonite documents in the periodical *Vizantijskij Vremennik* from 1903 onwards. This material was often incomplete: Louis Petit edited 15 Byzantine documents from Xenophon; Millet later photographed 41 in the same monastery. On Athos itself, registers

of documents had long been kept and by 1926 Father Spyridon of the Lavra, in association with the British scholar Kirsopp Lake, had made a collection of 162 acts from that house, only 37 of which had been previously photographed by Millet. The project of photographing, editing, and publishing all the Athonite archives (beginning with that of the Lavra) was announced by Millet's pupil Germaine Rouillard at the Second International Congress of Byzantine Studies in 1927 (Rouillard 1929); the first volume of what was to become the series *Archives de l'Athos*, edited by Rouillard and Pierre Collomp, appeared in 1937 (Rouillard and Collomp 1937). Since that date, although editions of Athonite documents have appeared in other publications (Mošin and Sovre 1948; Dölger 1948), French scholars have now photographed and edited the documents of some 25 houses (as of 2007) and the enterprise has become a major focus of activity for French Byzantinists (see http://www.college-de-france.fr/chaire23/frameset_publications.htm). Gabriel Millet personally entrusted the early editorial work to Rouillard and Collomp and subsequently to Paul Lemerle, who later became the director of the project. Christophe Giros now fulfils that role and the enterprise has been financially supported by the French, Greek, and Canadian governments and by scholarly and financial institutions and private individuals in those countries. As the Athonite monastic republic remains a strictly male preserve, the *Archives de l'Athos* provides the only access for female scholars to these resources.

The editorial principles established by Millet have remained in force. Each volume of texts is accompanied by an album of photographs. The documents are described in full palaeographic and diplomatic detail. Punctuation is always added and, in most cases, where photographs of the documents concerned exist, a diplomatic edition is produced. Nothing is changed in the text, whether it be an original or a copy; orthography is respected and corrections are only indicated in the *apparatus criticus*. Editorial signs, such as those indicating the omission of letters or words, have been adapted from those commonly used by papyrologists. In cases where photographs do not exist, but where copies have been made from Athonite registers, the edition is always critical. The text is restored and variant readings supplied in the *apparatus* (Rouillard and Collomp 1937: xxxi–xxxiv). In both cases, each document is given a short heading identifying its diplomatic type, its provenance, and, where possible, its date. It is prefaced by a detailed French summary of its contents and accompanied by notes and commentary. Thus a high degree of accessibility is provided even for non-Greek readers.

The richness of the Athonite evidence in terms of chronological span and typology of documents is unrivalled by any other surviving Byzantine archive. The earliest surviving genuine documents (from the Protaton) date from the end of the ninth century and while the *Archives de l'Athos* volumes only publish documents dating from the medieval period (generally not going beyond the sixteenth century), there exist many more of significance for the study of the history of the Athonite monasteries and their properties up to the present day (Papachrysanthou

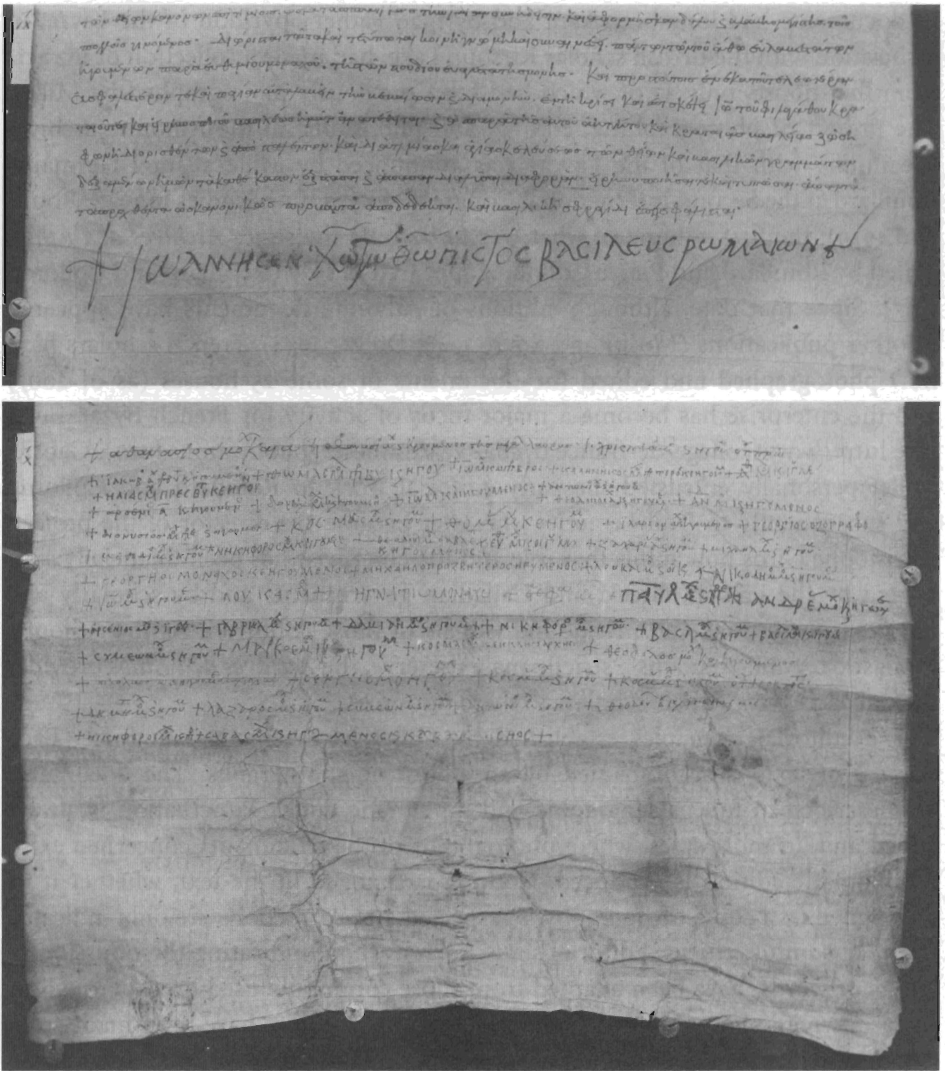


Fig. 1 The Typikon of Tzimiskes (before 972), with signatures of monks

1975). The languages of the documents include Greek, Georgian, Serbian, Russian, and Ottoman Turkish and they thus provide a useful resource for the study of their evolution in the medieval period (Bompaire 1960: 68–71). Many documents possess their original seals; a significant addition to the Byzantine sigillographic corpus.

The contents of the Athonite archives may conveniently be divided into public and private documents. Amongst the most important of those issued by the Byzantine state authorities are the imperial *typika* of John Tzimiskes (971–2), Constantine IX Monomachos (1045), and Manuel II Palaiologos (1406), which regulated monastic life on the mountain (Papachryssanthou 1975). Imperial chrysobulls, granting or renewing privileges to individual monasteries, often provide the only surviving

copies of these grants. Many documents are concerned with the fiscal exploitation of property not only on the mountain itself, but over a wide area of Thrace and Macedonia and the islands off their coasts. The involvement of local provincial officials in the granting of privileges or in attempting to ascertain and collect the dues and services owing to the state is amply reflected. Athonite documents thus give an unparalleled insight into the workings of the judicial, military, and fiscal organization of the Byzantine provinces. Important prosopographical information can also be obtained from them and the careers of professional administrators traced through time. The task of compiling a catalogue of the acts of Byzantine administrators, first suggested by Rouillard, is now a very real possibility (Rouillard 1936: 307). The nature of the monastic leadership of the Athonite community has been clarified as a consequence of the comparison of witness lists and signatures on documents from individual monasteries and the Protaton itself and the preservation of documents emanating from the Patriarchate in Constantinople provides evidence not only for the evolution of this institution, but also for the relationship of the secular Church with the Athonite communities both in Byzantine times and under the *Tourkokratia*.

Documents of private origin range from records of land donation and sales from the laity, to important examples of wills which record not only gifts of land, but also of liturgical objects, icons, books, fine cloths, and money. The eleventh-century *Synodikon of Iviron*, a list of donors, their gifts, and their liturgical commemorations, provides an unmatched insight into the wealth and devotion of the contemporary Georgian aristocracy and records from other monasteries similarly provide rich material for the study of the fluctuations of the imperial and lesser lay patronage of Athonite monasteries (Lefort and others 1985). In some cases, runs of documents have allowed the detailed study over time of particular Athonite estates such as that of Radolibos, donated to Iviron at the end of the eleventh century (Lefort 1981, 1985). The detailed studies of the evolution of each monastery's landed endowment are a particularly valuable element of the commentaries in each volume of the *Archives de l'Athos* and are well illustrated with maps. Thus the study of the topography of both Athos and the regions of Thrace and Macedonia has been revolutionized by the availability of the Athonite material (Lefort 1982; Kravari 1989).

Not only has the publication of the Athonite archives provided much new material for the study of the foundation and history of individual houses and their lands, it has also offered a rare opportunity to observe the evolution of medieval archives over some hundreds of years. Study of the principles underlying the preservation of the surviving documents and the methods by which they were preserved, of the later annotations written upon them and of the early cartularies in which they were noted or copied, provides insights into the function and purpose of such collections (Guillou 1960).

The surviving medieval Athonite archives are by no means complete; twelfth- and thirteenth-century material is often lacking. The published material in the

Archives de l'Athos is confined to documents of a quasi-legal variety and it thus excludes documents such as the twelfth-century compilation known as the *Diegesis merike* in which a garbled account of events on the mountain at the end of the eleventh century (the incursion of Vlachs, both male and female and continuing scandals over the admission of eunuchs to some houses) are dealt with (Meyer 1894). Many such 'para-historical' Athonite documents remain to be given modern editions. However, some attention is given in the *Archives de l'Athos* to the often complex and confusing legendary accounts of the foundation of the monastic communities on the mountain. Thus the documentary material exists not only for the study of the foundation, endowment, and subsequent fortunes of the Athonite monasteries, their governmental structures on the Holy Mountain, and their relations with outside authorities, but also for the evolution of Athonite traditions and perceptions of the past.

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DOCUMENTS

VENETIAN CRETE

SALLY MCKEE

THE State Archives of Venice (ASV) is the necessary destination for anyone wishing to conduct original research into the history of Venice's largest and longest-held territorial possession, the island of Crete (Thiriet 1959; Maltezou 1991: 17–47; Gasparis 1997; Greene 2000; McKee 2000). Housed within the ASV are the documentary remains of the Cretan chancery, transferred there at the conclusion in 1669 of the long war between Venice and the Ottomans for possession of the island. An incomparably rich fund of documents pertaining to Crete and the Aegean Islands, the archival remains of the Cretan chancery stand apart from the other sections of the ASV and are thus more accessible and comprehensible than are the vastly larger and encompassing archives of the Venetian bureaucracy (Gerland 1899).

After the Venetian government had the Cretan chancery transferred to Venice in 1670, the documents were incorporated into the State Archives (Tiepolo 1973). The contents of the Cretan chancery were then divided into two principal parts. One part consists of the governmental, fiscal, and judicial records, now known collectively as the Archive of the Duke of Candia (ADC). Although the ADC is large, a general rule of thumb to follow is that the later the date, the more material has survived. The thirteenth century, then, is least well represented by the documents and the sixteenth to seventeenth centuries offer abundant sources for study. The incompleteness of the records, however, may not be the result solely of neglect. In those first centuries of Venice's occupation, record-keeping practices evolved in Crete at the same time that they were evolving in Venice. For instance, oblique and

random references in court records reveal that the one register of the deliberations of the three advisory councils of Candia, which begins in 1344 and ends in 1363, may have been the only register to have existed.

The other category of documents pertaining to Venetian Crete are the notarial records, which were separated from the ADC and incorporated into the Notarial Archives of the ASV in a section called the *Notai di Candia* (NDC). The NDC, with its nearly three hundred separate files listed in the ASV's indices alphabetically according to the names of the notaries, constitutes the largest portion of the surviving Cretan sources. It would be hard to overestimate the value of these records, especially since they have seldom received a systematic treatment. They contain a wealth of information pertaining to the economic and social life of the colony and its inhabitants, not least of which are the Jews of Crete, whose presence and activities in Candia are evident in them (Starr 1942).

Here, too, some cautions about the archive's integrity are worth mentioning. In comparison with the notarial registers of all notaries who worked in the colony from 1211 to 1669, the NDC is incomplete to a degree that calls for their careful study and well delimited generalizations. First, since only the registers of notaries who worked inside the city walls of Candia have survived, the scholar must bear in mind that there were notaries who lived and worked in the city's suburbs and the surrounding villages. Therefore, although villagers from the district of Candia often had cause to come to a notary in the city, most of the names in the protocols are those of residents of the city and its suburbs. Moreover, although the colony had notaries who drew up their documents in Latin, Greek, and Hebrew, only those notaries who drafted their instruments in Latin have protocols that have survived. Finally, when analysing the notarial registers, it is important to bear in mind the probable proportion of the original chancery that the surviving notarial registers represents. The notarial protocols from approximately half the notaries active in Candia from the fourteenth to the seventeenth centuries still exist. This does not mean that half the Cretan chancery can be found in the ASV. For each notary with an entire or fragmentary protocol that has survived there must have been several other protocols belonging to that same notary that did not. Thus, scholars working with notarial sources need to bear in mind that only an estimated quarter to a third of the original chancery now rests in the ASV.

The ADC and the NDC will provide much work for decades to come, but both are finite in comparison to the overarching structure of the ASV. At some point, scholars will find it necessary to turn elsewhere for further traces of the colony's history and other overseas ventures undertaken by Venice and Venetians. New material will have to be sought in the ASV itself. Those pursuits are initially most likely to involve searching for Venetian and Greek Cretan families who immigrated to the metropolis over the course of the fourteenth, fifteenth, and sixteenth centuries. A limited sampling of various series in the ASV reveals that Venetian Cretan colonists

are relatively easy to identify in a wide range of sources, from the deliberations of Venice's governing bodies to private family archives. As one example, the Procurators of San Marco series contain the estate papers of many Venetian patricians who lived in Crete.

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EPIGRAPHY

CYRIL MANGO

ON a broad definition the discipline of epigraphy embraces all inscriptions other than those in manuscripts: in the first instance those on stone intended for public viewing, but also those in paint or mosaic, on coins, seals, and weights, on objects of private or ecclesiastical ownership, such as silver plate, jewellery, ivories, liturgical vessels, etc.

The natural habitat of the lapidary inscription (which alone will concern us here) was the Graeco-Roman city. Animated by a strong feeling of civic pride, not to say self-importance, ancient cities produced a prodigious number of inscriptions, whose gradual discovery and publication have revolutionized our knowledge of antiquity: decrees of the local council and later of the imperial government, dedications to the gods, honours conferred on benefactors, lists of athletic victors, epitaphs, etc. The number of preserved inscriptions shows a sharp drop in Late Antiquity, but the traditional categories, except for the agonistic, are maintained until about 600 CE. Decrees continued to be inscribed on stone or even bronze: indeed, that was considered an essential part of their publication, supplementary to their being posted in manuscript form. Such inscriptions naturally required much space, for example, that of the Praetorian Prefect Dionysios (480 CE) found at Mylasa (Caria) was nearly 5 m. long and over 1 m. high and was written on the podium of a pagan temple. Under the same heading we may place tariffs of charges levied on the circulation of merchandise, such as those pertaining to Abydos on the Hellespont, Seleucia in Syria, and Anazarbos in Cilicia. Honorific inscriptions, usually placed on statue bases, also lived on and, indeed, assumed a more ornate form, being couched in elegiac metre and exhibiting many recondite words (Fig. 1). In addition to preserved examples, a considerable number (mostly from Constantinople)

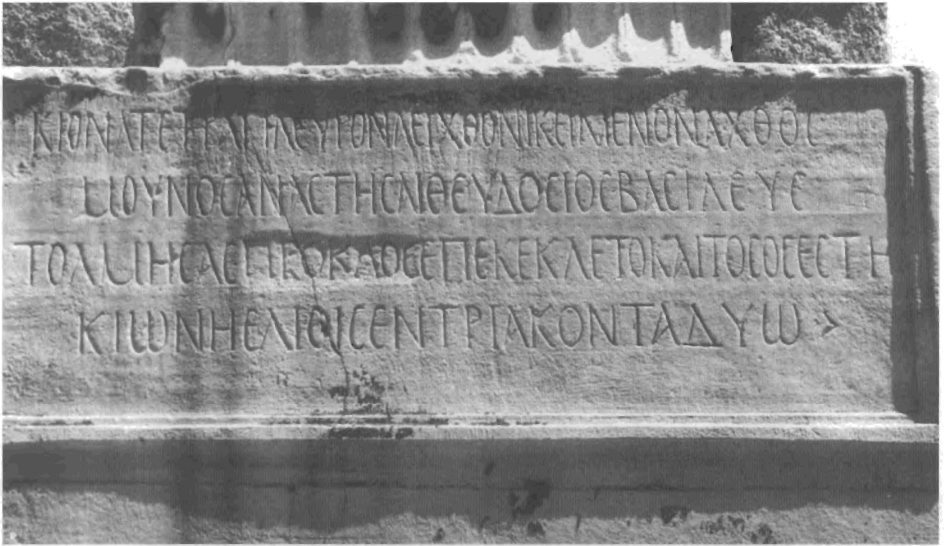


Fig. 1 Base of the Egyptian Obelisk, Hippodrome, Istanbul (390 CE)

were copied into the Palatine Anthology in the ninth to tenth centuries. Inscribed acclamations addressed to the emperor and the circus factions (Blues and Greens) appear to have become more numerous in Late Antiquity.

The advent of Christianity made little impact on what is often called the ‘epigraphic habit’. Religious dedications and invocations were now addressed to the new God, his saints and angels. Funerary monuments were adorned with the cross, often contained the designation *pistos* (Christian), and various pious formulas such as the acronym ΧΜΓ (= Christ born of Mary). Inscribed tombstones continued to be set up for quite humble people, often specifying their place of origin and occupation: traders, bakers, barbers, superintendents of stores, soldiers (sometimes of Gothic or other barbarian origin). At Korykos (Cilicia) a remarkable series of over 500 epitaphs refer to about 115 different professions. Another interesting series in the necropolis of Tyre gives prominence, as might have been expected, to fishers of the murex shell and purple dyers. The date of death is usually expressed by day, month, and indiction, consular or regnal years being exceptional.

At Constantinople the latest datable epitaph of an ordinary person is of c.610 CE. From then onwards, until the end of the Byzantine state and beyond, ordinary people ceased to be commemorated epigraphically (except occasionally in graffiti) and were buried in unmarked graves. This development was symptomatic of an almost total abandonment of the epigraphic habit. No more inscribed decrees were put up, the two or three exceptions that come to mind being in the nature of deeds of ownership, like the grant of a salt pan to the church of St Demetrios at Thessalonike by Justinian II or the confirmation in 1228 of certain privileges in favour of the church of Corfu by Theodore, despot of Epiros. The latter stone



Fig. 2 Conciliar Edict, 1166, Ayasofya Museum, Istanbul

is now in Rome. The pseudo-decree of Manuel I (measuring 4.60 by 4.10 m.) embodying the theological definition adopted by an ecclesiastical council held in 1166 is a piece of deliberate antiquarianism (Fig. 2). As for honorific inscriptions, they died a natural death as statues ceased to be erected. The latest attested case at Constantinople (of Niketas, cousin of the emperor Herakleios) is dated from about 615. Even inscribed boundary stones, frequent in the sixth century, practically disappeared thereafter.

The decline of epigraphy after the sixth century may be illustrated with the help of regional corpora. The collection of Greek Christian inscriptions by H. Grégoire, embracing all of western Asia Minor and the Aegean islands (admittedly outdated, but not superseded as a whole) lists 43 medieval inscriptions out of a total of 500. Aphrodisias, which has been extensively excavated, has yielded nearly 1,500 inscriptions of the Early Empire, 223 of the Late Empire (from the mid-third century to the sixth), and only 7 for the subsequent Byzantine period, which terminates in this part of Asia Minor in the eleventh to twelfth centuries. In case Aphrodisias is thought to be unrepresentative, we may take Thessalonike, which certainly flourished to the end of the Byzantine period and is often described as the second city of the Empire. The corpus of Thessalonikan inscriptions (*IG IX/2/1* of 1972) contains 1,020 items, the vast majority being pagan. The Christian ones down to the seventh century number about 130. For the medieval Byzantine period no total figure is available, but those considered of historical interest are no more than 28. No matter where we turn, the picture is about the same.

The main categories that survived the Dark Age were the elite epitaph and the building inscription. Not that preserved epitaphs are numerous: a catalogue of what may be called the grander burials (sarcophagi and pseudo-sarcophagi) from the entire territory of Greece from the ninth century onwards lists 92 items, of which only 14 are inscribed (one being in Slavonic and one in French). The sample is too small to be statistically valid, but it is worth observing nevertheless that 10 out of the 14 belong to the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries and that half of them are in verse (dodecasyllables). The diffusion of verse epitaphs is best studied through the work of named poets, from Christopher of Mitylene and John Mavropous in the eleventh century to the indefatigable Manuel Philes in the fourteenth and Mark Eugenikos in the fifteenth. Some of these pieces, preserved by manuscript transmission, may be literary exercises, but many were certainly composed to be inscribed. Their common traits are their length, their relentless insistence on the noble ancestry of the deceased, and the titles they bore. We are witnessing here the elaboration of a new kind of aristocratic epitaph, far removed from the sobriety of the funerary inscriptions of antiquity. A good preserved example is on the tomb of the Grand Constable Michael Tornikes (24 verses) in the side chapel of the monastery of Chora at Constantinople (fourteenth century).

Aristocratic tombs were usually erected in the context of family monasteries. The pompous epitaphs they carried were therefore addressed to a restricted public.

By contrast, building inscriptions could be seen by all and sundry. They often commemorated the erection or repair of works of fortification and could be quite laconic (of the type 'Tower of Theophilos, faithful emperor in Christ'), but occasionally broke into verse. There is an extensive series, dating from the fifth to the fifteenth centuries, on the walls of Constantinople and other examples on those of Nicaea, Ankyra, Selymbria, etc. For greater legibility the letters were sometimes inlaid in lead. In the case of churches it was normal for the founder's inscription to be placed on a stone cornice above the central door, as, for example, in the church of the Panagia Chalkeon at Thessalonike of 1028, but more often than not, especially in the case of relatively modest buildings, it was painted in the narthex or elsewhere. Founders' verse epigrams are relatively rare. At Constantinople there are two monumental examples of the sixth century that circled the entire nave, one in the church of Sts Sergios and Bakchos, the other, of monstrous length (76 verses) in the church of St Polyuktos. Of the latter only some fragments have survived, but the full text may be found in the *Palatine Anthology*, I. 10. The tradition was occasionally taken up in the Middle Ages. At Constantinople we have an example on the exterior (apse end) of the church of Constantine Lips of 907 and a much longer one (early fourteenth century) on two sides of the *parekklesion* of St Mary Pammakaristos (Fethiye Camii). More surprising is the 12-verse hexameter inscription of 873/4 in the provincial church of Skripou (Boeotia).

If graffiti are worth mentioning in this context, that is largely due to a historically important series at Athens. In addition to pious invocations, they include a great number of dated obits (as distinct from epitaphs). There are 232 graffiti on the columns of the Parthenon, which served as the cathedral of Athens. Of these 64 are obits of local bishops, ranging in date from 693 to 1175, and members of their clergy. Further series of graffiti are found in the Propylaea, the Erechtheion, the Hephaisteion (which served as the seat of a monastery), and the church of Panagia Lykodemou. The practice of incising obits on the walls and columns of churches may account to some extent for the scarcity of true epitaphs.

Byzantine epigraphic script shows remarkably little variation until the tenth century. It is in capital letters of an oval, round, square or diamond-shaped module with few, if any, cursive forms. Sigma is always lunate and omega W-shaped. Apart from the ubiquitous Ϝ (ou), ligatures are confined to vertical letters (MN IP, etc.). *Nomina sacra* are commonly abbreviated as are titles (both clerical and secular) and words denoting dating (day, month, indiction). The Latin S is both a sign of abbreviation and shorthand for *kai*. By the tenth century the lettering tends to be slenderer and more compressed, as also in contemporary manuscripts: round letters (ε, θ, ο, c) become almond-shaped with two pointed ends. There is no separation between words and no accentuation or punctuation, but in the case of metrical inscriptions the end of each verse is often marked by three dots placed vertically (⋮).

A big shift occurs towards the beginning of the eleventh century. At the expense of legibility inscriptions assume a decorative form. They are invaded by ligatures and abbreviations borrowed from the ornamental headings in manuscripts, cursive forms alternate with capitals, letters are often placed on top of one another, accents and breathings are introduced. The effect is not unlike that of Arabic calligraphy or the *vjaz*' (weaving) in Slavonic script.

Byzantine epigraphic lettering lived on among Greeks under Ottoman domination until about 1800, when the ancient alphabet came into general use.

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SIGILLOGRAPHY

JOHN NESBITT

THE term 'sigillography' refers to an auxiliary discipline which centres primarily on the reading, dating, and interpretation of Byzantine lead seals. Seals were made of gold, silver, wax, and lead, but few of a friable or expensive fabric survive. Within the household people utilized wax for sealing a variety of objects, including cabinet doors and letters. In order to affix a wax seal, one would have employed a signet ring in metal or hardstone or a cone seal of the same materials (Vikan and Nesbitt 1980: 10–25). On an official level, wax seals were used, from at least 1074 onward, to validate certain imperial decrees, such as *horismoi*, as well as certain *chrysoboulla sigillia*, to which might additionally have been attached a gold seal (Oikonomides 1979: 125). The use of gold seals was the exclusive right of the emperor. They were attached to *chrysoboulla*—important state documents, including correspondence with the heads of foreign states (Grierson 1966; see Dölger 1948: no. 7, plate 7 for an example). Only some forty gold seals are known, but among metal seals, silver bullae, employed to impart legal authority to the acts of the Greek despots of Epiros and the Peloponnese, are still rarer (cf. I.2.12A Imperial chrysobulls).

In contrast, some 17,000 lead seals are preserved in the Harvard Collections alone and worldwide perhaps 60,000 seals survive. The sheer number of extant lead seals makes them an important resource for historical and art historical research. But in order to understand fully their potential, we need first consider who employed lead seals. The simple fact is that the practice of sealing in lead was widespread and occurred among all ranks of society: from emperors, prominent churchmen, and imperial officials, down to lowly prelates and simple businessmen. For example, see Zacos and Vegler 1972: entries nos. 7, 1480, 1576, and 1706, where are published



Fig. 1 Seal of Nicholas of Athens

(Dumbarton Oaks, Byzantine Collection)

the seals, respectively, of emperor Maurice Tiberios, a George *pragmateutes*, a Paul *diakonos*, and an Anastasios the silk merchant.

The next point to be considered is what information seals usually impart and how the information is expressed. Since one of the chief functions of the lead seal was to authenticate a signature, either in a private or public context, it was customary for a seal to bear the name or name and title of its owner. In the sixth and seventh centuries, the owner might be identified by a simple inscription in the genitive case, as for example, Zacos and Veglery 1972: no. 795, '(seal of) Dorotheos illoustrios'. Then again an inscription, may begin with an invocation, as Zacos and Veglery 1972: no. 799, 'Mother of God, help Epiphianos *stratelates*'. An invocation may appear with all the elements written in full or it may appear in the form of a cruciform monogram. Monogrammatic devices were also used to express a name. The monogram might be a block monogram or a cruciform monogram. The block monogram consists of a large central letter into which other letters are integrated and was used throughout the sixth century. The cruciform monogram—a cross with letters attached at top, bottom, and at the ends of the transverse bar—came into use about 540 and eventually replaced the block monogram after 600. A



Fig. 2 Seal of Nikephoros Botaneiates

(Dumbarton Oaks, Byzantine Collection)



Fig. 3 Seal of Basil, Chartoularios of the Armeniakoi

(Dumbarton Oaks, Byzantine Collection)

monogram can be difficult to read, particularly when it was intended to convey both the seal owner's name and his title. The matter is complicated by the fact that certain letters contain 'hidden' letters. For example, a *beta* (*B*) may read simply as *beta* (*B*) or as *beta* and *rho* (*P*). In addition to the written word, we also encounter images. Although we find a wide variety of representations, we observe a marked preference for the Virgin (Fig. 1). If we survey the depictions presented in the Iconographic chapter in Zacos and Veglery 1972, we find, for example, twelve seals bearing a depiction of Christ (nos. 1096–1107) (cf. Fig. 2), six with an image of St Sophia (nos. 1275–80), and two with the bust of St Titos (nos. 1293 and 1294). In contrast, we observe a total of 133 specimens (nos. 1108–1238) decorated with a representation of the Mother of God (alone or holding Christ). Depictions of saints enjoyed a certain popularity, but sometimes, through lack of identifying inscriptions, we are at a loss to know the name of the figure. This is particularly true of military saints. See, for example, Zacos and Veglery 1972, nos. 1281A–1291, where the military saints appearing on these specimens seem to be simply a 'type', and not a specific saint. We are aided in later centuries (after 850) by the fact that religious figures are usually accompanied by a columnar inscription naming the figure represented.

During periods when Iconoclasm was in force, figural decoration of course disappeared and it was customary for seal owners to decorate the obverse with a cruciform invocative monogram. After the end of Iconoclasm, this motif was largely replaced by another type of cross decoration, the cross-on-steps. Over time the type of cross represented on steps evolved from a cross potent or simple cross with one transverse bar into an elaborately decorated patriarchal cross with tree branches growing from the base and globules at the end of each arm (Fig. 3). For an example see the seal of Michael *katepano* of Italy, dating, according to the document from which it still hangs, from May of 975 (Oikonomides 1986: no. 70). In the first century after Iconoclasm, the decoration of seals tended to be conservative. Often the decoration is the cross-on-steps or a depiction of the Virgin with Christ.

About 940 we begin to see an expansion in the range of iconographic motifs. One of the more interesting developments is the use of animal devices. See, for



Fig. 4 Seal of Panaretos, Judge of the Armenian Themes

(Dumbarton Oaks, Byzantine Collection)

example, Oikonomides 1986: no. 65, where is illustrated a seal of Katakalon *strategos* of Thessalonike with a griffin shown in profile on the obverse. After 950, and continuing into the eleventh century, we observe the popularity of the Virgin wane and a corresponding increase in a preference for depiction of saints. The image of St Nicholas enjoyed wide popularity, followed by representations of the military saints and St Michael. On occasion we find uncommon depictions, as for example a standing representation of St Zotikos on a twelfth-century seal of the community of the same name, a bust of St Kodratos on the seal of a certain Philoxenos, bishop of Magnesia (Laurent 1972: no. 1916; Laurent 1963: no. 270). With the eleventh century commences the use of scenic decoration, such as the Annunciation, the Anastasis, the Dormition, the Transfiguration. Sometimes a grouping of figures will occur (cf. Fig. 4), as on the twelfth-century seal of John, metropolitan of Serres; here we see a bust of Christ in the centre, surrounded by St George and St Theodore (Nesbitt and Oikonomides 1991: no. 42.4). One of the better known groupings concerns the seals of the *ekdikoi* of Hagia Sophia, particularly large specimens bearing a depiction of the emperor Justinian and the Virgin holding between them a model of the church.

A seal owner was free (except during Iconoclasm) to place on a seal whatever decoration the person thought fit. As such, seals are an excellent barometer for measuring the popularity of saints' cults. To be sure, a person, such as Thomas, *epoptes* of the Strymon and Thessalonike, might place on his seal a depiction of his name saint, St Thomas (Oikonomides 1986: no. 63), but for the most part there is no correlation between a person's name and the name of the holy figure depicted. Seals are also an essential tool for historical research on administrative history, ecclesiastical history, and prosopography (see I.2.16 Prosopography).

Seals either attest or corroborate evidence from other sources regarding the personnel attached to bureaux. We learn from seals of the existence of offices which are not mentioned elsewhere. For example, the eighth-century seal of Theodore *kourator* of Kromna (Paphlagonia) provides us with the only reference to this particular *kouratoreia* (McGeer, Nesbitt, and Oikonomides 2001: no. 19.1). Then again we know of the existence of officials called *epi ton ktematon* only from seals.

On occasion they also reveal an unusual pairing of offices. As illustration, we note the eleventh-century seal of Niketas *chartouarios* of the Great Orphanotropheion and bishop of Ionopolis (McGeer, Nesbitt, and Oikonomides 2001: nos. 18.2 and 18.3). Niketas enjoyed the revenues of two posts separated geographically. He was at once an accountant attached to the Orphanage of St Paul in the capital and a bishop enthroned in Ionopolis of Paphlagonia. In cases where two or more seals may be reasonably assigned to one individual, we can construct the person's *cursus honorum*. See, for example, the career of a certain Basil, judge of the Peloponnesos and Hellas, as outlined by Oikonomides (Nesbitt and Oikonomides 1994: 30). Seals help to fill gaps among the names of bishops for a particular see and assist in verifying that bishops were appointed to more remote episcopal provinces during times of trouble or that new bishoprics were founded in more settled times. Thus it is due to the chance survival of a seal that we are aware of the establishment of a bishopric on the island of Orovi in the Argolid (see Penna 1995). We should note, however, that a number of episcopal sees have the same name and it is not always possible to distinguish one locale from another. In consequence, when dealing with a seal of the bishop of Nyssa, one must confront the fact that three different bishoprics bore this name and so a seal with the name of Nyssa might relate either to the metropoleis of Caesarea, Ephesos, or Myra. Seals are of particular help in establishing lists of family names, particularly those of the more humble gentry. Problems arise, however, when a researcher is confronted by more than one seal imprinted with the same name and title. One must then determine if one is dealing with seals imprinted with the same dies and hence the same person.

Various criteria are used for the dating of seals. In the period before 850 seals have, in general, wreath borders. After this date they have dot borders. Before 850 a *beta* with a double loop (B) is employed; after 850 the shape of the *beta* changes and is made with a single loop (R) (on dating, see Zacos and Veglery 1972: xiii, 971; Oikonomides 1986: the table after p. 164). After 810, we find the letter *rho* decorated with a serif at top. Until 1030, the *upsilon* in the ligature of *omicron/upsilon* is forked, like the letter 'v'. After 1030 the *upsilon* takes on the look of a horseshoe, like the letter 'u'. This shape remains in vogue until the second half of the twelfth century. Subsidiary ornament can also serve as a dating clue. A common decoration in the eighth century was a cross between two tendrils or a cross between two pellets. About the beginning of the eleventh century we observe the introduction of a cross or pellet between two horizontal bars. In the twelfth century the practice arose of setting a cross on a separate line above. In the sixth century abbreviation signs have the look of a Latin 's'. In the ninth century the abbreviation signs become more extended and resemble an 'S'. In the tenth century, small abbreviation signs were set in the middle of the line; they often look like commas or grave/acute accent signs. In the eleventh century, abbreviation marks, looking like a comma, were set low on the line. Now and again accents and breathing marks are used from the later eleventh

century, particularly with metrical verses. The use of *stigma*, in lieu of ‘C’ and ‘T’, appears in the late eleventh century. Such formal aspects are important when one is lacking the best criteria, namely internal evidence. For example, if a seal bears the dignity of *protoproedros*, it would not date before the 1060s for the simple reason that the title was only then first established. Then again, the eleventh-century seal of a certain Michael *magistros*, *vestes*, and *epi ton kriseon* dates after the period 1042–5 because the *sekretion* to which he belonged was only first created in these years by emperor Constantine Monomachos. In sum, we can normally date a seal to within a century or half-century on the basis of a specimen’s overall design, the style of its iconography, and the shape of letters and marks of abbreviation. If there is present a string of dignities and titles, one may usually narrow the dating still further.

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NUMISMATICS

EURYDIKE GEORGANTELI

Coins are at all times an important manifestation of contemporary art and in the days when precious metals were the accepted form of currency, coins reflected changing economic and political circumstances.

P. D. Whitting

NUMISMATICS, the study of coins, has at times been perceived as an unlikely candidate to assist in the interpretation of the artistic, religious, and political history of the ancient and medieval world, or of its political geography and economy. Yet numismatics relates to all these domains, and the field's cross-disciplinary connections equal the numerous coin issues found across a millennium of Byzantine history. Originally discussed by philosophers as part of their approach to political science, and later systematized as a collectors' discipline and an antiquarian pursuit, numismatics has since developed dramatically, and is now firmly placed in the grounds of ancient and medieval history, archaeology, and the history of art.

BEGINNINGS

Numismatics is the study of coins (*nummus* = the Latin word for the lowest Roman copper denomination, νόμισμα = coin in ancient, medieval, and modern Greek) in terms of metrology, metallic value, fineness, mint attribution, and chronology, but also the study of realities in which coinage has been embedded, namely

socio-economic history, political ideology, and religious practices, language, and art (Grierson 1975, 1992; Casey 1986; Morrisson 1992; Howgego 1995). The beginnings of Numismatics can be traced back to the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, when the works of Aristotle, having been made largely available to western European thinkers through Arabic translations and Byzantine commentaries, introduced them to the principles of *Politics* and *Ethics* (Langholm 1983; Laiou 1999). The study of coinage was for Christian philosophers such as Thomas Aquinas a means to analyse social structures and discuss the ideals of kingship and government. According to Aquinas' work *De Regimine Principum* coinage was central to theocratic order and kingship, as it allowed rulers to gather around them their entire populace in an organised and solid body (Sigmund 1988: 14–29). Aristotle's interpretation of coinage continued to influence philosophers such as Jean Buridan and Nicolas Oresme. The latter further developed Aristotle's approach in his study of the origins and use of coinage from antiquity to the Middle Ages. Oresme's *Traité des monnaies* summarizes the principles and use of coinage in society; coins are instruments of exchange of natural riches, they are easy to handle, light enough to carry, conform to a certain standard, and while having a stamp of authority approved and organized by the ruling power, they do not belong to a single individual, but to the entire community and its every member (Dupuy and Chartrain 1989: chs. 1–6).

The fifteenth and sixteenth centuries represent for Numismatics a turning point. The discussion of coinage moves from abstraction to meticulous recording and research of ancient coins and medals, which formed part of the first great antiquarian collections in the West. Interest in foreign and ancient coins was certainly not a new phenomenon, and references to treasure trove and coin collections can be found as early as the Roman and Byzantine period (Morrisson 1981). In the late Middle Ages Pope Boniface VIII and the poet Petrarch were among those actively engaged in the collection of ancient coins, but it was really during the Renaissance that outstanding collections of antiquities including coins were created in papal, princely, and royal circles. Between 1402 and 1413 two interesting hybrid medals were commissioned in France by the duke of Berry. The medals depicting Herakleios and Constantine the Great were, according to the inventories of the duke of Berry, based on genuine ancient medals (Jones 1979; Scher 1994). Inscriptions which display a good grasp of late Byzantine chancery formulas, and portraits of both Herakleios and Constantine based on that of the emperor Manuel II, tell a different story; both medals were ultimately based on forgeries, and they superbly mirror Manuel's visit to Paris in 1400–1, contemporary artistic sensibilities in France, and the links with antiquity western rulers and aristocracy were seeking to forge.

The study of coins as a source for ancient and medieval history further develops in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, when works by Ezechiel Spanheim (1664), Charles Patin (1665), François le Blanc (1689), Louis Jobert (1692), and Charles Du Cange (1678) lay the foundations for the methodology of Numismatics. Jobert's *La Science des médailles* in particular, later translated into Italian by

Alessandro Pompeo Berti (*La scienza delle medaglie. Nuova edizione con annotazioni storiche e critiche*, Venice 1756), provides a first-class essay on coinage from antiquity to modern times. For Jobert Byzantine coinage was an integral part of the world of antiquity rather than an isolated phenomenon. He meticulously discussed Byzantine inscriptions, titles, and numerals alongside Roman and Greek ones. Of note are also the chronological boundaries within which Jobert places Byzantine coinage; late imperial coinage, as he calls it, begins with the foundation of Constantinople and ends with its fall to the Turks.

BYZANTINE COIN COLLECTIONS AND THE STUDY OF NUMISMATICS

In the nineteenth and twentieth centuries the rapid development and systematic study of Byzantine coins is connected to the emergence of specialized coin collections in Europe and the USA. Those collections were created in order to house high-quality coins which could tell a story, and they followed the already established trend of the rediscovery of Byzantium. Great numbers of numismatic holdings allowed nineteenth-century luminaries such as Paul de Saulcy (1836) and Pierre Justin Sabatier (1861) to classify and discuss coin series in publications which still serve as reference works. In western Europe splendid collections of Byzantine coins were established in Paris (cf. Morrisson 2001a), London, Vienna, Copenhagen, Rome, and Brussels. In eastern Europe, affluent individuals in Istanbul, Bucharest, Alexandria, and Athens became passionate about the collection of Byzantine coins and seals, as part of their desire to trace the cultural and political history of the former Byzantine lands. In 1926 Antonis Benakis bequeathed to the Greek state his impressive collection formed in Alexandria (Souloyannis 2004), following in the steps of the Zosimas brothers who in the mid-nineteenth century became the first major benefactors to the newly founded Numismatic Museum of Athens (1996: 15–47). In St Petersburg the Hermitage museum became noticeably richer in 1890 with the purchase *en bloc* of the famous Photiades Pasha Collection (Guruleva 1991). In Italy Tomaso Bertelè's contribution to Numismatics is not only his impressive collection, which was later to become part of the Dumbarton Oaks Collection, but also his numerous studies, with particular emphasis on the coinage of the late Byzantine empire and its relations with the west (Bertelè and Morrisson 1978). During the same period the most active collectors in Britain were undoubtedly Philip Grierson, Hugh Goodacre (1960), Simon Bendall (1988), Philip Whitting (1973), and Geoffrey Haines, the last two of whom founded in 1967 the Barber Institute's magnificent coin collection at the University of Birmingham. In Paris

Mikelis Kursanskis meticulously recorded the story of the empire of Trebizond through his coin collection, now in the Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris. Across the Atlantic, what was to become the most comprehensive collection of Byzantine coins worldwide (Grierson 1999a: 61–5) was formed at Dumbarton Oaks in Washington through major bequests and purchases made between 1947 and 1960. In New York Byzantine coins became part of the American Numismatic Society's collections in the 1940s; in 1946 the first curator of Roman and Byzantine coins was appointed, and since then the collection has continued to grow through important bequests and coin purchases.

Collections are not meant to be stagnant, obscure, or inaccessible. Their very existence greatly depends on new acquisitions, scholarship, and publication of their holdings, exhibition programmes which illuminate the art and society of particular periods, and teaching and educational activities which can make coins the sturdiest, and most accessible and versatile museum objects (Whitting 1966).

In 1908 the British Museum Trustees published Warwick Wroth's two-volume *Imperial Byzantine Coins in the British Museum*. In 1911 Wroth supplemented the two volumes with a third one dedicated to the coins of the Vandals, Ostrogoths, and Lombards, as well as the coinage of the rival empires of Thessalonike, Nicaea, and Trebizond, the state of Epiros and the Duchy of Neopatras (Wroth 1908 and 1911). It was not until 1966 that a sequel to Wroth's catalogues was published, this time by Dumbarton Oaks. The *Catalogue of the Byzantine Coins in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection and in the Whittemore Collection*, vol. 1 (*Anastasios I to Maurice*) by Alfred Bellinger is the first in a series of monumental studies which cover the whole of Byzantine coinage. Each volume drawn predominantly on the Dumbarton Oaks coin collection is a lasting testimony not only to the brilliant syntheses produced especially by Philip Grierson (1968, 1973, 1999b) and Michael Hendy (1969, 1999), but also to the constructive partnership between Dumbarton Oaks and Philip Grierson, who oversaw the creation of the Dumbarton Oaks Collection and served as the Dumbarton Oaks adviser for Numismatics until 1999. Meanwhile Cécile Morrisson in her two-volume catalogue has regrouped and thoroughly examined as entities the various coin collections of the Bibliothèque nationale which until 1963 were kept separate (Morrisson 1970).

Coins from other European coin collections found their way into shorter but important publications, which have since advanced our knowledge of Byzantine coinage (e.g. Longuet 1957). The late twentieth and the beginning of the twenty-first century witnessed further coin publications (e.g. Berger 1987; Bateson and Campbell 1998; Ireland 2000; Radić and Ivanišević 2006), which introduce researchers to a wide range of material. While catalogues in printed form will certainly continue to be produced, rapid developments in digital photography and electronic databases indicate that a more cost effective alternative is the publication of coin catalogues on the World Wide Web. The University of Birmingham Collections already offer on their website some information on its Byzantine

holdings, drawn directly from the curatorial database (<http://www.numismatics.org>), although there are few images available.

Numismatic exhibitions and educational programmes are also enormously beneficial especially for the general public, and certainly have the power to bring Byzantium to the fore and illustrate its profile as a financially shrewd and culturally cosmopolitan and sophisticated society. Exhibitions are also a lasting legacy of a museum's holdings, scholarship, and desire to reach and include in its programmes a wide public. Byzantine coins have frequently been featured in recent exhibition catalogues (e.g. Kalavrezou 2003; Evans 2004; Penna 2006), while the Dumbarton Oaks electronic exhibition of Byzantine coins (www.doaks.org/coins) and the Barber Institute changing exhibitions in the Coin Gallery and in their electronic form (www.barber.org.uk/coins) aim to discuss Byzantine coinage as part of Byzantium's and medieval Europe's life and culture.

BYZANTINE COINAGE: FROM ANASTASIOS I TO CONSTANTINE XI (Whitting 1973; Grierson 1982 and 1999b)

The history of Byzantine coinage starts conventionally with the reign of Anastasios, who in 491 introduced a currency reform as part of a wider platform of measures, designed to improve economic life and practices in the eastern Roman empire. The reform, carried out in two stages, was based on the Roman copper *nummus* and produced a logical system of multiples of the *nummus*, ranging from 5-*nummi* coins to 40-*nummi* ones (Fig. 1), all denominations bearing on the reverse their value in a Greek numeral, the *indictio*, and the mint-mark for all denominations above the 5-*nummi* ones. Christian symbols, such as the cross and the Chi-Rho, appear increasingly on both the obverse and reverse of the coins, but it is really in the design of the gold currency that the establishment of Christianity is best reflected (Fig. 2). Reverse images of Roman emperors spearing, or stepping on humiliated enemies gave way gradually to representations of Constantinople, the Christian new Rome of the empire, while the old Victory was being transformed into an angel carrying elaborate crosses and Chi-Rho-topped shafts. The obverse of early Byzantine gold coins was reserved for the emperor alone, while the inclusion in special occasions of his associates propagated ideas of dynastic continuity in an empire where hereditary succession was never firmly established. The copper coinage of Anastasios was further developed by Justinian I, whose military campaigns and reconquests resulted in the opening of new mints in the eastern and western provinces of the empire.

Fig. 1 Copper *follis* of Anastasios (491–518), large series, mint of Constantinople, officina Δ , wt 18.12 g

(the Barber Institute Coin Collection B109; P. D. Whitting Collection)

Fig. 2 Gold *solidus* of Anastasios (491–518), mint of Constantinople, wt 4.47 g

(the Barber Institute Coin Collection B16; P. D. Whitting Collection)

Fig. 3 Copper *follis* of Justinian I (527–65), mint of Antioch, officina Γ , regnal year 13 (=539/40), wt 17.45 g

(the Barber Institute Coin Collection B792; P. D. Whitting Collection)

Fig. 4 Gold *solidus* of Justinian II, second reign (705–11), mint of Constantinople, Class II, wt 4.41 g

(the Barber Institute Coin Collection B4463; P. D. Whitting Collection)

Fig. 5 Gold *solidus* of Leo IV (775–80), mint of Constantinople, Class I (776–8), wt 4.41 g

(the Barber Institute Coin Collection B4583; P. D. Whitting Collection)

Fig. 6 Silver *miliaresion* of Leo V (813–20), mint of Constantinople, wt 2.15 g

(the Barber Institute Coin Collection B4634; P. D. Whitting Collection)

Fig. 7 Copper *follis* of Theophilos (829–42), mint of Constantinople, wt 6.84 g

(the Barber Institute Coin Collection B4695; G. Haines Collection)

Fig. 8 Gold *nomisma histamenon* of Nikephoros II (963–9), mint of Constantinople, Class II, wt 4.44 g

(the Barber Institute Coin Collection B4928; G. Haines Collection)

Fig. 9 Gold *nomisma histamenon* of Nikephoros III (1078–81), mint of Constantinople, Class II, wt 4.1 g

(the Barber Institute Coin Collection B5498; G. Haines Collection)

Fig. 10 Gold *nomisma tetrarteron* of Nikephoros III (1078–81), mint of Constantinople, Class II, wt 3.2 g

(the Barber Institute Coin Collection B5502; P. D. Whitting Collection)

Fig. 11 Copper *follis* of Nikephoros III (1078–81), mint of Constantinople, wt 6.69 g

(the Barber Institute Coin Collection B5510; P. D. Whitting Collection)



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Fig. 12 Gold *hyperpyron* of Alexios I (1081–1118), mint of Constantinople, post-reform (1092–1118), wt 4.27 g

(the Barber Institute Coin Collection B5545; P. D. Whitting Collection)

Fig. 13 *Electrum trachy* of Manuel I (1143–80), mint of Thessalonike, wt 4.2 g

(the Barber Institute Coin Collection B5782; P. D. Whitting Collection)

Fig. 14 *Billon trachy* of Alexios III (1195–1203), mint of Constantinople, wt 4 g

(the Barber Institute Coin Collection B5931; P. D. Whitting Collection)

Fig. 15 Copper *tetarteron* of John II (1118–43), mint of Thessalonike, wt 5.80 g

(the Barber Institute Coin Collection B5673; P. D. Whitting Collection)

Fig. 16 Silver *aspron* of Theodora (c. 1285), mint of Trebizond, wt 3 g

(the Barber Institute Coin Collection ET124; P. D. Whitting Collection)

Fig. 17 Gold *hyperpyron* of Michael VIII (1258–82), mint of Constantinople, wt 4.28 g

(the Barber Institute Coin Collection B6141; P. D. Whitting Collection)

Fig. 18 Gold *hyperpyron* of John V Palaiologos with John VI Kantakouzenos (1347–53), mint of Constantinople, wt 3.83 g

(the Barber Institute Coin Collection B6370; P. D. Whitting Collection)

Fig. 19 Silver *basilikon* of Andronikos II with Michael IX (1294–1320), mint of Constantinople, wt 2.13 g

(the Barber Institute Coin Collection B6288; P. D. Whitting Collection)

Fig. 20 Silver *stavraton* of John V (1341–91), period 1354–76, mint of Constantinople, wt 8.8 g

(the Barber Institute Coin Collection B6380; P. D. Whitting Collection)

Fig. 21 Silver one-eighth *stavraton* of Constantine XI (1449–53), mint of Constantinople, wt 0.57 g

(the Barber Institute Coin Collection 4–2006; the Despot Collection of Late Byzantine Coins)



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Copper coins now bore dates of regnal year, and iconographical changes such as the introduction of the facing imperial bust (Fig. 3) further emphasized the confidence copper coinage enjoyed in the economy of the empire (Metcalf 1969; Hendy 1985; Hahn 1973, 1975, 1981, and 1989).

The seventh and eighth centuries are in contrast a period of continuous decline of copper coins, in appearance, weight, and value, which eventually drove the smaller denominations out of circulation, leaving the *follis* as the unique copper value. Moreover, the iconoclastic controversy and succession matters are best echoed in the design of all metallic values, with religious imagery being replaced by the symbol of the cross, and with family portraits adorning both the obverse and reverse of gold coins (Figs. 4–6) (Frances 1966; Grierson 1968, 1973; Metcalf 2001; Morrisson 1986, 2001*b*).

In the period 820–1081 the number of single coin finds, stray or site finds, increases considerably in comparison with the previous period, sometimes called the ‘Dark Ages’ of Byzantium. Increase in the number of coin finds reflects expansion of coin production and circulation, which in their turn mirror imperial initiatives and the modification of fiscal practices in the Byzantine Empire. The early ninth century witnesses a major monetary reform undertaken by Theophilos, whose new copper *follis* (Fig. 7) set the pattern for the following two and a half centuries. Theophilos’ reform marked the beginning of a gradual recovery of the monetized sector of the economy (Metcalf 1979). The decline in the fineness and value of gold coinage first introduced by Nikephoros II Phokas (Fig. 8) continued in the eleventh century against a backdrop of struggle between the central government and the landed aristocracy, heavy expenditure at the imperial court, continuing pressures of expenditure on defence, and the loss of considerable revenue and manpower following the Turkish advance in Asia Minor (Grierson 1973; Harvey 1989; Hendy 1985; Metcalf 1979; Morrisson 1976).

The coinage which Alexios I Komnenos had inherited from Nikephoros III was in an advanced stage of decline, with the two denominations of gold, the full-weight *histamenon* and the slightly lighter *tetarteron*, only about 8 carats fine (Figs. 9–10). The silver *miliaresion* and its fractions had virtually ceased to be issued, and even the *follis* had declined sharply in weight (Fig. 11). Alexios swept the whole system away, and replaced it with a new one whose essential feature was the use of several denominations of alloyed concave coins, uniform in weight but quite distinct in metallic content, and therefore value (Metcalf 1979; Morrisson 1979; Hendy 1985, 1999; Koutava-Delivoria 1995; for the economy at this period see Harvey 1989). The concave coins in the new system were of three denominations. A gold *hyperpyron* replaced the old *histamenon*, but although it was of traditional weight (4.5 g) it was only 20½ carats fine (Fig. 12). Beneath it was an *electrum trachy* coin, an alloy of silver and gold, which at a fineness of 6 carats was worth roughly ⅓ of a *hyperpyron* (Fig. 13). The third denomination, known as *trachy* or *stamenon* in western sources, was an alloy of copper and silver (6 per cent silver) and worth ⅙ of the third

hyperpyron, and $\frac{1}{48}$ of the full *hyperpyron* (Fig. 14). Finally at the bottom of the scale were two flat copper coins, the *tetarteron* and *half-tetarteron*, much smaller than the old *follis*, whose exchange ratio with the *trachy* is uncertain, but which may have been its eighteenth and thirty-sixth respectively (Fig. 15).

During the period of 1092–1204 there is a proliferation of religious iconography on coinage. St Demetrios, patron saint of Thessalonike, appears next to the emperor on *trachea* and *tetartera*, as symbol of civic pride and divine protection. St George, highly honoured in Constantinople, appears on *tetartera*. The Virgin Mary is depicted on most denominations holding the infant Christ or blessing the emperor. This is the beginning of a remarkable period, in which divine protection becomes increasingly visible on coins and complements the earthly one.

Shortly after the fall of Constantinople to the armies of the Fourth Crusade, the Byzantines assembled the fragments of their empire in Epiros, in north-western Anatolia, and in remote Trebizond. The coinage of the three successor states mirrors in its design the political ideology, ambitions, and struggle for legitimacy to be found in Epiros, Nicaea, and Trebizond (see Hendy 1999; Laiou 2001; Protonotarios 1983; Retowski 1910).

The recovery of Constantinople in 1261 by Michael VIII Palaiologos marks the beginning of late Byzantine coinage (Bendall and Donald 1979; Bendall 1988; Bertelè and Morrisson 1978; Grierson 1998, 1999*b*; Morrisson 1996). But the populations and markets which Palaiologan coinage was addressing were a mere shadow of twelfth-century Byzantium. The empire of Trebizond retained its independent status and continued to strike coins in the name of Megaloi Komnenoi until 1461 (Fig. 16), the kingdom of Serbia produced its first currency in 1228 (Ivanišević 2001; Jovanović 2002), and tsar Ivan Assen II (1218–41) further developed Bulgaria's legal tender (in existence since the ninth century) along the lines of Byzantine imperial ideology (Avdev 2005). Moreover, Latin and Venetian issues which were struck in western-dominated Byzantine territories together with Venetian and Genoese coinage that circulated along trade routes in the eastern Mediterranean dramatically reduced the diffusion of Byzantine imperial coinage (Zakythenos 1948; Laiou 1980–1; Matschke 2002). The restricted resources and limited budget of the late Byzantine empire are best reflected in the continuous reduction in the fineness of Byzantine *hyperpyra* from 15 carats under Michael VIII (Fig. 17) to 12 carats during the reign of Andronikos II. Yet, despite reduced fineness, sloppy appearance, and irregular weight, late Byzantine gold coins still succeeded in conveying messages about earthly and divine protection, sovereignty, and associate emperors. Eventually civil wars, empty treasuries, and the increasingly strong presence of Italian maritime powers in the eastern Mediterranean prompted Byzantium to cease striking gold by replacing it with silver. The last *hyperpyra*, struck by John V in association with John VI (Fig. 18), mark the end of a millennium of gold currency in the eastern Roman empire. Silver, by contrast, was produced on a great scale. The *basilikon* (Fig. 19), introduced by Andronikos II, was modelled after the silver ducat of Venice. In the

second half of the fourteenth century the silver *stavraton* (Fig. 20) introduced by John aimed to take over the functions previously fulfilled by the now abandoned gold coinage. The last *stavrata* and their denominations (Fig. 21) were issued by Constantine XI Palaiologos in 1453 (Bendall 1991). Contemporary records together with recent metallurgical analysis suggest that the source for this coinage might have been church plates—a reflection of the desperation on the eve of Constantinople's fall to the Ottomans. It is not until 1467 that gold coinage was once more struck in Constantinople. The name of the city on the coins was now stated as Constantinia, and the universal ruler who ruled over the lands and seas of the former Roman Empire was Mehmet II the Conqueror.

PAST, CURRENT, AND FUTURE DIRECTIONS

Studies related to Byzantine coins can ordinarily be seen in numismatic periodicals and series produced by leading numismatic societies. The appearance of coin studies in such arenas has been sufficient for some to label numismatics as a narrow discipline, associated mostly with collections and die-studies. This common perception does not correspond to reality, and the ever growing number of art historical, archaeological, and economic studies on coin iconography, distribution, and circulation demonstrate the importance numismatic evidence holds as source material, with naturally all the limitations any other group of Byzantine sources has. The very nature of numismatic evidence gives even some advantages to coins over other sources. Coins continue to turn up in large numbers in archaeological sites and accidental finds, and their publication and consideration in regional and cross-cultural studies is still far from completed. In that respect coins can be a rich source and a true kaleidoscope through which various aspects of Byzantine civilization continue to emerge. Hence the short discussion that follows does not intend to categorize coins in typologies, but rather to demonstrate their versatility as a tool for the study of Byzantine civilization.

Coins, Religion, Political Ideology, and Art

Though mostly conservative in their approach, coins capture artistic trends of their time, and try to convey messages of imperial ideology and theological discourse as the mass, and therefore powerful, medium of art of their time. Hairstyle, imperial dress code, and insignia as well as the very presence or absence of Byzantine empresses on coins, are subjects that certainly have not exhausted discussion and

research (Tobler and Brubaker 2000). The partnership between divine and earthly powers, as this is illustrated on coins, is also an intriguing area of research (e.g. Georganteli 2001; Morrisson 2003). Angels first appear on coins as early as the fifth century as part of the Christianization of the empire, but it was really Justinian II and later Leo VI who introduced splendid images of Christ and the Virgin Mary on their coins (Penna 2000), and provided the base for the development of a great repertoire of saintly figures pictured alone and later in the company of emperors.

Coin Production and the Economy

Throughout its millennium the Byzantine state retained a key role in the planning and issuing of coinage by controlling some of the most important aspects of its economy, such as interest rates, maritime trade, taxation, salaries of state officials and the army. This centralized character, similar to the economic planning conducted by modern states, was in contrast to the regional aspects of economy encountered in western medieval Europe. Byzantine coins were struck in gold, silver, and copper, and the availability or dearth of certain denominations or metallic values throughout Byzantium's existence, as well as the emergence and disappearance of imperial mints, was in tune with contemporary socio-economic and political phenomena that dominated the life of the empire (Hendy 1985; Laiou and Morrisson 2007; Oikonomides 1996).

A very interesting aspect of the Byzantine economy is the relation between coins, taxation, wages, and prices. References to taxes and prices expressed in coins can be found in a variety of sources including imperial charters, historiography, saints' lives, monastic typica, and satire. Useful studies of these in relation to the state's economic apparatus can be found in Oikonomides (1996), Morrisson and Cheynet (2002), and Lefort (1991).

Coinage, Medieval Routes, and Communications

The study of Byzantine coinage is essentially the study of routes and communications within and outside Byzantium's borders, of the empire's political and socio-economic evolution, and of its cultural and religious interchange with its eastern and western neighbours. In that respect any attempt to single out Byzantine numismatics from political geography, history, and archaeology as well as from western medieval, Balkan, and Islamic numismatics may appear oversimplification to the point of distortion.

In terms of the circumstances of discovery, coins are classified as site finds (coins unearthed in the process of archaeological work) and stray finds (coins accidentally found during surveys, mining, agricultural activities, etc.). In terms of

numbers, coin finds are categorized as single and accumulative ones or coin hoards, and the study of each group calls for a different methodological approach (see e.g. Morrisson 1982; Gelichi and La Roca 2004). Systematization of archaeological research and recent developments in the recording of portable antiquities, which include coins, have undoubtedly advanced our knowledge of the role of coinage, both Byzantine and foreign, in the medieval economy, and of the routes of trade, war, and pilgrimage across the Balkans, the eastern Mediterranean, and the Black Sea (Duncan 1993; McCormick 2001; Morrisson, Popovic, and Ivanišević 2006; Oberländer-Tärnoveanu 2001). A major *desideratum* for future research remains the discussion of coin finds in their own socio-economic context shaped by the political and economic geography of the medieval Balkans rather than that determined by modern national borders in the peninsula. In that respect the field of numismatics still has room for improvement, especially with respect to the wider usage of written sources, the utilization of maps of Byzantine administrative units, and the systematic mapping of find-spots.

Byzantine Coinage Between East and West, and from Rome to Rum

The complexity of Byzantium's diplomatic, economic, and artistic relations with its eastern and western neighbours has generated a substantial volume of research in documents and artefacts (see Laiou and Morrisson 2001). Yet, numismatic studies on this topic are still conspicuously few. Given the ever growing number of publications of Byzantine coin finds from Armenia, Georgia, China, northern and western Europe, the setting of Byzantine coins in their eastern and western context is not only desirable but also a fresh and essential angle of research (see Georganteli and Cook 2006). The area of the eastern Mediterranean was always a natural crossroads for different cultures brought together by trade, political expediency, and warfare. The coinage of the crusader principalities and kingdoms, of the empires of Trebizond and Nicaea, and of the kingdom of Cilician Armenia reflects in its iconography, metrology, and metallic system a strong current of cross-cultural exchange between East and West. Moreover, encounters between Byzantium and the Islamic world from the emergence of the first Islamic coinage in the seventh century to the Ottoman conquest in the fifteenth century, are superbly reflected in the iconographical choices and metallic values of seventh-century Islamic coins, the coinage of the Turkish princes and chieftains of eleventh–thirteenth century Anatolia, and the coins (for a bibliographical survey see Oddy 2004) and medals issued by Mehmet II in the 1470s and 1480s.

All these research areas call for comparative studies and an interdisciplinary approach which can bring into the discussion socio-economic history, political

geography, and the study of art. This interdisciplinary approach, already exercised in western medieval studies, can eventually achieve a better understanding of Byzantium's most powerful mass medium of communication, its coinage.

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Further Reading

The International Numismatic Commission has produced since 1940 fourteen surveys of numismatic research, each volume to coincide with the International Numismatic Congress hosted by different countries every six years. The surveys are meticulous and up-to-date accounts of the scholarship produced worldwide. See also C. Morriison, 'Byzance', in C. Alfaro and A. Burnett (eds.), *A Survey of Numismatic Research, 1996–2001* (Madrid, 2003): 347–74. Other specialized publications featuring studies on Byzantine coins are periodicals by learned societies worldwide: the *Numismatic Chronicle* (Royal Numismatic Society), the *Numismatic Circular* (Spink), la *Revue numismatique* (La Société Française de Numismatique), la *Revue belge de numismatique* (La Société royale de numismatique de Belgique), la *Rivista Italiana di Numismatica* (La Società Numismatica Italiana), *Schweizer Münzblätter* (Société Suisse de Numismatique), *Numismatic Literature* (American Numismatic Society), *Nomismatika Chronica* (Hellenic Numismatic Society), *Studii și Cercetări de Numismatică* (Academia Romana), *Numismatika I Sfragistika* (Arkheologicheski Muzei, Sofia), and the *Macedonian Numismatic Journal* (Skopje).

Coins in Art

Useful discussions of Byzantine coins in the context of contemporary art, imperial ideology, and religious practices are found in Grierson 1968 and 1973, and Hendy 1999. See also D. Vassilikou and M. Lykiardopoulou (eds.), *Coinage and Religion (ΟΒΟΛΙΟΣ 2)* (Athens, 1997).

Coin Production and the Economy

This is a huge topic; useful orientation can be found in *EHB*. Important also are Hendy 1985, Laiou-Thomadakis 1977, Treadgold 1982, and Kravari, Lefort, and Morrisson 1989–91, Laiou and Morrisson 2007.

PROSOPOGRAPHY

DION SMYTHE

KAZHDAN defines prosopography as ‘the study of names of individuals and families in a given historical period’ (Kazhdan 1991: 1739), but this is onomastics. Prosopography (from *prosopon*, ‘a mask’ in Classical Greek drama and by extension a person; and *grapho*, ‘I write’) creates lists of biographical notes, in effect a *Dictionary of National Biography* or a *Who’s Who*. The classic definition is Stone’s: ‘Prosopography is the investigation of the common background characteristics of a group of actors in history by means of a collective study of their lives’ (Stone 1981: 45). Previously, the individual ‘actors in history’ meant ‘men who matter’, the political elite; but prosopography, given its aggregate nature, is well suited to the study of ‘lesser mortals’. The group these actors form is defined variously. It may share geography (active in Constantinople, born in Hellas). Perhaps all the individuals held the same office or the same type of office—MPs at the accession of George III, senators at Augustan Rome, holders of the office of *strategos*. The common feature may be that all the individuals are mentioned in one particular historical source (Skoulatos 1980). The questions are usually quite standard:

about birth and death, marriage and family, social origins and inherited economic position, place of residence, education amount and source of personal wealth, occupation, religion, experience of office and so on. (Stone 1981: 45–6)

A prosopographical study creates a structured set of ordered information. The information from each individual may be insufficient to draw meaningful conclusions, but the pooled information supports historical analyses (Mathisen 1988: 73). Prosopography is part of history not antiquarianism because of this explanation of historical change. The data gathered by prosopographers is used to explain change

in human societies in the past—political change, economic change, social change, cultural or ideological change (Stone 1981: 45–6; Kazhdan 1991: 3, 1739). Stone identifies two types of prosopographical study. The older type—Stone identifies Beard 1913, Namier 1929, and Syme 1939 as the first exponents—he describes as ‘elitist’: the US Founding Fathers, the Roman senators, or British MPs. Generally, they are concerned with the small elite that directs the political life of their society. These studies are of small-group dynamics and the interaction between members of the group. Interaction tends to be analysed in terms of family, marriage, and economic ties. The analysis is presented in terms of detailed case-studies and ‘vignettes’ (Stone 1981: 46). These examples of ‘elite prosopography’ confirm Stone’s view that prosopography works best when it is applied to ‘easily defined and fairly small groups over a limited period of not much more than a hundred years, when data are drawn from a very wide variety of sources which complement and enrich each other, and when the study is directed to solving a specific problem’ (Stone 1981: 69). The second type of prosopographical study according to Stone is the ‘mass study’. Studies of this type tend to draw more explicitly on sociological and psychological theory and present their analysis much more in terms of statistics and correlations of many variables. It tends also to have a greater focus on social (education, source and level of wealth) rather than political history (Stone 1981: 47).

A different division is the difference between ‘old’ and ‘new’ prosopography. ‘Old prosopography’ focuses on the offices, ranks, honours, and property held by individuals. The emphasis is on individuals who ‘held’ something, who can be identified with other individuals who ‘held’ similar things, noting changes through time. The questions answered by ‘old prosopography’ are: ‘Who held the particular office X?’, ‘Who held the specific honorific title P?’, ‘Did individuals who held the office X invariably move on to hold the office Y?’, ‘Who held the offices Y and Z simultaneously?’, ‘Did the holder of the office Y always receive the honorific Q?’ By contrast, ‘new prosopography’ stresses the connections between individuals, the relationships—not merely blood-kin and marriage-kin, but also shared education (at an institution for the modern period, from a particular teacher for the medieval period), shared geographical origin, or use of shared language—that enmesh individuals in society (Barnish 1994: 177). Clearly, ‘new prosopography’ makes use of the same questions about offices and honorific titles as ‘old prosopography’, but it also asks questions that emphasize the relationships between individuals. New prosopography is also interested in the relative values or positions in a social network indicated by the use of honorifics and terms of address and salutations in letters (the range of social meaning indicated in letters between clerics when ‘father’, ‘son’, ‘brother’, or ‘friend’ is used). In a rather ‘post-modern’ way, ‘new prosopography’ is further interested in which individuals are mentioned in one source but not another (this leads to questions of source-criticism, but also serves to historically locate the different sources). An additional point, which shows the influence of source criticism, literary criticism, and post-structuralist theories of

deconstruction, is the question of the 'truth' or 'adherence to reality' of the sources we use. The heyday of the 'old prosopography' (Stone 1981: 47–8) was dominated by von Ranke's ideas of 'how it really was' (*wie es eigentlich gewesen*). We have lost that belief in absolute verities. We engage with sources on at least two levels. On the one hand, because a source records something, this 'factoid' (Meier 1985: 32) may be the record of something that happened in the past. On the other hand, a factoid recorded in a source may not have happened. The author of the source may have believed that it did happen, but it is possible that the author of the source knew that the factoid in question did not happen but felt that it should have done, either for matters of 'justice' or because the scheme of the author's work required it to have done so.

We have three pairs of kinds of prosopography: the general and the specific; the elite and the mass; the old and the new. To make our lives complete, these pairings are not mutually exclusive, but can run across each other.

There are three classes of Byzantine prosopographical work: the specific study, the prosopographical studies of a limited universe, and the general prosopographical resource. At the dawn of the twenty-first century we are fortunate in that there are now complete or in train a general sequence of prosopographical resources that cover the *longue durée* of the Byzantine Empire. For the secular world of the *virī clarissimi* and above, there is the *Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire* (Jones, Martindale, and Morris 1971–92), coupled, for the Christians, with the *Prosopographie chrétienne du Bas-empire* (Mandouze and others 1982–). For the Palaiologan period, there is Trapp's *Prosopographisches Lexikon der Palaiologenzeit* (Trapp 1976–94). For many years, the gap was the Middle Byzantine period. This is now addressed with the publication of the German language *Prosopographie der mittelbyzantinischen Zeit* (Lilie and others 1998–2002) and the CD publication of the *Prosopography of the Byzantine Empire I* (Martindale 2001), now continuing as the *Prosopography of the Byzantine World* (Jeffreys and others 2006).

The second class of Byzantine prosopographical studies is more limited in scope. Most numerous are prosopographical studies by family. As the deciding factor is usually the family name, these studies tend to congregate in the middle and late Byzantine periods, when family names were in use (Barzos 1984; Cahen 1966; Cheynet and Vannier 1986: 7–122, 123–87; Nicol 1968; Polemis 1968; Seibt 1976; Vannier 1975). Next are prosopographical studies defined by source text (Gautier 1969; Nesbitt 1975; Skoulatos 1980).

The final type of Byzantine prosopographical work is the monograph, which uses the prosopographical method to address a major question of historical analysis. The brilliant example of this type is Cheynet's *Pouvoir et contestations* (1990), which by close analysis of the aristocratic families of the tenth to twelfth centuries lays to rest the idea that there were distinct 'military' and 'civil' aristocratic families vying for power in Byzantium.

How does one set about 'doing' prosopography? One identifies the question to be answered using the prosopographical method and the sources, which will supply the data. Identifying the question and the sources are part of the same process. Limits are determined. Normally, the limits will be chronological and geographical, but the sources to be used should be catholic—narrative histories, chronicles, documents (Athos archives for example), hagiography, *typika*, seals, coins, and other material objects (which frequently bear inscriptions). The specific data to be recorded about each individual and the standard way in which these data are to be recorded are decided next. One then works through the texts, identifying the individuals and recording for each of them the relevant data in the relevant form. The result will be a prosopographical corpus, which with further correlation and analysis will generate the answer to the question, which prompted the study.

The two basic errors of prosopography centre on the individual in the prosopography: fusion and splitting. In fusion, information about an individual is identified wrongly with another individual and the information from the source or sources is added to that record and an individual who should appear in the data-set is omitted. Splitting is when information from the sources that correctly belongs to a single individual is wrongly attributed to two (or more) individuals. There are no established protocols to prevent fusion or splitting. It is considered 'better form' to engage in splitting rather than fusion, as it is easier to concatenate two or more individuals who have been 'split' in error than it is to separate fused individuals. It is for this reason that one usually finds cross-references in prosopographies with values such as 'possibly identical with', 'probably identical with', and 'to be identified with'.

As medievalists, Byzantinists suffer from the fragmentary nature of our records. Lawrence Stone—a modern historian—believes the prosopographical method to be of dubious value before the widespread literacy, printing, and record-keeping of the sixteenth century (Stone 1981: 57). This overstates the case, but Byzantine prosopographers—in common with all historians—must be aware of the limitations imposed by the survival of sources: who is recorded in these sources (usually it must be said 'the better sort of men') and what is recorded about them (property holdings and transfers, descent and marriage). A particular problem for prosopographers (because their work consists of the correlation of like with like) is the need to establish and adhere to consistent classifications of the data elements (Stone 1981: 60). Prosopographers share with other historians the dangers of assuming that their data is somehow 'standard'. In medieval history, of course, because these individuals have made it into the sources, they are exceptional. They are not a random sample and indeed the application of statistics to medieval history is questionable (Stone 1981: 61). Prosopography deals well with things that can be counted: estates, books, friends, wives, children; it does not deal well with things that cannot be counted: ideas, thoughts, *mentalité*. Prosopography deals with what binds a group together, who makes up a group and why (Stone 1981: 62–5)—but in dealing with that, it

is important always to ask how the group persists and not to assume that it is because of enumerated things or an innate conservation of energy that preserves social structures.

Why do people do prosopography? Cheynet says that if we want to understand middle Byzantine society, we must study the families that made it up (Cheynet 1990: 9). History is the study of the changes in time of how people interact. Prosopography, focused on the individual, provides a rigorous methodology of 'how to do history'. Student-historians working in prosopography learn how to handle and evaluate a variety of different sources. It demands accuracy in recording and in expression (when you say 'nephew', do you mean sibling's son or spouse's sibling's son? English does not make the distinction, but England is not a nation of prosopographers). It requires the methodical arrangement of the results (Stone 1981: 71). As prosopography is concerned with the structured recording and analysis of a mass of information about a large number of individuals, prosopography is well suited to ICT storage, retrieval, and manipulation. Established historians use the prosopographical method because it answers the questions they seek to address and because its rigour reveals the kernel of the problem (Cheynet 1990: 9; Olster 1993: iii).

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The best way to understand more about prosopography is to look at some entries in a prosopography (Jones, Martindale, and Morris 1971–92; Lilie and others 1998–2002; Barzos 1984; Cahen, 1966). For the power of the method rigorously applied, look no further than Cheynet 1990 for Byzantium, and Namier 1929 for the classic example in English historiography. For further information on the context of prosopography within history, see Stone 1981.

DENDROCHRONOLOGY

PETER IAN KUNIHOLM

DENDROCHRONOLOGY, or tree-ring dating, is deceptively simple. Some species of trees add their annual growth increments in two parts: 'spring wood' and then 'summer wood' cells, so that, when seen on the end-grain, they look like 'rings': hence the term. When trees in a given climatic region are similarly affected by yearly changes in the climate (as they are throughout most of the Byzantine world), their rings can be matched ('crossdated') with one another so that a given ring can be assigned to a specific calendar year. Sometimes a felling time within a year can be identified. Dendrochronology is the only form of archaeometric dating with this kind of annual or sub-annual resolution. The method works only with species having clear, annual growth rings, and, since the vast majority (99 per cent of monuments where any wood is preserved) of Byzantine and meta-Byzantine buildings were built with oak, this immediately makes tree-ring dating feasible for the Byzantinist. Species in which the annual ring-boundaries are non-existent or indistinct, for example, olive, willow, poplar, and most fruit or orchard trees (whose ring-growth may reflect merely the assiduity or the laziness of the gardener), cannot be crossdated. See Kuniholm 2001 for further discussion and bibliographic references, also Grissino-Mayer 1993 for a list of species which can be crossdated.

Crossdating is the fundamental principle upon which all dendrochronology is based. The researcher has to be assured that rings from two or more specimens were formed in the same year. Simple ring-counts are not sufficient. Neither is a single pattern of co-variation in ring-width (a 'signature'). In order to avoid the possibility of an accidental (but spurious) 'match' dendrochronologists try to compare samples which have at least 100 rings and multiple signatures rather than shorter-lived specimens which may not preserve enough signatures to guarantee the fit. These ring-patterns may be generated by a wide variety of causes (see Schweingruber 1988; Cook and Kairiukstis 1990; Eckstein 1972). The ring-patterns which are most

usually crossdatable are the trees' mutual response to some climatic stimulus; in some regions principally rainfall or lack of it; in others principally temperature; in yet others some combination of the two. For the Byzantine world April–May–June rainfall dominates all other stimuli (Hughes and others 2002; Griggs and others 2007). This stimulus-and-response is therefore specific to a climatic region: that is, the south-western USA, the extreme northern timber-line ($>\sim 60^\circ\text{N}$), northern Europe, the eastern Mediterranean, etc. The climatic boundaries for crossdating have been best determined, in practice, by trial and error. Sometimes they fit the map, sometimes not, and then an explanation for the apparent anomaly must be sought. Wood cut from a forest site in Calabria in southern Italy, for example, crossdates with wood from Greece and Turkey, but it does not crossdate with wood from Spain, or over the Alps, or even Sicily. The first two non-fits are no surprise, but the non-fit with Mt Etna in Sicily, only 80 km away, is, and therefore requires explanation. Sicily appears to belong more to the North African climate system rather than to that of the central/eastern Mediterranean. Similarly, wood from the Black Sea coast of Turkey (the Pontos) does not crossdate with wood from central and western Europe, although forthcoming work in Romania and Bulgaria may help join the chronologies.

Caveats to the dendrochronological method include:

(i) the possibility of reused wood: for example, the Arizona mesas, where wood cut in pre-Columbian times is still in use today (for comments on dendrochronological interpretation see Bannister 1963);

(ii) changing habits of users of wood: for example, Renaissance painters in different centuries tended to let their panels dry out for two, to five, to eight, to ten years before painting on them (see Klein references); for architectural timbers, however, the Byzantine and Ottoman practice seems to have been for the carpenters to cut the wood and use it almost immediately;

(iii) heavily trimmed wood: for example, cut boards or musical instruments;

(iv) wood imported from some other climatic region: *Abies* (fir) at Herculaneum imported from the Alps, or *Quercus* (oak) supports for panel paintings in England and the Low Countries which were imported as cut boards from the Baltic (all Klein refs.; Kuniholm 2002; Kuniholm and others 2007);

(v) wood which is so badly degraded that its ring- and cell-structures are not preserved;

(vi) 'complacent' ring-sequences: that is, little or no significant change from year to year;

(vii) wood that has such erratic ring-sequences that they appear to fit in more than one place;

(viii) and no wood preserved at all, for example, the Baths of Caracalla or Diocletian in Rome with their hundreds of empty beam-holes.

Lest this long list of caveats seems discouraging, as an addendum to (ii) above, we note the following:

<i>Monument</i>	<i>Inscriptional date</i>	<i>Dendrochronological date</i>
Thessalonike, Moni Vlatadon, roof repair	1801	1800 winter
Ambelakia, Schwartz House	1787	1786 winter
Siatista, Nerandzopoulou House	1754	1753 winter
Thessalonike, Nea Panaghia	1727	1727
Thessalonike, Frourio Vardari	1597 spring	1597 spring
Thessalonike, White Tower	1535	1535

Clearly the woodcutters for these buildings must have been following Vitruvius' dictum (whether they had heard of Vitruvius or not) that one should always use one's wood fresh while it was still easy to cut.

The standard cautions that govern an archaeologist's activities in the field apply to dendrochronology as well. One of the reasons for the success of the dendrochronological method has been the history of regular interaction between the archaeologist in the field and the worker in the laboratory. Beware of singleton samples, wood from uncertain contexts, wood that shows signs of reuse, indications of repairs, the wrong kind of nails, traces of machine-sawing where one might expect only axe and adze-marks, etc. For other cautions see appendix III in Baillie 1982.

TECHNIQUES

Sampling

Full cross-sections provide the greatest amount of information. When cutting these is either impossible or forbidden (from a living tree or from an important architectural monument), the dendrochronologist is obliged to resort to coring. A Swedish increment corer is used to extract thin radial cores from standing trees, and a variety of commercially available drillbits is used to extract similar radial cores from intact architectural timbers. Klein and colleagues in the Hamburg laboratory have had good success with some 2,000 oil paintings painted on wooden panels by surfacing the end-grain with a razor blade and measuring directly from the panel (Eckstein and others 1983; Klein 1980, 1986, 1991, 1993, 1994). Byzantine icons are the obvious next step—the reserve collection in the Byzantine Museum in Athens has something like 25,000 pieces—but we have generally stayed away from such easily transportable icons of uncertain provenance until the master chronologies built

from architectural timbers were solidly in place. On rare occasions a good, high-contrast photograph of the end-grain has allowed a piece of wood to be dated. The disadvantage of photographs is that microscopically small rings are almost impossible to discern unless the photographer had the forethought to do some sanding and polishing before taking the photograph. For both sections and cores it is important to include as much of the sapwood where it is extant and to avoid knots, cracks, and other blemishes which distort the patterns of ring-growth. On any sample, if the bark or the 'waney edge' (an Anglicism for the surface immediately beneath the bark) is present, the date when the tree was felled can be determined to the year. For oaks (which have estimatable even if region-specific amounts of sapwood—for the Aegean we use 26 ± 9 years), if a significant amount of sapwood is preserved, the felling date can be estimated with varying degrees of precision to within several years. In other species, or in oaks with little or no sapwood and an unknown amount of missing heartwood rings, only a *terminus post quem* date is possible.

Analytical

The surface of the sample to be studied is prepared with fine sandpaper or a razor blade so that every ring can be measured and morphological oddities noted, usually under a binocular dissecting microscope. Then, whether a low-technology (skeleton-plotting or 'the Douglass method'; see Stokes and Smiley 1968) or a more high-technology method is used, the latter including complete measurement of the ring-series and various kinds of statistical analyses (see the more recent handbooks listed below under Further Reading), the rings have to be matched to one another. Once wood or charcoal specimens have been crossdated, they are then set in order, beginning with an absolutely dated tree, and a chronology is built in step-wise fashion into the past as far back as the evidence will allow. For the best recent summary of the general methodology see Schweingruber 1988. Whether a low-technology or a high-technology method is used, the final result should be the same: a date that is accurate to the year and that can be replicated by other workers.

BUILDING THE LONG CHRONOLOGIES: NORTHERN EUROPE

For Europe between the Pyrenees and the Baltic a long, continuous chronology for oak of some 8700 years is in place, thanks largely to quantities of Irish bog oaks and ten thousand oak stems from the Rhine, Main, and Danube Rivers (Pilcher and others 1984). Long lists of dated medieval buildings are provided by Hollstein 1980,

and Schmidt and others 1990. Without this fundamental work none of the studies of panel paintings would have been possible. Yet, at the beginning, it was not clear to the European workers that this was all going to come together as neatly as it did (Baillie 1983).

THE BYZANTINE WORLD

The Byzantine dendro-world has not been as rich as Europe north of the Alps (few bogs, and the rivers have been picked clean). Secure oak and conifer chronologies built by the Cornell laboratory from some 200 buildings (as of March 2007) are as follows:

<i>Oak</i>		<i>Pine</i>	
Turkey	1044 to present	Turkey	1292–2000
Black Sea Coast	1089 to present	Turkey Juniper	1037–1988
Central and Western Greece	1162 to present	Greece	1243–2002
Thrace and Thessalonike	1169 to present	South Italy	1148–1980
‘Yugoslavia’ Late	1543–1850	Yugoslavia	1632–1981
‘Yugoslavia’ Early	1073–1351	Cyprus	1479–2004

Less-secure, and still tentative chronologies from some 46 sites are:

‘Roman Gap’ Oak, Late	381–2004
‘Roman Gap’ Oak, Early	–518–348 estimated

The ‘Roman Gap’ terminology deserves explanation. The late first millennium BCE and the early first millennium CE have given us more trouble than all the other nine millennia combined from which we have collected wood. Although we have over 100 oak chronologies or singleton pieces in hand, many of the data sets are short, many only 100–150 years long, and the collection sites range from Italy and Croatia to eastern Turkey. Seaside sites could have been supplied by ship from anywhere in the Roman world. As more material is collected and added to the above, the so-called ‘Roman Gap’ problem should sort itself out. For example, several really long data sets would confirm the overlapping placements of the shorter ones. In the summer of 2006 some 600 oak samples were collected from the Yenikapı excavations in Istanbul and are being measured. It is entirely possible that this approximately 33-year gap between 348 and 381 will have been filled by the time anybody reads this prose. At <http://arts.cornell.edu/dendro> we will post a list by May 2007 for any reader who needs a Byzantine or meta-Byzantine date. To save the reader additional time and effort, we will also post a list of the 400-odd buildings which we have already visited and which have *not* yielded any datable wood.

REFERENCE SOURCES

Two journals devoted exclusively to dendrochronological subjects are the *Tree-Ring Bulletin* (1934–) and *Dendrochronologia* (1983–). Over 1,500 archived tree-ring data sets are in the International Tree Ring Data Bank in Boulder, Colorado (<http://www.ngdc.noaa.gov/paleo/ftp-treering.html>), and a polyglot cross-referenced guide to dendrochronological terminology in seven languages is to be found in Kaennel and Schweingruber 1995.

ADDITIONAL APPLICATIONS

Applied dendrochronological topics now include the study of changes in both the immediate and distant environment, the history and effects of pollution, stream erosion and infill, forest fires, earthquakes, glacial movement, volcanoes, tsunamis, seasonal river flooding, insect life-cycles, human intervention in the forest, and changes in wood utilization and exploitation, and so on. Schweingruber 1988 provides an extraordinary illustrated listing, with bibliography, of many of these fields and sub-fields into which dendrochronological research has evolved. With the wealth of documentation available in Byzantine sources, this kind of study might seem of marginal interest, but now and then the trees tell us something about which the chronicles are silent. See Stahle and others 1998, where the authors note that the collapse of the Jamestown colony occurred during the coldest winter in the last 1000 years.

CASE STUDIES IN DENDROCHRONOLOGY

In contrast to some of the other archaeometric techniques where the laboratory scientists interact very little with the archaeologists, dendrochronology from its very beginning has been typified by close collaboration between laboratory and field workers. In practice the dendrochronologist has visited the site, discussed its problems and interpretation with the excavator, and only then has taken the sample. An ideal sample will be of value to both parties, that is, datable and from a significant archaeological context. Instances where dendrochronology has been applied with noteworthy results to the interpretation of archaeological sites and archaeological or art-historical artefacts include the following, selected from two of the three principal regions where tree-ring dating has been done extensively.

Europe

New work of relevance to Byzantinists as models of what might be achieved in the Byzantine world includes studies of the medieval and prehistoric Netherlands (Jansma 1995), the early medieval and Viking settlements at Haithabu (Eckstein 1969, 1972; Eckstein and others 1983). It also includes the analysis of a long series of medieval buildings in the Rhineland (Hollstein 1980), a thorough study of private houses in the Mosel Region (Schmidt and others 1990), and the identification of the imported Polish oak which served as supports for Netherlandish panel paintings (Baillie and others 1985; Eckstein and others 1986) as well as for wainscoting in English country houses.

Aegean and the Near East

Dendrochronological analysis of approximately two hundred medieval buildings in Greece and Turkey has been carried out since 1973 (Kuniholm and Striker 1987; Kuniholm 1994). One striking example of how the method can require a change to old ways of thinking is the Church of the Holy Apostles in Thessalonike where a puzzling, long-misunderstood monogram (*Niphon Ktitor*) which suggested a date of 1310–14 is contradicted by the dendrochronological date of 1329 which happens to be the year when Niphon returned from exile (Kuniholm and Striker 1990).

‘Dendroprovenancing’ as mentioned earlier for exported Polish oak in northern Europe is possible in the Aegean as well, with Alpine fir and spruce found in a Renaissance palace in Dubrovnik on the Dalmatian Coast, Black Sea oak found in medieval monuments in Istanbul and Thessalonike, and Alpine fir and spruce found in the destroyed Roman towns of Pompeii and Herculaneum (Kuniholm 2002; Kuniholm and others 2007).

CASE STUDIES IN ENVIRONMENTAL AND CLIMATIC RECONSTRUCTION (NORTH AMERICA OMITTED)

Europe

For the medieval warm period see Hughes and Diaz 1994; and for southern Europe see Urbinati and Carrer 1997. For environmental reconstruction for earlier periods see the bibliography in Kuniholm 2001.

Aegean and the Near East

For an early résumé see Kuniholm 1990 for a singular drought event in the Little Ice Age. Then see Hughes and others 2002, and now Griggs and others 2007. This subject has barely begun to be investigated to its full potential. The difference between the Byzantine world and everywhere else is that the Byzantinist is in the fortunate position of being able to play the references in the chronicles against the tree-rings.

RADIOCARBON CALIBRATION AND WIGGLE-MATCHING

Radiocarbon does not have the precision that Byzantinists need. A date to within a half-century or so, although acceptable to a prehistorian, does not serve the medievalist well at all. However, when no dendro-datable wood is preserved, then one is forced to rely on this method. Where possible, 'wiggle-matching' of seriated samples should be used. As anyone who has used radiocarbon knows, the calibration curve itself is not a straight line. It wiggles as it goes back in time as more or less radiocarbon is created in a given year. If one were to take a 100-year piece of wood and cut it into decade-long pieces and radiocarbon date each one (keeping the pieces in order, of course), it would produce a similarly wiggly line. The researcher can then match the wiggles of the calibration curve against the wiggles produced by the newly dated set of samples and arrive at a much closer fit than if a single sample were being dated. See the Oxford Labs web-site and the OxCal program for practical examples.

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Further Reading

Other basic explanations of the dendrochronological method and useful illustrative material are to be found in Douglass 1935, Glock 1937, Stokes and Smiley 1968, Ferguson 1970,

Eckstein and others 1984, Cook and Kairiukstis 1990, Baillie 1995, Dean 1997. For a polyglot explanation of terms see Kaennel and Schweingruber 1995. One reason for the successful development of dendrochronology is the extent to which workers have shared information, even raw unpublished data. A series of international meetings with titles that do not necessarily appear in electronic key-word searches has brought the tree-ring community together at irregular intervals, and the published proceedings form a sequence that charts the progress of the field. In chronological order they are Fletcher (ed.) 1978, Eckstein and others 1983, Ward (ed.) 1987, Bartholin and others 1992, Hughes and Diaz 1994, Dean and others 1996, Stravinskiene and Juknys 1998. All contain nuggets of information that might be put to advantage by the Byzantinist.

BRICKSTAMPS

JONATHAN BARDILL

In the Early Byzantine period in particular, bricks were often marked with text, monograms, or other signs. This might be achieved either by carving a design into the bottom of the wooden brick-mould (thereby leaving markings in relief on the wet clay) or by stamping the moulded brick with an inscribed die of wood or terracotta (thereby leaving a sunken impression of the die with raised letters inside).

Brickstamps and mould-made marks provide an insight into the organization of the brickmaking industry and serve as a valuable archaeological tool for dating brick buildings. If bricks bearing identical stamps are found in the fabric of different buildings, then these buildings may well have been built at the same time—assuming that the bricks do not come from later repairs to the structure or were not old stock when the edifice was built.

Stamps are well attested in Rome and its vicinity from the first to the sixth century, and have been the subject of detailed scholarly attention for many years. In contrast, the abundant material from Constantinople, which dates from the late fourth century to the very end of the sixth, has only recently received the attention it deserves, and no doubt much new information will emerge as this field of study expands. Material from the Byzantine provinces requires much more intensive study, and before this can be undertaken it will be necessary to assemble larger corpora of materials.

CONSTANTINOPLE (Bardill 2004)

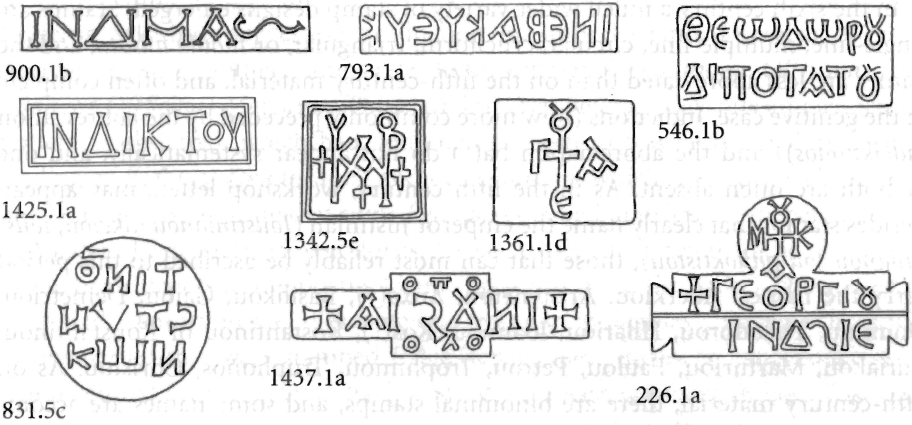
Brick production is likely to have been concentrated near forested areas, from where fuel for the kilns could be gathered, and close to the sea shore, so that the bricks could be shipped to the capital, where most of the construction activity was located. In the region of Constantinople, bricks were made in moulds without bottoms (i.e. in wooden frames). Their size varied, but was generally in the region of 370 mm square × 45 mm thick, decreasing to 330 mm square in the post-Justinianic period (see II.7.1 Building materials and techniques). Stamping was undertaken whilst the bricks were laid out to dry. The proportion of bricks selected for stamping has not been established, and estimates vary between one and fifty per cent. If the stamper merely stamped the bricks located at the ends of the rows that had been laid out to dry, the proportion may not have been consistent. Brickstamps noted in buildings located within the walls of Constantinople have also been reported in much smaller numbers along the shores of the Bosphoros and the Sea of Marmara. In the fifth century a batch of stamped bricks from Constantinople reached as far afield as Beirut, but this is exceptional.

Stamped bricks were usually laid with the stamp on the underside. This means that stamps are rarely visible in floors, except in areas relaid in later periods. In standing buildings, stamps can in general only be seen on the underside of bricks spanning put-log holes (scaffold holes), or on the underside of bricks exposed because the structure below has fallen or been quarried away. Ruined and demolished buildings have yielded the largest numbers of stamped bricks, and large numbers are stored in the Istanbul Archaeological Museum.

Single-line stamps bearing the Latin formula DDDNNN (*trium dominorum nostrorum*) appear to be the earliest in Constantinople, probably dating to the Constantinian period. Such stamps also include an indiction number in Roman numerals preceded by the abbreviation IN(*dictione*). The system of dating by indications (see I.2.2 Chronology and dating) was employed systematically on stamped bricks throughout the first three-quarters of the fifth century. These indications are crucial for establishing precise dates for the manufacture of the bricks, and hence for dating the structures in which the bricks were found. The majority of stamps of this period are highly formulaic, with single-line inscriptions in Greek beginning with the abbreviation *in(diktionos)*, followed by the Greek numeral, the abbreviation ba(), bar(), or bare() (of uncertain resolution), and a name (or occasionally two names), which is usually abbreviated to three or four letters. Sometimes a final additional letter was added, which is believed to have designated a particular group of brickmakers. The names that can be most reliably ascribed to this period include: Abi() or Abir(), Ago(), Andrea, Ares(), Bas() or Basi(), Gra(), Eu(), Eut(), Heli() or Hili(), Hesu(), The(), Theo(),

CONSTANTINOPLE

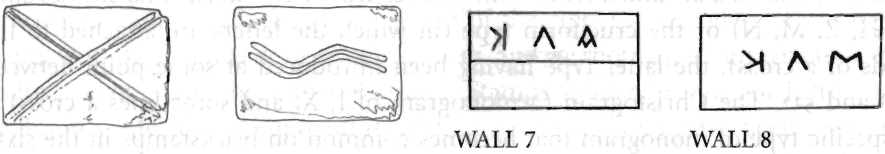
FROM BARDILL 2004



THESSALONIKE

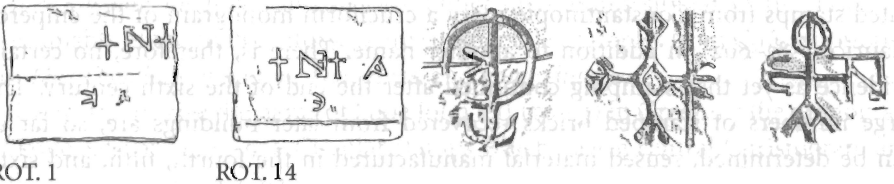
FROM HÉBRARD 1920

FROM TAFRALI 1913: 77



FROM HÉBRARD 1920

AFTER SOTERIOU 1952: pl. 94d



ROME

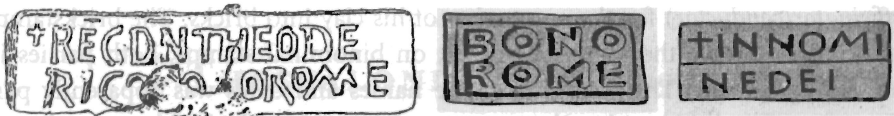


Fig. 1 Brickstamps from Constantinople, Thessalonike, and Rome

Theo() diako(nou), Iach() or I(a)ch, Ioa(), Ku(), Kur(), Kuri(), Lo(), Lon(), Lou(), Ma(), Mar(), Pa(), Pu(), Ro(), Sa(), Tro(), Hup(), Phil(), Pho().

In the sixth century a much wider variety of stamp designs emerged. Stamps are single-line, multiple-line, circular, cruciform, triangular, or *tabula ansata*, and the names are less abbreviated than on the fifth-century material, and often complete in the genitive case. Indictions (now more commonly preceded by the abbreviation *ind(iktionos)*) and the abbreviation *ba()* do not appear systematically, and one or both are often absent. As in the fifth century, workshop letters may appear. Besides stamps that clearly name the emperor Justinian (*Ioustinianou niketou, Ioustinianou tou philoktistou*), those that can most reliably be ascribed to this period carry the names: Aberkiou, Aristenetou, Auxa(), Basilikou, Gaiou, Demetriou, Domnou, Theodorou, Hilariou, Ioannou, Kos(), Kostantinou or Konstantinou, Kuriakou, Marturiou, Paulou, Petrou, Trophimou, Truphonos, Christou. As on fifth-century material, there are binominal stamps, and some names are accompanied by titles (usually abbreviated). The secular titles include *deputatos, komes, koubikoularios, naukleros, notarios, scribon* or *scriniarios*, and possibly *myriarchos*. The attested clerical titles are *diakonos, hegoumenos, monachos, and presbyteros*. Monograms also become frequent in the sixth century, these being of either the box type (formed around a letter with two vertical or two horizontal strokes such as H, Z, M, N) or the cruciform type (in which the letters are attached to the ends of a cross), the latter type having been introduced at some point between 518 and 532. The Christogram (a monogram of I, X, and sometimes a cross) is a specific type of monogram that becomes common on brickstamps in the sixth century. Also common in this period are invocations, such as *Kyrie boethei, Theou charis, Christos nekai*, and the formula *tes neas (indiktionos?)*. The latest firmly dated stamps from Constantinople carry a cruciform monogram of the emperor Maurice (582–602) in addition to another name. There is, therefore, no certain evidence as yet that stamping continued after the end of the sixth century. The large numbers of stamped bricks recovered from later buildings are, so far as can be determined, reused material manufactured in the fourth, fifth, and sixth centuries.

The *Digest* 18. 1. 65 explains that the manufacture of bricks was organized according to a *locatio-conductio* contract, whereby the owner of the land (*dominus/locator*) on which the clay quarries were located agreed to pay a contractor (*offinator/conductor*) for the conversion of his clay into bricks. The brickstamps are believed to give the name of one or, on binominal stamps, both parties in such an agreement. The stamping of the names and dates was apparently part of a system for checking that the correct numbers of bricks had been made and supplied by the individuals expected to do so. Some of the checking may have been undertaken in state stores, since designated landowners would have been obliged to contribute a quantity of bricks to the state each year as part of the annual *indictio* (land-tax).

ROME (Steinby 1986; 2001)

In fifth-century Rome, we have bricks stamped with the name of the eastern emperor Arkadios, suggesting production on imperial land: *D(omino) n(ostro) Arcadio Aug(usto)*. Other stamps refer to the *Of(ficina) Domitiana*, *Of(ficina) Fauriana*, or *Of(ficina) Marciana*. These are imperial *figlinae* (clay-pits and associated pottery workshops), which had, long before, been in private ownership. Stamps reading *ex f(iglinis) Donati(ani?)* and *ex Donatiani*, which refer to the clay-pits of one Donatianus, indicate that some *figlinae* remained in private ownership.

A letter of Theoderic (Cassiodorus, *Variae*, 1. 25), which refers to the restoration of the brick depots at the portus Licini (presumably on the Tiber), shows that in early sixth-century Rome, tiles were exacted as an annual levy. Perhaps the bricks of this period that were stamped *Urbis Romae*, *bono Rome*, or *bono Romae* were manufactured for the state. Indeed, some stamps with the formula *bono Romae* or *felix Roma* also carry an indiction date, which may indicate that they were made to meet the demands of the annual *indictio*. Another letter of Theoderic (Cassiodorus, *Variae* 2. 23) refers to imperial clay-pits conceded for exploitation to senators. The senators are described as performing a public duty, presumably because they were expected to hand over a proportion of the product to the state in return for the concession. Some bricks bearing a stamp of the emperor Theoderic also carry a stamp with the formula *de* or *ex officina Iusti*, and we should perhaps conclude that Justus was operating on imperial estates. Stamps similar to those of Justus refer to Bonitus, Metellus, Abundantius, and Laurens, who may have been operating either on imperial lands or on their own property. Of this period, too, are circular stamps with a central Chi-Rho monogram and the following legends: *Claudiana*; $\chi\text{-}\mu\text{-}\gamma$ *Kassiou*; *Iohannes*; *spes in Deo*. Other invocations similar to this last (and presumably of the sixth century, as are comparable examples from Constantinople) are *Theos boethos*, *in nomine Dei*, *vivas*, and *bona vitae*.

Later stamps give the name of Pope John VII (701–5) in Greek, or the monogram of Pope Adrian I (772–95). Circular stamps which have a central Christogram and refer to one John have tentatively been assigned to Pope John I (523–5) or John II (533–6). Such stamps demonstrate that bricks were made on lands in papal ownership.

THESSALONIKE (Vickers 1973; Theocharidou 2004)

Mould-made marks have been noted on a fairly large number of bricks from Thessalonike, but dating them is problematic because they have usually been poorly

sketched (therefore making it difficult to identify identical impressions), because their precise architectural contexts have generally not been recorded, and because the dating of none of the monuments from which they come can be fixed precisely from epigraphical or textual evidence. Furthermore, the interpretation of the marks themselves is far from certain.

It seems likely that before the introduction of the mould-made marks, finger-marks were used, since Hébrard recorded bricks marked in this simple fashion in the earlier building phase of the Rotunda (Hébrard 1920: fig. 9). By contrast, he found bricks bearing mould-made marks in the later phase (Hébrard 1920: fig. 15). Finger-marked bricks have also been recorded at St Demetrios (Soteriou 1918: fig. 23), which may mean that in this case the bricks had been reused or that such marks continued to be used in the fifth or sixth century, alongside mould-made marks.

A particular style of mark, found on bricks measuring about 400 × 300 × 50 mm, carries a box monogram formed from the letters E, N, T in ligature, often with a cross to either side. Sometimes the monogram occurs alone, but often there are one or two additional letters. Vickers (1973) has suggested that a letter placed beside the monogram (generally A, sometimes B, and occasionally I) is an indiction number, on the grounds that the monogram might be read as *ent(iktionos)* (i.e. *indiktionos*), and that a letter set above or below the monogram is some kind of workshop reference, similar to those found on Constantinopolitan material.

Marks of this style occur in several of Thessalonike's Early Byzantine monuments (the city walls, the Rotunda, the Acheiropoietos, and St Demetrios), which has led to the suggestion that these buildings should all be similarly dated (Vickers 1973, placing them all c.450). Caution must, however, be exercised before accepting this suggestion. Admittedly, large numbers of such marks were discovered in the Acheiropoietos (Vickers 1973: 286, ACH 10), whose capitals are similar to those from St John of Stoudios in Constantinople, which is itself firmly dated to c.450 (Bardill 2004: 60–1, 109). Although this strongly suggests that this type of mark was in use in the mid-fifth century, it is not at present possible to determine exactly when it started or ceased to be used: we cannot exclude the possibility that the type had been introduced already in the early fifth century and that it continued to be used until the late fifth century. In addition, it is possible that some of the marked bricks associated with these monuments were reused or stockpiled material, having been manufactured somewhat earlier than the buildings in which they were discovered. Furthermore, even assuming that the letters after the monogram do indicate indiction numerals, the fact that different buildings have yielded bricks marked with the same numeral may not be significant, since it is not unlikely that different indiction cycles are referred to. Only if marks could be shown to be absolutely identical (i.e. from the same mould) would there be no doubt that they were made at exactly the same time. In the absence of more carefully recorded data, therefore, the records of the mould-made marks at Thessalonike cannot yet reliably tell us anything about the relative dates of the monuments in which they have been found.

More detailed research, however, would almost certainly be fruitful, as is demonstrated by a study of brickstamps recorded during the restoration of the city walls (Theocharidou 2004). This revealed that bricks bearing the ENT monogram were restricted to the primary construction phase of the outer wall. In contrast, the primary phase of the inner wall (which is, it is now claimed, structurally earlier than the outer) contained bricks marked with different, simpler designs, such as single letters (B, E, S), or multiple letters that may be abbreviations of names (ΘE, ZA, KAA, KAM; in the cases of KAA and KAM, the A and M may be accessory letters denoting a group of workmen or a workshop). Presumably we are to infer from the change that enough time had passed between the construction of the inner wall and that of the outer wall for a marked reorganization of the brickmaking industry to have occurred. Depending on the length of time during which the ENT monogram was in use, the outer wall might be ascribed to the early, mid- or late fifth century. Thus it could, for instance, be suggested that it was the historical circumstances of 441–7 that provoked the construction of the outer wall (Croke 1978: 255–8), although, if so, we would have to reject the suggestion that the letters A and B on the stamps are indications (which, in the mid-fifth century, would refer to 432–3 and 433–4 or 447–8 and 448–9). But whether the earlier inner wall belongs to the first half of the fifth or to the late fourth century cannot be determined with certainty until more bricks with marks similar to those found in it have been discovered *in situ* in firmly datable structures. Consequently, the Hormisdas who, in a brick inscription on a tower of the inner wall, is said to have fortified the city (Feissel 1994: 611) still cannot be identified with certainty either with the Hormisdas who was Praetorian Prefect of the East in 449–50, or with the Hormisdas who was commander of Theodosius I's Egyptian troops and who was in Thessalonike in 380—or indeed with an otherwise unattested individual of that name.

Some of the mould-made marks from St Demetrios are of a different style, and certainly belong to the sixth century or later. Among them are cruciform monograms of Epiphaniou and, possibly, Theoph(anou), and bar monograms of Phok(a) (Soteriou 1918: 19–21, fig. 26; Soteriou and Soteriou 1952: 235–6, pl. 94d). Should these stamps be taken as evidence that the church was built after c.518, which is the *terminus post quem* for the introduction of cruciform monograms? If so, the fifth-century bricks bearing the box monogram ENT that were found in the church (Soteriou 1918: fig. 25; Soteriou and Soteriou 1952: fig. 43a, pl. 94b) were reused material taken from older structures. Alternatively, were the bricks with the cruciform and bar monograms used in the restoration of St Demetrios undertaken between 603 and 688–9 (whether they had been newly made for the restoration or were old sixth-century stock)? If so, the bricks bearing the monogram ENT might be contemporary with the church's construction. These questions are unlikely to be answered with certainty until we possess more reliable information regarding exactly how the marked bricks were distributed in the structure.

FURTHER EXAMPLES

Amongst the provincial material, only a few samples of reasonable size have been discovered and published. From Louloudies come a small number of mould-made marks very similar to the sixth- or seventh-century material from St Demetrios in Thessalonike. There are cruciform monograms reading Epiphaniou and Apolloniou, and a bar monogram of Phoka (Poulter 1998). Perhaps the most interesting bricks, however, are those of the Early Byzantine period from Perge, which carry mainly mould-made marks but also some stamps. Amongst the mould-made marks are the names Diou, Hermianou, Patrikiou, Piou, Hermia, Kuriakos, Dexiou, and Ioanou. The letters are usually written in a single line, but are sometimes arranged in a cruciform fashion, or placed in the four quarters of a cross, or fused to form a monogram (Onurkan 1999). For references to other finds in Greece (Thessaly, Athens, Epirus), Serbia (Caričin Grad), Bulgaria, Romania (Histria and Dinogetia), and Albania (Durrës), see Mango 1950: 27, Sodini 1979: 73–5, and Manacorda 2000: 146–50. To these may be added the examples reading [E]ugen[iou] and Elianou from Amorium which resemble certain early sixth-century Constantinopolitan stamps, but which may belong to the later fifth century (Harrison, Christie, and others 1993: 155; Lightfoot and others 1999: 345–6).

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Further Reading

Manacorda 2000 provides a wide-ranging introduction; on Constantinople, see Bardill 2004; on Rome, see Steinby 1986 and 2001; on Thessalonike, see Vickers 1973 and Theocharidou 2004.

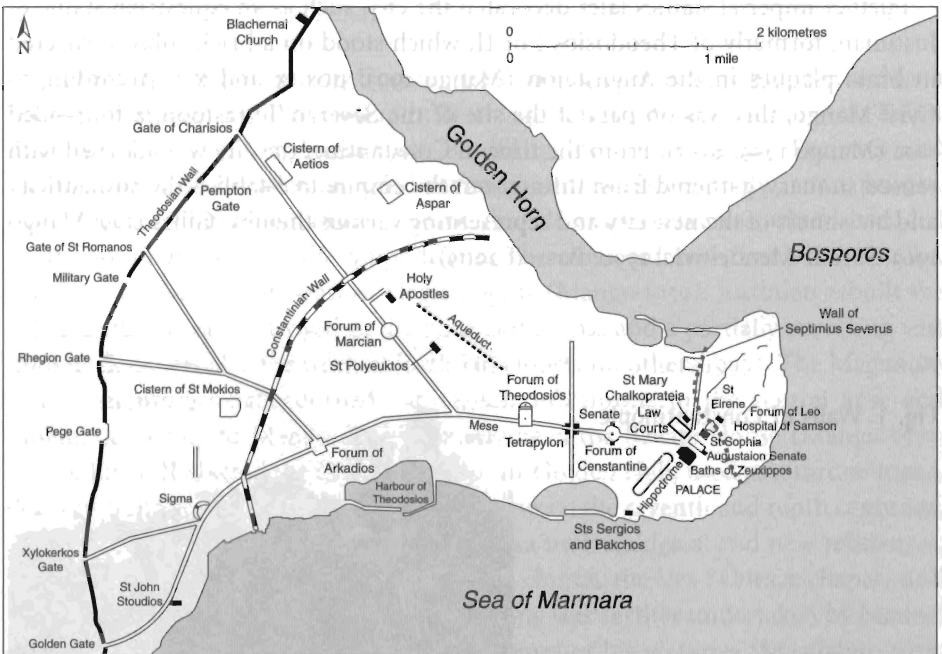
TOPOGRAPHY OF CONSTANTINOPLE

CECILY HENNESSY

FOUNDED in 324 by Constantine I on the site of Byzantium, the city of Constantinople remained the capital of the Byzantine Empire until its fall in 1453. Knowledge of its topography is largely determined by extant physical evidence and visual and textual records from the Byzantine and post-Byzantine periods. The site is bordered by water on three sides, the Propontis (Sea of Marmara) to the south, the Bosphorus to the east and the Golden Horn to the north, and covers seven hills emerging from a ridge running east to west (Gilles 1729: 16–19). Inhabited since the seventh century BCE, the Roman city inherited by Constantine had been developed under Septimius Severus with an acropolis, baths, and city wall. Leaving the acropolis as it stood, Constantine established the Great Palace to its south, built or rebuilt the hippodrome adjacent and to the west of the palace, constructed a new city wall, and proceeded to establish the public monuments necessary to the new capital. Between the fourth and sixth centuries, the hill slopes were cut with series of terraces (Crow 2007), and the city also acquired gardens and parks (Maguire 2000). In terms of daily life, the city was established in neighbourhoods, each with public facilities for existence and commerce, although some activities were located in specific areas of the city, often affected by the harbours and water supply, which had to be brought in from beyond the city (*Notitia urbis Constantinopolitanae, Descriptio*; M. Mango 2000; Magdalino 2000; Dark 2004; Crow and Bayliss 2005). The material can be approached through the imperial monuments, palaces, places of entertainment, churches, monasteries, water supply, harbours, and granaries.

IMPERIAL MONUMENTS

The main monuments of the city were established on the principal thoroughfare leading from the Milion Aureum, the Golden Milestone erected by the hippodrome. The Milion was probably a tetrapylon with a baldacchino with numerous statues around it (*Parastaseis* 1984 edn. 34; Guiland 1969, vol. 2: 28–31; Müller-Wiener 1977: 216–18). The colonnaded street (*embolos*), first built by Septimius Severus, was extended by Constantine and later known as the Mese (C. Mango 2000; M. Mango 2001). It divided after 1.7 km at the Capitol or *Philadelpheion* (by tradition named after the meeting of Constantine's sons after his death), which had three columns surmounted by a statue, one of Constantine, one of Helena his mother, and one of a golden cross. A statue from this site showing four tetrarchs is now at San Marco in Venice, and the one remaining foot from it is in the Istanbul Archaeological Museum. One fork of the main street ran south-west, exiting the city at the Constantinian Porta Aurea or Golden Gate, built on the new Constantinian wall, which ran in an arc from the Horn to the Sea of Marmara at a distance of about 1.7 km from the Capitol. The other fork ran north-west, leaving the city at the Porta Polyandraion.



Plan 1 Constantinople in the 6th century

On the Mese, Constantine constructed a circular forum surrounded by porticoes and with a central column. This was erected by 330 for the dedication of the city and was composed of seven (six survive) drums of porphyry standing on a pedestal on five steps and bearing a statue of the emperor wearing a crown with radiating sunrays, alluding to the sun-god/Apollo. The statue fell in 1106 and was replaced by Manuel I with a large cross. The column survives in a burnt state. The decoration of its base is uncertain (Mango 1993: nos. 11 and 111). By 393, Theodosios I similarly established his forum on the lower arm of the Mese (on the site of the Forum Tauri), in imitation of Trajan's forum in Rome, with a triple triumphal arch constructed from an eight-columned design (on the late fourth- to ninth-century monuments, see Bardill 2004: 28–39). Parts of these remain on site, showing a teardrop/wood knot. In the centre of the forum was an honorific spiral column of which fragments survive, surmounted by a silver equestrian statue. Arkadios' forum, built beyond the ancient Forum Bovis on the same street, likewise had a spiral column, erected in 402 and adorned with a statue of the emperor by his son Theodosios II in 421. The column was destroyed in 704 with only the very battered base surviving, but is known through drawings (Müller-Wiener 1977: 250–3). A further column, erected by Marcian (450–7), remains standing, situated near the north branch of the Mese. It is surmounted by a large Corinthian capital and formerly bore a seated statue of the emperor. The base retains worn sculpture including a representation of Nike.

Further imperial statues later decorated the city, such as an equestrian statue of Justinian, formerly of Theodosios I or II, which stood on a brick column covered in brass plaques in the Augustaion (Mango 1993: nos. x and xi). According to Cyril Mango, this was on part of the site of the Severan Tetrastoon, a four-sided stoa (Mango 1959: 43–7). From the time of Constantine, the city was adorned with reused statuary, gathered from throughout the empire to establish the authenticity and lavishness of the new city and representing various themes (Gilles 1729; Mango 1963; Saradi-Mendelovici 1990; Bassett 2005).

Fig. 1 Walls of Constantinople



The land walls were built in their present location, about 1.5 km beyond the Constantinian wall, under Theodosios II in 412/13, although they were started by Arkadios in 405. They are 6.5 km long, constructed with an inner and an outer wall, each with a series of towers, pierced by a series of gates both public and military and a moat (Van Millingen 1899; Müller-Wiener 1977: 286–319; Crow 2007). The course of the northern stretch of the wall was altered under Herakleios (610–41) and Manuel I (1143–80). The Golden Gate was possibly built slightly earlier than the wall, by Theodosios I in c.390, and is a triumphal triple archway flanked by pylons (Bardill 1999a). An outer wall had a single gate decorated with antique reliefs. Walls also ran along the entire sea front, bordering the Propontis and the Golden Horn, first built under Theodosios II in 439. There were three harbours constructed on the Propontis shore and two on the Golden Horn.

By the beginning of the fifth century, the city was fully established (Janin 1964; Mango 1986). Public monuments largely ceased to be built by the seventh century. Henceforth, imperial building focused on palaces, churches, and monasteries. For further bibliography on the following, see Müller-Wiener 1977.

PALACES

The Great Palace was begun by Constantine and remained in use until 1204 and for a short period after 1261 (Ebersolt 1910; Brett 1947; Guiland 1969, vol. 1: 1–248; Talbot Rice 1933 and 1958; Magdalino 1996; Bardill 1999b; see also III.9.1. Emperor and court). The early complex included various buildings, some public, some private, such as guardrooms, halls, dining-rooms, chapels, and games areas, which extended to the south and east of the hippodrome. The main entrance, known as Chalke, led from the Mese south-east of Hagia Sophia (Mango 1959). Justinian rebuilt the Chalke after it was destroyed in the Nika riot in 532, and a partially surviving vast mosaic floor was also the work of Justinian (Jobst and others 1999). The Magnaura was a ceremonial hall adorned with Solomon's throne in the central apse and might, according to Mango, have formerly been the Senate House (Mango 1959: 57–8). Justin II erected the Chrysotriklinos or Golden Hall, used as a throne room. Various buildings were added or restored between the seventh and ninth centuries, including the refurbishment of the Magnaura by Herakleios, and new residences, the Kainourgion and the Pentakoubouklon, a church, the Nea Ekklesia, chapels, and the polo ground completed by Basil I. Building was further undertaken by Manuel I, who constructed a hall decorated with scenes of his victories (Magdalino 1978: 101–14). The palace gradually fell into disuse and disrepair. A sea-facing façade, part

of the palace of Boukoleon, still stands (Guilland 1969, vol. 1: 262–72) as does a wall running north from the sea wall on the site of the lighthouse tower.

The Palace of Hormisdas was built at the time of Constantine the Great, lived in and restored by Justinian before he came to power, and annexed to the Great Palace by him. The palace was converted into a monastery prior to 565 (Guilland 1969, vol. 2: 294–333).

The Palace at Blachernai, situated near the site of the sacred spring, close to the city wall, became the principal residence from the time of Alexios I (1081–1118), although an imperial house had been there since the fifth century, associated with the shrine to the Virgin (Janin 1964: 125–7). Its precise location is not now known.

The remains of a palace situated nearby, between the inner and outer land walls, known as Tekfur Sarayi (Palace of the Sovereign), are Palaiologan. There was a columned lower storey and two upper floors, and much of the brickwork is patterned.

A secondary palace was established at Mangana on the east face of the Acropolis hill; the monastery of St George, a hospital, law school, and palace were built there by Constantine IX (Psellos, *Chronographia* (ed. Impellizzeri), vol. 2: 132, §185.3), and its remains have been located (Demangel and Mamboury 1939: 19–37; Oikonomides 1980–1). Constantine IX developed the monastery further and was buried there in 1055. The relics of Christ's Passion were kept there in the fourteenth century.

Many further imperial palaces are known to have existed (Janin 1964: 106–53). Similarly, there were many built for the aristocracy, of which some remains are extant (Bardill 1997).

ENTERTAINMENT

The hippodrome was the centre for sporting entertainment but was also the city centre used for imperial proclamations and triumphs as well as executions (Guilland 1969, vol. 1: 369–595). The *carceres* consisted of twelve gates towards the north-east, with a tower on which was a gilded bronze *quadriga*, the horses of which are now at San Marco in Venice. The *sphendone*, the curved end, still survives to the south-west, revealing the massive substructure built to extend the track. Raised seats, originally made of wood, but changed to marble by Justinian, surrounded all sides except that with the gates, and a colonnaded passage ran above the seating. It is speculated that up to 80,000 people could be accommodated, including standing room. (See also III.13.5 Entertainments, theatre, and hippodrome.) The *spina*, the long central raised terrace, was decorated with a series of monuments

and sculpture with water features. It still bears three Byzantine monuments: the Obelisk of Theodosios, which is an Egyptian obelisk of Thutmosis III raised on a marble base with reliefs on four sides showing the emperor and his entourage at the hippodrome (see Fig. 1, p. 145); the Serpent Column from Delphi, formerly part of a victory monument celebrating the battle of Plataea against the Persians in 479 BCE; and a masonry obelisk, whose inscription records that it was redecorated with bronze plaques (no longer) by Constantine VII. Statuary also lined the *spina* including statues of the charioteer Porphyrios, two bases of which are in the Archaeological Museum.

The Kathisma or imperial box was situated on the long south-east side of the track and could be reached directly from the palace through a spiral staircase. Part of the hippodrome burned down in 1203. An engraving made by O. Panvinio illustrates its condition c.1480 (Müller-Wiener 1977: fig. 48).

Adjacent to the hippodrome, to the north-east, were the Baths of Zeuxippos, completed by Constantine and decorated with antique statuary, of which two of the bases have been found.

CHURCHES

The pre-Constantinian city was largely pagan and seemingly had few churches. By 430, fourteen were recorded. In the fifth century, several large basilicas were built and Justinian (527–65), Prokopios maintains, built or restored some twenty churches. Basil I (867–86) undertook a similar campaign of restoration and building; as many as one hundred, according to his *Vita*. From the twelfth century the imperial family and the aristocracy tended to build churches attached to monasteries. There are some 500 churches of all uses known from texts (Janin 1969: xi–xiii), but the following is limited to the most significant of those that still stand in some form. For references for churches and monasteries (below), see Van Millingen 1912; Ebersolt and Thiers 1913; and Janin 1969. Extensive bibliography can be found in Müller-Wiener 1977. For photographs, see Mathews 1976.

Byzantium had a small church, which was rebuilt and enlarged by Constantine by 337, known then as the Old Church or Hagia Eirene (Aya İrini). Having burned down in 532, it was rebuilt again and enlarged by Justinian in the form of a dome surmounting a basilica (Peschow 1977). It was damaged in 740 by an earthquake and reconstructed in part, probably in the reign of Constantine V (741–75), and is noted for its simple mosaic cross on a gold ground in the apse. Little other decoration remains.



Fig. 2 Exterior of Hagia Sophia in the mid-19th century (Fossati)

Constantine also built his own mausoleum, Holy Apostles, just within the city wall a little north of the northerly branch of the Mese. According to Eusebios, it also served as a memorial to the apostles, with Constantine designating himself the thirteenth apostle (Epstein 1982). Constantius added a cruciform basilica, which was rebuilt by Justinian in 550 with an additional mausoleum and restored and decorated with mosaics by Basil I. It was briefly the seat of the Patriarchate post-1453, then destroyed and is now the site of the Fatih Camii.

Hagia Sophia (*Aya Sofia*), at first referred to as the Great Church (*Megale Ekklesia*), was completed initially under Constantius in 360 as a timber-roofed basilica and c.430 became known as Hagia Sophia (Whittemore 1933–52; Mango 1962; Van Nice 1965–86; Cormack and Hawkins 1977; Mainstone 1988). It was burned in 404 in a riot concerning John Chrysostom and rebuilt by Theodosios II by 415. Fragments of a colonnaded porch have been excavated (Schneider 1941). The Theodosian basilica was destroyed in the Nika Riot in 532, directly rebuilt by Justinian under the direction of Anthemios of Tralles and Isidore of Miletos, and completed by 537 (Prok. *Buildings* 1. 1. 21–78). Designed as a radically ambitious domed basilica, with the dome measuring 31 m across and the basilica largely square in shape measuring 78 × 72 m, it is divided into the nave and two aisles by arcades to north and south and with a gallery on three sides. The Justinianic marble revetments remain and the mosaic decoration, which appears to have been entirely non-figural, survives in



Fig. 3 Interior of Hagia Sophia in the mid-19th century (Fossati)

the narthex and aisles. Post-iconoclastic mosaics feature the Virgin and Child in the apse, two archangels in the bema arch, prophets and church fathers in the tympana, an enthroned Christ in the narthex, and imperial portraits and a Deesis in the south gallery. The dome was repaired and heightened in 558, the dome and west arch were repaired in 989 following an earthquake and the dome and east arch restructured by 1353; the buttresses were added in 1317.

The Church of the Theotokos at Chalkoprateia (copper market) is said to have been founded by Pulcheria (399–453), sister of Theodosios II, and restored by Verina (d. 484), wife of Leo I, and today the apse and parts of the north and south walls of the basilical church remain on its site to the west of Hagia Sophia (Mango 1969–70: 369–72). The building was restored by both Justin II (565–78) and Basil I (867–86) and housed the famed Virgin's girdle and an icon of Christ Antiphonetes.

The Church of the Virgin Mary at Blachernai was founded by the empress Verina in 468–70 and housed the *maphorion*, the ‘honourable robe’ of the Virgin. The church was rebuilt in 1070 after a fire, but destroyed again by fire in 1434.

The church of St Euphemia at the Hippodrome was identified in 1939 by the finding of frescoes showing the saint’s life on the ruined walls of the church. It appears that a part of the fifth-century palace of Antiochos was converted into a church in the sixth century. A sanctuary in the east was added to the hexagonal form of niches.

The Church of Sts Sergios and Bakchos (Küçük Ayasofya Camii) is situated near the sea wall, formerly in the Palace of the Hormisdas and adjacent to a now lost church dedicated to Sts Peter and Paul (Mathews 1971: 42–51). Built by Justinian and Theodora, its date has recently been suggested as 530–6, though an earlier date has also been proposed (Mango 1975; Bardill 2000). According to Mango, it was built for Syrian Monophysite monks. An inscription on the architrave records the dedication. The design is an imaginative, octagonal, double-storeyed arcade supporting an innovative pumpkin dome set within a rectangle, which is irregular due to the pre-existing buildings formerly on either side.

The Church of St Polyeuktos was built by the wealthy aristocrat Anicia Juliana, probably between 524 and 527, near her palace. It was known from a text, which adorned the exterior and interior of the church (*Anth. Gr.* 1. 16) and describes her patronage and the relation of the building to the temple of Solomon. Parts of the inscription were found in 1960 (now in the Archaeological Museum), which led to an excavation of the site by Martin Harrison (Harrison 1986). This revealed the substructure of the building and allowed a reconstruction of the church, which had large exedrae bordering the nave, decorated with peacocks and the inscription. Recent work suggests that it had a conventional flat roof (Bardill 2006). The church appears to have been in disrepair by 1204, and the ‘Pilastri Acritani’ standing outside San Marco in Venice along with capitals were taken from the site.

The Nea Ekklesia, located within the Great Palace precinct, was completed by 880 by Basil I with five domes and highly decorated, as described in the *Vita Basilii* (Ebersolt 1910: 130–5; Magdalino 1987).

A church which may have been dedicated to the Virgin Kyriotissa (Kalenderhane Camii) is located adjacent to the east end of the Aqueduct of Valens. Excavations revealed a fourth- or fifth-century bath beneath the sixth-century east end of the church with the remaining cross-domed building dating to the late twelfth century (Striker and Kuban 1967, 1968, 1971, 1975, 1997). It is decorated with marble revetment in the lower areas and relief sculpture. A seventh-century mosaic of the Presentation of Christ in the Temple and wall-paintings, found in a chapel to the south-east, dated to c.1250 during the Latin occupation and showing the life of St Francis, are in the Archaeological Museum. The dedication has been suggested by a painting of the Virgin Kyriotissa discovered over the door of the narthex.

MONASTERIES

The first monastery in Constantinople dates to the fourth century but by the beginning of the sixth, there appear to have been over seventy, and Janin estimates that possibly 345 different ones existed in the capital and suburbs during the Byzantine period and that eighteen were still operating in 1453 (Janin 1969: xiii–xiv). Janin provides an exhaustive list, and the following is limited, with one exception, to the most important that still survive in some form.

The walls, an arcade, and parts of the narthex of the church of the monastery of St John the Baptist of Stoudios (Imrahor Camii) still stand, situated east of the Golden Gate. The church was begun in 453/4, and the monastery was built shortly after by the Roman Patrician Stoudios. It is basilical in form, with a polygonal apse, a crypt, narthex, and atrium. The narthex has an elaborate entablature and Corinthian capitals; of the three-part nave, six verd-antique columns survive of the northern arcade, which originally had two storeys. Parts of the opus sectile floor remain. The abbot Theodore of Stoudios (798–826) strongly defended the iconophile cause, and the monastery became a centre of art and scholarship. It was converted to a mosque towards the end of the fifteenth century and suffered severe earthquake damage in 1894.

The Hodegon monastery was positioned east of Hagia Sophia on the seaward slope, and the church, said to be founded by Pulcheria, later contained the icon of the Virgin Hodegetria, a portrait by tradition painted by St Luke. The monastery's name ('of Guides') seems to have derived from the monks who led blind pilgrims to a miraculous spring. The monastery was functional by the ninth century, probably built by Michael III, and restored in the twelfth century. It later had a prestigious scriptorium and was used by the Palaiologan emperors.

The monastery of Myrelaion (Bodrum Camii) was founded c.920 as a nunnery by Romanos I Lekapenos (920–44). It combines a cross-in-square church built over a lower storey and adjacent to a mansion constructed over a fifth-century rotunda (Striker 1981). It was used for burials and later converted to a mosque towards the end of the fifteenth century.

The Lips monastery (Fenari Isa Camii) is situated in the valley of the Lykos near the site of the Church of the Holy Apostles and was probably restored by Constantine Lips (Macridy 1964). The main church, dedicated to the Virgin, was purportedly inaugurated in 908 (Mango and Hawkins 1964). The patron is suggested by an inscription (Van Millingen 1912: 131). The church is a cross-in square (the columns have been replaced by arches) with roof chapels and retains fine relief sculpture. Theodora, following the death of her husband, Michael VIII (1259–82), further restored the monastery, and she built a second church as a mausoleum, adjacent to the south and dedicated to St John the Baptist. At this time the monastery, whose Typikon survives, was used by nuns and had a hospital.

Of the Pantokrator monastery (*Zeyrek Camii*), located overlooking the Golden Horn, the two churches with a chapel between them survive (Megaw 1963; Ousterhout and others 2000; Ousterhout 2001). The monastery and south church, dedicated to the Pantokrator, were founded by Eirene, the wife of John II (1118–43), in 1120. After her death in 1124, John erected a church to the north, dedicated to the Virgin Eleousa and, finally, a funerary chapel joining the two buildings, dedicated to the Archangel Michael. Eirene, John, and their son Manuel (whose tomb lay behind the slab on which Christ was said to be laid when taken from the cross) were buried there, as were Manuel II and John VIII in the fifteenth century. The churches are both cross-in-square in form; the south church still has its extensive opus sectile floor and the north has some examples of relief sculpture. The monastery was very extensive and included a hospice, hospital, and insane asylum. During the Latin occupation (1204–61), the monastery was under Venetian control and was burned in 1261, but then rebuilt.

The Church of St Saviour in Chora (*Kariye Camii*), a monastic church, lies to the north-west, near the land wall and is renowned for its mosaics and paintings created during its restoration between 1316 and 1321 by Theodore Metochites (Underwood 1966–75; Ousterhout 1987). Its origins are unclear. The monastery was restored by both Maria Doukaina, Alexios I's mother-in-law, and by her grandson Isaac Komnenos, when the church took the form of an atrophied Greek-cross. The dome, narthexes, and the *parekklesion* to the south of the church were rebuilt under Metochites. The outer narthex was decorated with mosaics depicting Christ's birth and ministry and the inner narthex with scenes from the apocryphal life of the Virgin as well as a dedicatory portrait of Metochites with Christ, and a Deesis with Isaac Komnenos and a nun named Melanie. Mosaics of the *Koimesis* of the Virgin, of Christ, and of the Virgin and Child remain in the nave. The *parekklesion* is painted with a striking *Anastasis* in the apse, the Last Judgement in the vault, and various saints and biblical scenes as well as funerary portraits. The church became a mosque in the early sixteenth century and is now a museum.

The Church of the Theotokos Pammakaristos (the Joyous Mother of God) (*Fethiye Camii*) lies to the south-east of the Chora monastery (Belting, Mango, and Mouriki 1978). Also associated with a monastery, it was founded in the twelfth century by a John Komnenos and his wife Maria Doukaina and rebuilt towards the end of the thirteenth century by the general Michael Tarchaneiotes Glabas. After his death in about 1305, his widow, Maria, built a four-columned *parekklesion* with a two-storeyed narthex to the south as his funerary chapel and decorated it with very fine mosaics, of which parts survive. Between c.1455 and 1587, the site was the seat of the Patriarchate and then became a mosque. The church has been largely altered to serve as a mosque; the *parekklesion* has been restored as a museum.

WATER SUPPLY, HARBOURS, AND GRANARIES

The city of Constantinople could only flourish with ample fresh water supply, accessible harbours, and adequate granaries to store food. Records refer to an aqueduct built by Hadrian, which brought water from the Forest of Belgrade into the old part of the city at a height of about 35 m. The extant aqueduct, built by Valens (Bozdoğan Kemer), supplied the Constantinian city with water brought from Vize, 250 km to the west. This system ran at a height of about 65 m and was in use until the twelfth century. Over 150 covered cisterns and reservoirs survive of the complex water programme, the most impressive of which is the Basilica Cistern (Yerebatansaray) (Crow and Bayliss 2005).

Commerce in the city was dependent on the four major harbours: the Prosphorion and the Neorion (naval dockyard) on the Golden Horn, and two artificial harbours on the Marmara Coast, built by Julian and Theodosius I (Magdalino 2000). Both state-supplied food (*annona*) (bread, wine, and oil, distributed until the seventh century) and privately marketed food were distributed from the harbours to warehouses (*horrea*) and then to bakeries, shops, and markets (*macella*), which were normally located by the fora and the Strategion (M. Mango 2000). Two granaries near the Marmara, the Alexandrina and Theodosianum, stored some of the grain from Egypt, while some was held in three granaries to the north, near the Strategion and Prosphorion harbour. Oil was also stored near here in the Horrea Olearia. From the sixth century, the Harbour of Julian, later to be renamed the Harbour of Sophia after Justin II's wife, became increasingly important, to the cost of the Golden Horn harbours, which were allowed to silt up. Harbours on the Golden Horn were revived by Venetian, Pisan, and Genoese trade from the eleventh century onwards (Magdalino 2000).

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P A R T II

THE PHYSICAL
WORLD:
LANDSCAPE,
LAND USE,
AND THE
ENVIRONMENT

II.3. THE POLITICAL GEOGRAPHY OF THE BYZANTINE WORLD

CHAPTER II.3.1

GEOGRAPHICAL SURVEY

MARK WHITTO

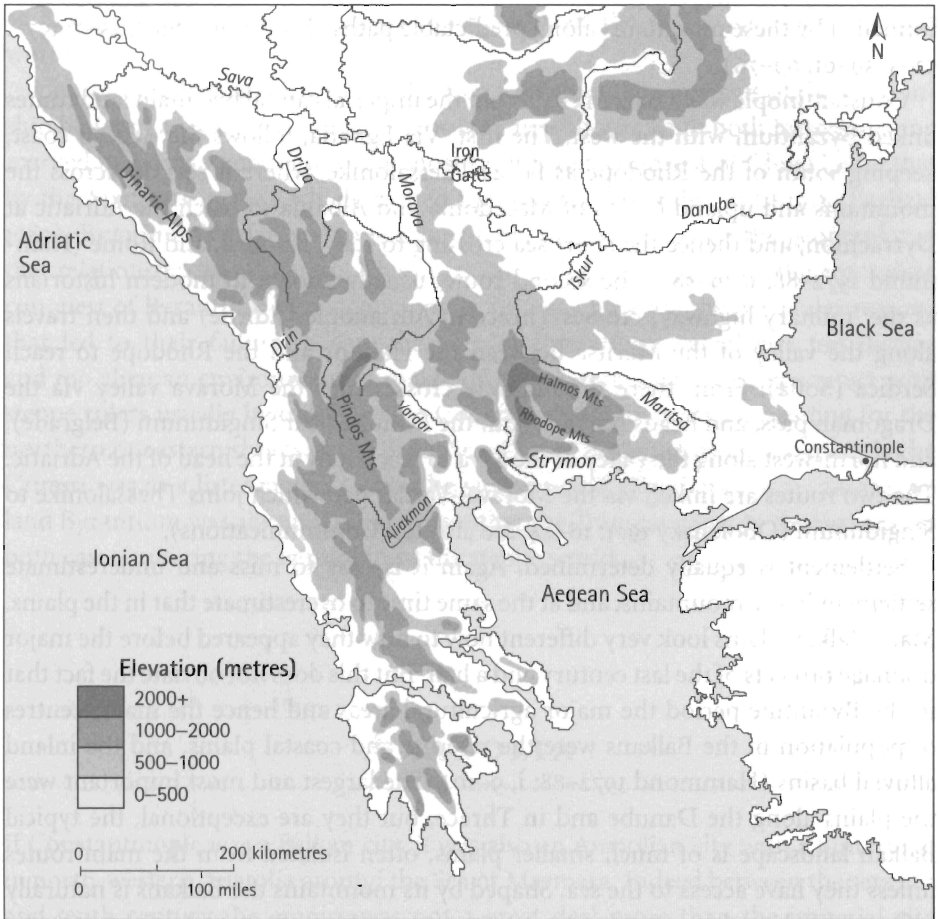
Its geography is the key to the history of the Byzantine world. It defined its strategic possibilities and challenges; set limits to the resources that the empire and its inhabitants could draw upon and exploit; and imposed a template on the movement of goods and people. The Roman empire of the sixth century—Byzantium before the rise of Islam—was essentially the eastern half of the Roman empire of the fourth and fifth centuries with the addition of varying territories in the central and western Mediterranean. Its core territories lay in the east: the Balkan peninsula, Anatolia, the western Transcaucasus, the Levant, northern Mesopotamia, and Egypt. Long before its end in 1453 most of this area had been lost to the empire, but even in its last two centuries this was still the wider geographical context in which Byzantium continued to exist.

A MEDITERRANEAN WORLD?

Introducing the Byzantine world in this way is to minimize the empire as a Mediterranean state. As a geographical region the Mediterranean is defined by its climate: hot dry summers, mild wet winters. (Almost everywhere else rain either falls in the hot season, or throughout the year.) It is also characterized by its vegetation, most obviously by the rarity of forests and the widespread presence of scrub and grassland, or by the olive, which is almost confined to the region (Grove and Rackham 2001: 11; Braudel 1972–3: i, 231–67). Recently Horden and Purcell (2000: 9–25) have focused attention on the Mediterranean as a conglomeration of microregions, a region united by its extreme variety, tied together through the medium of the sea. By any of these measures only the Mediterranean islands and the coastal fringes of the Balkans, western and southern Anatolia, and the Levant can be regarded as ‘Mediterranean’. Justinian’s conquests in the sixth century brought significant Mediterranean territories under imperial control: Africa (effectively modern Tunisia), Sicily, Italy, Sardinia, Corsica, the Balearics, and southern Spain (see II.3.2B Political-historical survey, 518–800). If Herakleios had moved the capital to Carthage or Constans II to Syracuse, that would certainly have created a Mediterranean empire, but a state with a capital at Constantinople inevitably had a rather different orientation, Balkan and Anatolian, terrestrial and continental as much as Mediterranean, maritime, and insular (Whittow 1996: 163). Even the Aegean, a classic Mediterranean environment by any definition, was for most of Byzantium’s existence rather marginal save at particular periods, such as between the conquest of Crete in 961 and the Venetian conquests that followed 1204 (Malamut 1988: 25–104). The empire of the final two centuries may have been largely confined to Mediterranean territories, but, with the sea dominated by the Italians, Palaiologan Byzantium existed in the Mediterranean rather than itself being a Mediterranean empire (see II.3.2D Political-historical survey, 1204–1453).

THE BALKANS

The Balkan peninsula stretches from the Sava and Danube rivers in the north to Greece and the Peloponnese in the south. It is bounded to the west by the Adriatic and Ionian seas, and to the east by the Black Sea and the Aegean. The most obvious physical features of the peninsula are the major mountain ranges. In the west a mountainous spine runs from near the head of the Adriatic to the Peloponnese. In the north this is formed by the Dinaric Alps, further south by the mountains



Map 1 The Balkans: physical geography

of Montenegro and Albania, further south still by the Pindos range which carries on beyond the Gulf of Patras in the mountains of the Peloponnese, finally reaching the sea with Capes Mani and Malea. On the east side of the Balkans, running in a curve from the Iron Gates on the Danube to the Black Sea is the Haimos or Balkan range. South of these, running towards the Aegean are the Rhodope mountains (Obolensky 1971: 5–15; Branigan and Jarrett 1969: 320–5, 293–7; Cvijic 1918: 17–35, 47–79).

None of these mountain ranges, even the Dinaric Alps or the Rhodope, the two most effective barriers, is strictly speaking impassable. It is easy too to forget the possibility of movement along the grain of these ranges, following high paths that link peak to peak and pasture to pasture. These were the routes followed by twentieth-century guerrillas as much as by fourteenth- and fifteenth-century Albanian migrants. Nonetheless for most of the population, and certainly for armies and anyone trying to cross the peninsula in winter, travel and transport was

funnelled by these mountains along predictable paths (Hammond 1967: 25–7; 1976: 52–3, 59–61, 69–76).

Constantinople was a Balkan city. From the imperial capital two main land routes linked Byzantium with the west. The first, Via Egnatia, follows the Aegean coast, keeping south of the Rhodope as far as Thessalonike, where it sets off across the mountains and upland basins of Macedonia and Albania to reach the Adriatic at Dyrrachion, and thence the short sea crossing to Italy, Brindisi, and Rome (Hammond 1972–88: i, 19–58). The second route, usually known to modern historians as the ‘military highway’, crosses Thrace to Adrianople (Edirne) and then travels along the valley of the Maritsa between the Haimos and the Rhodope to reach Serdica (Sofia). From there the highway crosses into the Morava valley via the Dragoman pass, and heads north to join the Danube near Singidunum (Belgrade), and north-west along the valley of the Sava to reach Italy at the head of the Adriatic. The two routes are linked via the Morava–Vardar gap which joins Thessalonike to Singidunum (Obolensky 1971: 16–24; see also II.4 Communications).

Settlement is equally determined. Again it is easy to miss and underestimate settlement in the mountains, and at the same time to overestimate that in the plains. Many Balkan plains look very different now to how they appeared before the major drainage projects of the last century and a half. But this does not obviate the fact that in the Byzantine period the major agricultural areas and hence the major centres of population in the Balkans were the riverine and coastal plains, and the inland alluvial basins (Hammond 1972–88: i, 9–10). The largest and most important were the plains along the Danube and in Thrace, but they are exceptional; the typical Balkan landscape is of much smaller plains, often isolated from the main routes unless they have access to the sea. Shaped by its mountains the Balkans is naturally a fragmented world, only given temporary unity by such outside powers as the Roman empire (Obolensky 1971: 5–15; Curta 2006: 415–37).

THE STEPPES

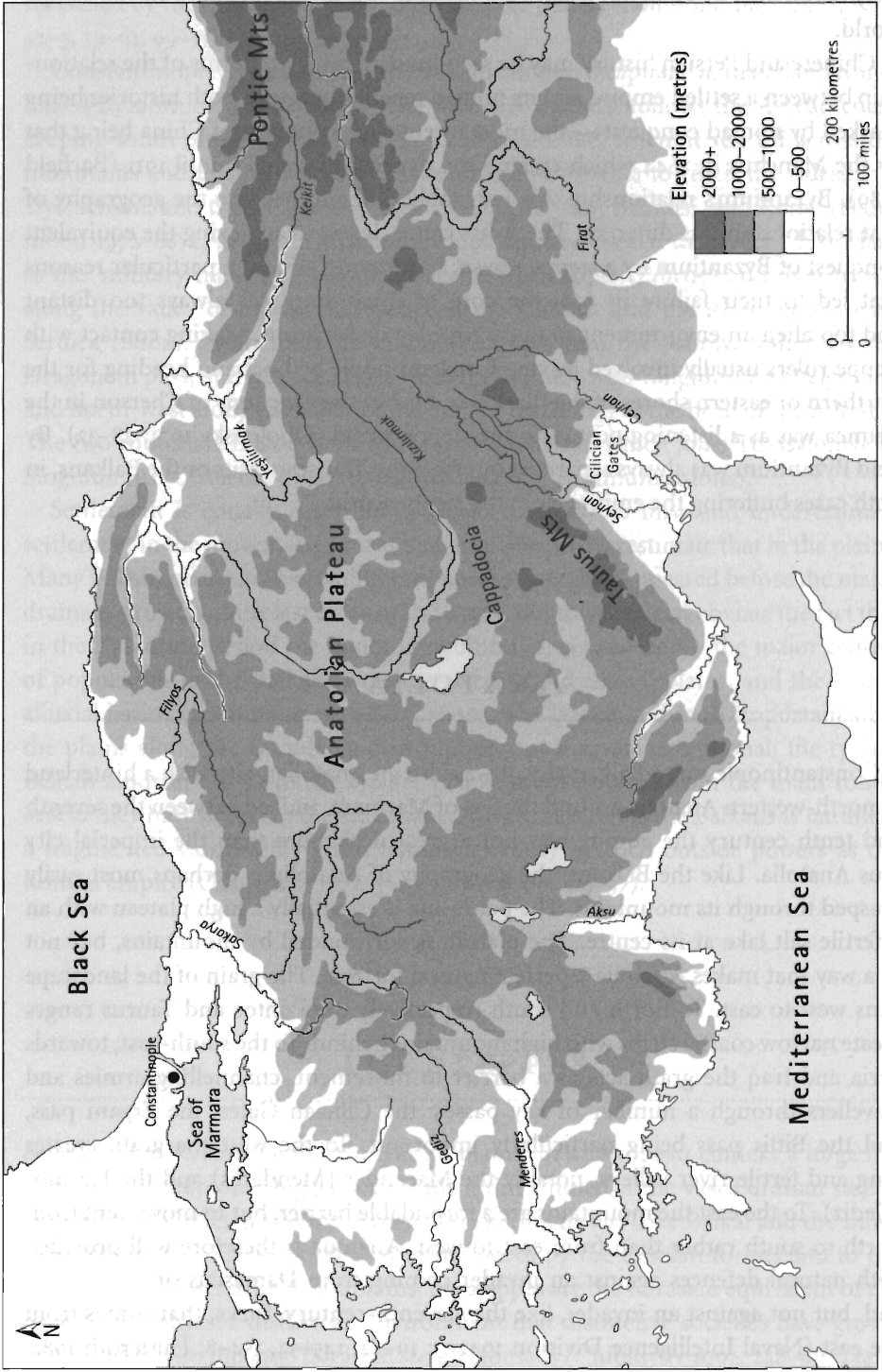
North of the Balkans lie the Hungarian plains, in a European context a huge flat expanse, but seen on a bigger scale, only a tiny outlier of the vast Eurasian steppe grasslands that stretch east more than 6000 kilometres to Lake Baikal and the Inner Asian frontiers of China. Bounded to the north by the Russian forests and to the south by seas, deserts, and mountains, the steppes are the Eurasian equivalent of the American prairies, a distinctive environment that distinctive societies have grown up to exploit—in this case Eurasian steppe nomads (Chibilyov 2002: 248–66; Taaffe 1990: 30–5; Obolensky 1971: 34–7). One need only think of such nomad empires

as Attila's Huns or Genghiz Khan's Mongols to see the significance of the steppe world.

Chinese and Persian history may be seen fundamentally in terms of the relationship between a settled empire and its nomad neighbours, with both histories being marked by nomad conquests—the most recent such conquest of China being that by the Manchus in 1644 which created the dynasty that ruled until 1911 (Barfield 1989). Byzantium's relationship was inevitably different because the geography of that relationship was different. The Avars came closest to achieving the equivalent conquest of Byzantium by a steppe power, but leaving aside the particular reasons that led to their failure in 626, the core of Byzantium was always too distant and too alien an environment to make for easy domination. Making contact with steppe rulers usually involved leaving Constantinople by boat and heading for the northern or eastern shores of the Black Sea. One of the functions of Cherson in the Crimea was as a listening post onto the steppe world (Obolensky 1971: 28–32). By land Byzantium was always separated by either the Transcaucasus or the Balkans, in both cases buffering the empire from the steppe world.

ANATOLIA

If Constantinople was a Balkan city, it was also an Anatolian city with a hinterland in north-western Anatolia around the Sea of Marmara. Indeed between the seventh and tenth century the empire was not a great deal more than the imperial city plus Anatolia. Like the Balkans, the geography of Anatolia is perhaps most easily grasped through its mountains. The peninsula is essentially a high plateau with an infertile salt lake at its centre. The plateau is surrounded by mountains, but not in a way that makes Anatolia a perfect natural fortress. The grain of the landscape runs west to east. To north and south respectively the Pontos and Taurus ranges create narrow coastal strips with high mountains behind. To the south-east, towards Syria and Iraq the grain acts as a barrier to movement, channelling armies and travellers through a number of key passes: the Cilician Gates, the Ergani pass, and the Bitlis pass being particularly important. To the west the grain creates long and fertile river valleys, notably the Maeander (Menderes) and the Hermos (Gediz). To the east the mountains are a formidable barrier, but to movement from north to south rather than from east to west. Anatolia is therefore well provided with natural defences against an invader coming from Damascus or even Baghdad, but not against an invader, like the eleventh-century Turks, that comes from the east (Naval Intelligence Division 1942–3: 19–22, 145–52, 154–8; Hütteroth 1982: 45–95).



Map 2 Asia Minor: physical geography

The largest and most fertile agricultural zones of Anatolia are on the western and southern coasts, and historically these regions, with a milder climate than the plateau itself, have been the richest and most densely populated areas of the peninsula. The prolific remains of Roman monumental buildings in these regions are evidence enough. The northern coast is equally fertile and better watered, but the coastal strip between the Black Sea and the mountains is for the most part extremely narrow. That said, the importance of the rest of the plateau should not be missed. Some extensive parts are no more than bleak semi-desert in the rain shadow of the coastal ranges, but the plateau also contains substantial agricultural plains and alluvial basins, some like the Konya basin of considerable size, and where water is available these can be very productive. Cappadocia is typical in being more productive than it appears at first sight. A shortage of surface water can be offset by exploiting underground aquifers, and the sometimes rather poor soil enriched by the use of guano (Hütteroth 1982: 49–61; Naval Intelligence Division 1942–3: 103–16, 121–42, 152–4, 160–8). As with the Balkans, it is worth remembering too, that the mountains are not uninhabited. Leaving aside the high summer pastures (*yaylar*) traditionally exploited by seasonal transhumance, most Anatolian ranges are settled by villages exploiting small basins of alluvium or farming the slopes by means of terraces (Tunçdilek 1974: 62–3; Hütteroth 1982: 290–2).

THE TRANSCAUCASUS

Travelling east the Anatolian mountains become higher and take up more of the landscape. The plains become smaller. The sense that routes are funnelled along predictable channels becomes stronger. This is the Transcaucasus, a land of high mountains and high plains between the plateaux of Anatolia and Iran, bounded on the north by the Caucasus mountains, beyond which lie the steppes. To the east is the Caspian; to the west the Transcaucasus extends to the Black Sea.

In the Kur valley, which lies between the Caucasus range and the mountains of Armenia, the region includes a substantial area of lowland plain, the eastern portions of which are in effect, rather like the Hungarian plains, an outlier of the steppes beyond the mountains. But most of the Transcaucasus is a world of mountains and small alluvial basins. If the Balkans is a region fragmented and defined by mountains, the Transcaucasus is more so, and thanks to the size and height of these ranges the impact is more extreme. If the Balkans are cold in winter, with passes regularly blocked by heavy snow; the Transcaucasus is more so. For human beings living in this harsh environment the chief mitigating factor is the fertility of the volcanic soil. Where there is a water supply, the Transcaucasus can be verdant

and highly productive. Even high mountain basins, with only short growing seasons between late thaws and early snows, can support significant populations. The result is a highly fragmented pattern of localized power and culture (Hewsen 2001: 14–19; Whittow 1996: 195–203; Naval Intelligence Division 1942–3: 22–5, 179–94).

THE LEVANT AND NORTHERN MESOPOTAMIA

The Taurus and Anti-Taurus mountains form the southern rim of Anatolia and the Transcaucasus, beyond which stretch the Levant and Mesopotamia. To follow the road south through the Bitlis pass from the lands around Lake Van to the plains below is to drop some 1500 metres into a different world.

Northern Mesopotamia is the territory south of the mountains and east of the Euphrates. Occasional small ranges such as the Tur 'Abdin are foothills to the main mountains to the north. Otherwise this is a land of rolling plains cut by the river Euphrates and its affluents. It is open country where armies can manoeuvre with ease, and although the largest and most ancient sites tend to be close to the rivers there are no other obvious constraints on where people live. The Levant is the territory south of the mountains, west of the Euphrates, flanked by the Mediterranean and extending as far as Sinai and the Red Sea. Compared to northern Mesopotamia the Levant is much more circumscribed by relief. Its key features are a narrow coastal strip, broader in the south than the north; a parallel belt of mountains, at its highest in the Lebanon where it divides into two ranges, the Lebanon and Anti-Lebanon, with the Beqa valley between; and beyond that inland plains and plateaux that stretch east to the desert. Through much of the Levant major routes have to follow the lines created by the principal rivers, the Orontes, the Litani, and the Jordan, and cross the ranges at the available passes. Unlike northern Mesopotamia this is a landscape of obvious strategic choke points. Settlement too has tended to concentrate in particular zones, either on the Mediterranean coast or beyond the mountains where there is enough water to make agriculture flourish. Ancient cities are found on the coast; but they are also found inland: Jerusalem, Damascus, and Aleppo. But to repeat a point made for the Balkans and Anatolia, one should not ignore the mountains. The fertility and water supply of Mount Lebanon—to take as an example one of the Levantine ranges—can offset its isolation and difficulty of access, even when those factors are not viewed as positive assets (Naval Intelligence Division 1943*a*: 11–37; 1943*b*: 12–32).

In 1916 James Henry Breasted coined the term 'Fertile Crescent' for the arc of agricultural lands that stretch from Egypt via the Levant to Iraq and the Persian

Gulf, and it remains a useful descriptor (Scheffler: 2003). Northern Mesopotamia and the Levant form the northern and western sides of the Crescent. The most obvious shared feature of the region as a whole is the relationship with the desert. Inside the Crescent is the Syrian desert, a huge arid area, beyond which to the south is the Arabian desert, vaster still. From the desert margin of northern Mesopotamia to the south coast of Arabia is over 2000 kilometres. This huge area is not an undifferentiated sea of sand. There is rock desert and lava desert; there are mountains and oases, and areas where with water agriculture is possible; but overall the desert before the discovery of oil was by definition an extremely poor environment that could support no more than a minimal population. Most desert dwellers (even ascetics) inevitably looked to the settled world of the Fertile Crescent for employment, opportunity, and support. The contrast between the 'desert' and the 'sown' is not absolute, but the proximity of two such very different environments is a distinctive and highly influential feature of the regional geography. Within a few kilometres one can move from farmland to an apparent waste (Fisher 1978: 494–500).

Breasted's definition of the Fertile Crescent included Egypt, but even leaving Egypt aside for the moment, the Fertile Crescent is far from being an undifferentiated whole. Central and southern Iraq, which make up most of the eastern arm of the Crescent, are dependent on a complex irrigation system to harness the waters of the Tigris and the Euphrates. Without the man-made channels and ditches, and without the labour to keep them clear, the landscape would revert to its natural state, an arid dust bowl with areas of marsh (Christensen 1993). By contrast most of the northern and western sectors of the Crescent—in effect those territories that lay within the Roman Empire—were inside the 200-millimetre isohyet, in other words within the area that receives sufficient rainfall to allow agriculture without irrigation. The Roman Empire was familiar with irrigation. Irrigation systems allowed the agricultural zone to be pushed out further towards the desert. But Rome, unlike any empire that ruled Iraq, was not an irrigation state. Compared with any zone dependent upon complex and large-scale irrigation, the Levant offered many more and varied ways of making a living.

EGYPT

The imperial capital was at Constantinople on the Balkan side of the Bosphorus, but up to the 640s the empire's economic heartland was Egypt. Seen from space the importance of Egypt is obvious. Egypt is the Nile, the valley and the delta. In satellite photographs these stand out against the surrounding desert as a bright green strip ending in the huge green triangle of the delta

(http://visibleearth.nasa.gov/view_rec.php?id=12748). The desert can barely support human life, but the valley and the delta added in antiquity up to about 27,000 square kilometres of the most fertile land in the Mediterranean (Butzer 1976: 82). It is a world of irrigation channels and ditches, but unlike Iraq, the irrigation system was effectively natural. The key to Egypt's prosperity was as much the annual Nile flood that deposited a new layer of mineral-rich alluvium on the farmers' fields as it was human effort. The result was levels of agricultural output not matched elsewhere in the Mediterranean. High output multiplied by an area of some 27,000 square kilometres made Egypt an agricultural producer on a scale that dwarfed any other Roman province. It has been convincingly suggested that a quarter of the sixth-century empire's population lived in Egypt, and that it provided 40 per cent of the empire's fiscal revenues (Bowman and Rogan 1999; Sarris 2006: 10–11).

A STRATEGIC GEOGRAPHY

Byzantium was both the beneficiary and the prisoner of its geography. The eastern empire of Late Antiquity saw out the crises that overwhelmed the western empire in the fifth century in part because the Balkans gave protection from Goths and Huns, and the position of Constantinople at the eastern extremity of the Thracian peninsula made it possible to construct effective landward defences and to supply the city by sea (Heather 2005: 167–90). The fragmented nature of Balkan relief made the peninsula hard to control as a single unit, and does much to explain how politically primitive Slav tribes managed to establish themselves throughout the peninsula in the sixth and seventh centuries. At the same time though, Balkan geography militated against the establishment of a single threatening power as a neighbour to Byzantium. The Huns in the fifth century, the Avars in the sixth century, and the Magyars in the tenth century all established themselves on the Hungarian plains from where the routes to Constantinople available to a nomad army are limited in number and easily blocked. The Bulgars established themselves on the plains south of the Danube, closer to Constantinople and protected from Byzantine counter-attack by the line of the Haimos mountains, but this is no country to support a nomad power in the long term. If historians have argued that no nomad great power could maintain itself on the Hungarian plains due to inadequate supplies of pasture, the same is much more true of any nomad power on the lower Danube. By the tenth century, if not long before, the Bulgars had ceased to be a steppe nomad culture (Whittow 1996: 262–98).

Similarly the empire of the seventh century survived because the capital and the agricultural resources necessary to feed it, at least at a reduced level, were

protected from the centres of Persian and Arab power. An army planning to reach Constantinople from Syria will have to travel over 1200 kilometres, cross two mountain ranges and a plateau where water and food will have to be transported. As the Franks discovered in 1097 and again in 1101 this was not an easy journey, and the tenth-century military manual known as *De velitatione bellica* ('Skirmishing Warfare') shows how adeptly the Byzantines had learnt to exploit the defensive possibilities of the terrain (see III.18.8 Military texts).

Through the eighth and ninth centuries Anatolia was most exposed to raids coming from the east, in which direction the mountains do not form a barrier. The loss of Armenia in the seventh century in effect turned the Byzantine defences, and the eighth-century establishment of the Arabs at Melitene (Eski Malatya) and Kalikala (Erzurum) gave them convenient raiding bases on the plateau. The fall of these two cities to the Byzantines in 934 and 949 respectively was a decisive stage in the empire's tenth-century eastern offensive. In both cases the specific local geography is an important key to what happened. The two cities lay in the middle of relatively fertile alluvial basins surrounded by mountains. As long as the mountain population was friendly the cities were secure; when they turned to alliance with the empire Melitene and Kalikala were doomed (Whittow 1996: 315–18, 322).

Anatolian geography also does a great deal to explain the history of the eleventh- and twelfth-century empire. The Turkish threat that faced Byzantium came from the open east flank of the peninsula rather than its protected south-east—hence Romanos IV's fatal confrontation with the Seljuk sultan which took place at Manzikert in the Armenian Transcaucasus. Defeat there opened the way to the plateau, where Turkoman nomads from Central Asia found a relatively familiar environment to exploit. Hendy (1970) pointed out to a generation prone to think of central Anatolia as the empire's heartland that the peninsula's richest areas actually lay on the coast and were still Byzantine through the greater part of the Komnenian period. One might question whether the coastlands were viable if the plateau was in hostile hands, but otherwise Hendy's observation remains true.

The empire was so concerned with the defence of Anatolia because of the disaster that had overwhelmed its eastern provinces in the seventh century. At a stroke the loss of Egypt reduced Byzantine status to that of a second-rank power. Neither Anatolia nor the Balkans (where in any case, other than for a period between the early eleventh and late twelfth centuries, imperial control was shared with regional rivals) could compensate. Still less could the territories in the central and western Mediterranean, unless of course the decision had been taken to move the capital from Constantinople to somewhere much further west. The seventh-century crisis was in turn shaped fundamentally by the peculiar geography of the Levant and the adjacent desert. Islam grew up in the isolation of Arabia. Close enough to be influenced by Judaism and Christianity; far enough away for the tribes of deep Arabia not to have become Christian. The conquests in turn are explained by the openness of the heartlands of the Fertile Crescent to an invader from the

desert and the difficulty of finding a new defensive frontier south of the Taurus mountains.

An empire confined to Anatolia and the Balkans could prosper (as Byzantium did in the tenth and eleventh centuries, or as the Ottoman Empire did between the mid-fourteenth and early sixteenth centuries) but the resources of these regions were insufficient for more than regional dominance. The loss of Egypt marks the end of a Byzantine golden age; its conquest in 1517 opened the way for its Ottoman equivalent.

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Further Reading

For basic introductions see Whittow 1996; Branigan and Jarrett 1969; Beaumont, Blake, and Wagstaff 1988; Fisher 1978; and the first section of the very clear *Cambridge Atlas of the Middle East and North Africa* (Blake, Dewdney, and Mitchell 1987: 7–9).

For more detail the Geographical Handbook Series produced by the Naval Intelligence Division in the 1940s remains essential (Clout and Gosme 2003), as to an extent do the equivalent volumes produced by the Admiralty War Staff (Intelligence Division) during the First World War. Among geographers the study of regional physical geography has fallen out of favour in the last fifty years, and these volumes have not been replaced. A new series, Oxford Regional Environments, is in progress. It already includes relevant volumes on Northern Eurasia and Africa, and a volume on the Mediterranean area is due soon, but for historians concerned with the pre-modern world the older literature will remain important.

Otherwise, on specific regions, Obolensky 1971 is a clear introduction to the Balkans, Hütteroth 1982 is an important discussion of Turkey, and the volumes of the *Tabula Imperii Byzantini* all contain geographical introductions together with useful bibliography of earlier literature, not least the early travellers whose insights are often illuminating.

Varied geographical approaches to the history of Byzantium can be found in Philippson 1922, 1939; Braudel 1972–3; and Horden and Purcell 2000. The latter contains an important bibliography with detailed discussion, much of which is relevant to the study of Byzantium.

POLITICAL-
HISTORICAL
SURVEY, c.250–518

GEOFFREY GREATREX

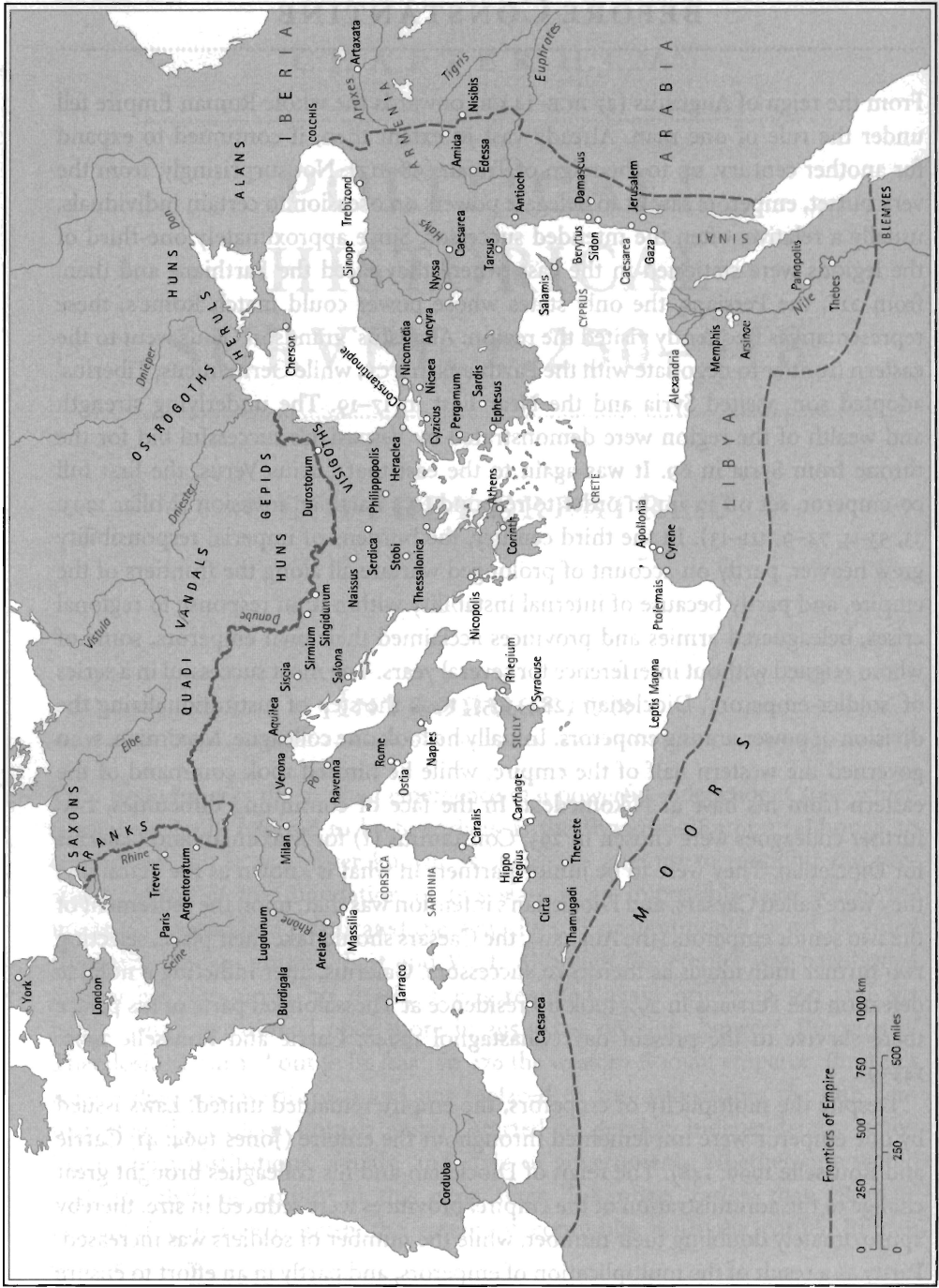
INTRODUCTION

THIS period marks the gradual emergence of a powerful independent state which is now generally referred to by historians as the Byzantine Empire (although to contemporaries it was never known as such). To attempt to pinpoint the precise moment of the foundation of this state is an impossible task: when, for instance, Constantine I dedicated the new city of Constantinople in 330, he ruled the entire Roman empire, East and West. Although the empire was partitioned among his sons upon his death, it was reunited again briefly in 350 and 392 before being partitioned once more in 395. That division, between the sons of Theodosios I, turned out to be final: in 476 the western Roman emperor, Romulus Augustulus, was overthrown and not replaced. It was also during the fifth century that the eastern Roman empire started to develop independently, evolving its own institutions, rituals, and style of government. Whether one would wish to label the empire at this early stage 'Byzantine' rather than 'Roman' is doubtful, however, given the extent of continuity with the earlier Roman empire.

THE EASTERN ROMAN EMPIRE BEFORE CONSTANTINE

From the reign of Augustus (27 BCE–14 CE) onwards the whole Roman Empire fell under the rule of one man. Already vast in extent then, it continued to expand for another century, up to the reign of Trajan (98–117). Not surprisingly, from the very outset, emperors saw fit to delegate powers on occasion to certain individuals, usually a relative, often the intended successor. Since approximately one-third of the legions were stationed in the east, where they faced the Parthians and then, from 226, the Persians, the only states whose power could match Rome's, these representatives frequently visited the region: Augustus' grandson Gaius went to the eastern frontier to negotiate with the Parthians in 2 CE, while Germanicus, Tiberius' adopted son, visited Syria and the Near East in 17–19. The underlying strength and wealth of the region were demonstrated by Vespasian's successful bid for the throne from Syria in 69. It was again to the east that Lucius Verus, the first full co-emperor, set off in 161 in order to respond to a Parthian invasion (Millar 1993: 33, 53–4, 73–9, 111–13). In the third century, the burdens of imperial responsibility grew heavier, partly on account of prolonged warfare all along the frontiers of the empire, and partly because of internal instability within it: in response to regional crises, beleaguered armies and provinces acclaimed their own emperors, some of whom reigned without interference for several years. The most successful in a series of 'soldier-emperors', Diocletian (284–305), took the step of institutionalizing the division of power among emperors. Initially he took one colleague, Maximian, who governed the western half of the empire, while he himself took command of the eastern from his base at Nikomedeia. In the face of continuing difficulties, two further colleagues were chosen in 293, Constantius (I) for Maximian and Galerius for Diocletian. They were to be junior partners in what is known as the Tetrarchy; they were called Caesars, and Diocletian's intention was that, upon the retirement of the two senior emperors (the Augusti), the Caesars should take their place, selecting two further individuals as their own successors. Galerius, after inflicting a notable defeat on the Persians in 297, took up residence at Thessalonike; parts of his palace there survive to the present day (Chastagnol 1994*b*; Carrié and Rousselle 1999: 145–9).

Despite the multiplicity of emperors, the empire remained united. Laws issued by one emperor were implemented throughout the empire (Jones 1964: 41; Carrié and Rousselle 1999: 148). The reign of Diocletian and his colleagues brought great change to the administration of the empire: provinces were reduced in size, thereby approximately doubling their number, while the number of soldiers was increased. Partly as a result of the multiplication of emperors, and partly in an effort to ensure a sufficient quantity of supplies for the enlarged army, the apparatus of government



Map 3 The Roman Empire in the late 4th century

grew. The focus on the military also led to a definitive separation of military and civilian offices (Jones 1964: 37–60, Campbell 2005: 120–6, Carrié and Rouselle 1999: 160–90, Garnsey and Humfress 2001: 36–41). Important reforms were likewise introduced at various stages to the manner in which taxes were raised, culminating in the establishment of the ‘indiction’ cycle in 312, a fifteen-year-long period during which the amount due (the indiction) would remain constant; so familiar did this rhythm become over the years that the unit was soon taken up as a means of dating (Jones 1964: 61–70; Carrié 1994; Carrié and Rouselle 1999: 190–207).

THE DYNASTY OF CONSTANTINE I (306–63)

In 305 Diocletian and Maximian retired, ceding their positions to Galerius and Constantius (I) respectively. Only one year later, following the death of Constantius, dynastic loyalties, always a powerful factor in imperial successions, came back into play: Constantius’ army at York acclaimed his son, Constantine, as Augustus, thereby disturbing Diocletian’s system. Within a few years, the number of Augusti had proliferated and civil war had broken out again. It was Constantine who emerged the victor in the West, defeating Maxentius at the battle of the Milvian bridge in 312. In the following year he came to terms with the sole remaining ruler in the East, Licinius, but relations soon worsened. Despite the conclusion of another entente in 317, Constantine attacked and defeated his rival in 324, so gaining control of the entire empire (Barnes 1981: 28–77; Cameron 2005: 90–4). Work began immediately on a new city on the Bosporos, on the site of Byzantium, to be renamed Constantinople after the emperor; the new foundation was dedicated in 330. In establishing this new city, Constantine was following the example of emperors such as Galerius and Diocletian, who had built palaces and other imperial buildings at their seats of government in Thessalonike and Nikomedeia, yet it appears that from the start he envisaged something more ambitious: the city was to be a new Rome, equipped with its own senate in addition to the official buildings usually associated with a tetrarchic centre. In addition, extra grain was brought in from Egypt to feed the expanding population (Dagron 1974: 13–47; Mango 1990: 25–6).

The pace of administrative change did not slacken under Constantine. The various departments of government which dealt with matters such as imperial correspondence and archives were all placed under the control of the *magister officiorum*, the master of offices, who thus ranked as one of the highest officials of state (Claus 1980). The bureaux charged with legal matters came under the authority of the *quaestor sacri palatii*, the quaestor of the sacred palace (Harries 1988). The ministers of imperial finances were henceforth known as the *comes sacrarum largitionum*

(count of the sacred largesses) and the *comes rerum privatarum* (count of the private fortune) (Delmaire 1995: 119–47). The praetorian prefect remained one of the most important officials of state, functioning in effect as the emperor's deputy in legal and administrative matters. In a major break with previous practice, however, the prefects no longer had any military authority (Southern 2001: 257). Instead, the command of the army was split between a *magister peditum* (master of infantry) and a *magister equitum* (master of cavalry), a system which would, over the fifth century, evolve into a series of regional high commands, each under a *magister militum* (master of soldiers). This group of ministers, along with senior military commanders, comprised the *consistorium* (the consistory), a body which met to advise the emperor on policy decisions. In the matter of imperial finances, the most notable development was the creation of a stable gold coin, the *solidus*, which nevertheless failed to halt the inflationary pressures which had afflicted the empire under the tetrarchs and earlier (Jones 1964: 97–109; Barnes 1981: 255–8; Bagnall 1985; Hendy 1985: 462–7; Carrié and Rousselle 1999: 259–63; Chastagnol 1994a: 197–202; Kelly 2006: 185–92).

The most fundamental change to the empire under Constantine, however, was in the field of religion. While the timing and nature of Constantine's conversion remain a subject of dispute, there can be no doubting its impact (Bremmer 2006). Christians in the empire, hitherto a sporadically persecuted group, were accorded first tolerance, and then later considerable privileges (at least in the case of church officials). An extensive programme of church-building was undertaken, while gold and other precious items were plundered from pagan temples. But the pace of Christianization must not be exaggerated. As one might expect with such a profound change, the conversion of the empire took place over generations. Adherents of the new religion could be accorded favourable treatment, but there was no question initially of forcible conversions. Many high officials and most of the army remained pagan up until the end of the fourth century. It was not until 391 that an emperor (Theodosios I) not only banned pagan sacrifices and rituals but also forbade entry into temples and shrines. Even then, his son Arkadios hesitated to intervene in Gaza, even after Christians there appealed to him to put an end to pagan practices in the late 390s; it was likewise zealous Christians, rather than imperial forces, who stormed the Serapaeum in Alexandria in c.392. Paganism remained a potent force in many parts of the eastern empire right up until the sixth century: under Justinian energetic measures were required to purge pagans prominent at the imperial court, while in the countryside thousands remained to be converted by missionaries sent out by the emperor (Jones 1964: 344–5; Barnes 1994: nos. VII–VIII; Trombley 1993–4: 187–245; Brown 1995: 29–54; Fowden 1998; Brown 1998; Salzman 2002; Mitchell 2007: 238–51; Errington 2006: 212–59).

The conversion of the emperor had other important repercussions. Henceforth it was to him that Christians turned to resolve their differences, a role which Constantine did not shirk. The emperor, keen to uphold correct Christian belief and

to ensure unity among his subjects, did not hesitate to intervene in disputes about matters of doctrine and procedure; sometimes he summoned a council of bishops to decide a point, as most notably at the first ecumenical council of Nicaea in 325, but on other occasions he pronounced judgement himself. The Roman emperor came thus to function not only as the secular ruler of the empire but also as the head of the Church; Constantine, according to his biographer Eusebios, even saw himself as a bishop, and did not hesitate to address bishops on matters of the faith himself. In the West, as the power of the emperor declined in the fifth century, that of the bishop of Rome increased; but in the East, the emperor continued to be the final arbiter of theological disputes, convening ecumenical councils and even issuing edicts on points of doctrine (Frend 1972: 54–62; Barnes 1981: 208–44; Millar 1977: 577–607; Lane Fox 1986: 609–62; Dagron 1996: 141–8; Drake 2006).

The development of a centralized bureaucracy—the extent of which must not be unduly exaggerated (cf. Carrié and Rousselle 1999: 190)—as well as the growth in the size of the army entailed a tightening up of tax collection procedures in the empire. New taxes were created; senators were now made liable to certain taxes for the first time. But even as such extra sources of revenue were being tapped by the state, others were being removed. Officials of the Church were soon absolved of any requirement to pay taxes. Members of the imperial court and administration were likewise exempted from taxation. Unsurprisingly, both the Church and the government bureaucracy became popular choices for wealthy individuals throughout the empire, eager to avoid their tax obligations. This in turn had the consequence of undermining the apparatus of government in the cities of the empire; for the local elites of these cities had traditionally acted as the administrators of their communities, governing as a city council, while simultaneously ensuring the collection of taxes for the central government. As the impositions of the government increased, fewer individuals were prepared to maintain this role, especially when they could be held liable for shortfalls in the taxes due. Instead, they sought to escape from their community and to gain refuge either in the Church or the bureaucracy, a trend which the government attempted sporadically and largely unsuccessfully to resist. The pace of this development, commonly known as the ‘flight of the *curiales*’, was uneven, and its impact has sometimes been over-emphasized: cities remained a crucial element in the administration of the empire right up until the early seventh century. Their councils undoubtedly declined in importance as a result of the policies of Constantine and his successors, but other elements emerged to take their place (such as provincial governors and unofficial groups of local notables, including the bishop), and local building work certainly did continue to be carried out (especially the construction of churches) (Heather 1994; Ward-Perkins 1998; Liebeschuetz 2000; Lavan 2001; Liebeschuetz 2001).

In May 337, as he set off eastwards to campaign against Persia, Constantine died near Nikomedeia. Almost four months later, three of his sons, Constantine (II), Constantius, and Constans divided the Roman empire among themselves,

eliminating all but two of Constantine's other living relatives in the process. Constantius (II) took over the eastern empire and spent much of the early years of his reign (337–61) defending his eastern frontiers against the Sassanian Persians (Barnes 1981: 261–3; Blockley 1992: 14–17; Hunt 1998: 1–5; Burgess 2008). When his brother Constans, however, who had come to rule the entire western empire after the death of Constantine II in 340, was defeated and killed in a coup by Magnentius in 350, Constantius reacted swiftly. Appointing his relative Gallus Caesar in the East, he advanced on Italy, defeating Magnentius' forces in a bloody encounter at Mursa in Pannonia in 351; the usurper himself was eliminated two years later. Constantius remained in the West for most of the 350s, campaigning in Gaul and on the Danube (Barnes 1993: 101–8, 221–2; Hunt 1998: 5–37). Suspicious of the loyalty of Gallus, he undermined his position and arranged his execution in 354. However, realizing the importance of the presence of an imperial figure in defending the Gallic provinces, he raised up Gallus' younger brother Julian to the rank of Caesar in late 355 and himself returned to the East in 360. While the renewal of war with the Persians distracted Constantius, Julian then seized the opportunity to rebel, claiming the title of Augustus for himself (Bowersock 1978: 46–54; Matthews 1989: 81–114). Constantius therefore set off from Antioch to meet the threat in October 361, but died soon afterwards of natural causes. Julian thus became sole emperor without striking a blow, and at once sought to revive the fortunes of pagans throughout the empire. His efforts, cut short after only eighteen months by his untimely death, enjoyed only limited success, frustrated on the one hand by the stubborn opposition of Christians, and on the other by the fact that his own brand of paganism was markedly different from that of the majority who remained faithful to the traditional cults (Bowersock 1978: 55–93; Fowden 1998: 543–8). In mid-362 Julian left Constantinople for Antioch, from where he set out the following spring to exact revenge on the Persians for their attacks on the eastern provinces. He died in battle in June 363 as he led his army back to Roman territory, having failed in his objective of capturing the Persian city of Ctesiphon (Matthews 1989: 130–79).

Although neither Constantius nor Julian spent very long in Constantinople during their reigns—both in fact spent more time in Antioch (Dagron 1974: 78–82)—the city continued to develop, steadily taking on the attributes of an imperial capital. It was here that Constantine was buried in 337, as was Constantius in 361. The construction of an extensive series of aqueducts was initiated under Constantius, while Julian increased the harbour capacity of the city. Constantius also allowed the appointment of a prefect for the city for the first time, as well as greatly increasing the number of senators (Heather 1994; Dagron 1974: 119–46; Mango 1990: 37–42; Hunt 1998: 37–9; Errington 2006: 142–68). In church affairs, Constantius followed in his father's footsteps, at any rate in the way he actively intervened in disputes, and to some extent in the line he took. This involved steady support for an Arian interpretation of the faith, putting him at odds with the patriarch of Alexandria, Athanasios, as well as many western bishops (see also III.15.1 Byzantine theology).

The outspoken Athanasios was consequently condemned by the Church and the emperor on several occasions, although these decisions were not always acted on immediately or indeed successfully. Emperors had to remain aware of the limits of their power, and in their search for doctrinal unity tended to adjust their approach according to the circumstances of the moment as well as to the nature of the region with which they were dealing: Egypt in particular had a tendency to refuse to submit to the imperial line (Frend 1972: 59, 71–4; Barnes 1993: 165–75; Pietri 1995; Chadwick 1998: 561–73).

JOVIAN, VALENTINIAN, AND VALENS (363–78)

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Stranded in Persian territory and short of supplies, the leading commanders of the eastern army selected an officer named Jovian to succeed Julian. He extricated his forces from Persia by substantial concessions to the Persians, but died in 364 before being able to secure his position; by then, however, he had restored to the Christians the position they had enjoyed up to the reign of Julian (Curran 1998: 78–80). It was a group of senior officers once again that assembled, this time at Nicaea, to determine the next emperor. Their choice fell on another officer, Valentinian, who within five weeks appointed his brother Valens co-emperor. While the former moved westwards to defend the Gallic provinces from barbarian invasions, the latter had to deal first with an attempted usurpation by Julian's relative Procopius, and then with groups of Tervingi and Greuthungi (tribes which would soon combine to be known as Goths) on the Danube, who were threatening Roman territory in defiance of an earlier treaty concluded with Constantine I. Three years of indecisive warfare (367–9) led to a new treaty, more favourable to the two groups (Heather 1991: 115–21; Lenski 2002: 127–52). While Valentinian continued to campaign against the Alemanni on the Rhine frontier, Valens moved to Antioch, from where he intended to counter Persian encroachments into Armenia. His plans came to nothing, however, as the situation on the Danube frontier worsened. Valentinian died in 375 in the course of negotiations with the Quadi; shortly afterwards, his young son Valentinian II was proclaimed emperor, joining his half-brother Gratian who had been raised to the rank of Augustus in 367. Meanwhile, the Greuthungi and Tervingi, subject to attacks by Huns as they pushed westwards across modern-day Ukraine, insistently urged the Romans to allow them to cross the Danube and enter Thrace. Valens reluctantly agreed to permit the Tervingi to cross into Roman territory, where they were nevertheless treated with disdain by the local Roman commanders. Armed conflict soon broke out, in which the Tervingi gained

the upper hand; Valentinian's son Gratian therefore moved east in order to help retrieve the situation. In 378 Valens arrived on the scene with the eastern field army; in August he encountered the assembled Gothic forces at Adrianople. Without waiting for the arrival of Gratian's army, Valens engaged the enemy and suffered a resounding defeat. The emperor died in battle, along with perhaps two-thirds of the eastern field army (Wolfram 1988: 117–31; Heather 1991: 122–47; Curran 1998: 91–101; Lenski 2002: 320–67).

THE DYNASTY OF THEODOSIOS (379–450)

The death of Gratian's uncle Valens left the eastern empire without a ruler. He therefore appointed as co-ruler a former general named Theodosios to take charge. Drastic measures were required to restore the strength of the eastern armies. Conscription was tightened up, but this in itself was insufficient. The only solution lay in coming to terms with the invading forces, accepting their entry onto Roman soil and allowing them to stay; in return, they would be expected to serve in the Roman army when called upon. This did not represent a change in Roman policy insofar as the employment of barbarians was concerned: they had always served in the Roman army, in increasing quantities over the fourth century, and had been settled on Roman territory. But never before had such a large number been accepted *en bloc*, nor was there any precedent for a group being admitted to Roman territory and conserving its autonomy, as appears to have occurred in this case. It was a risky decision, but it is likely that Theodosios had little choice, such was the turmoil in the Balkans. The agreement—in fact, a formal surrender—was concluded in 382, and it allowed Theodosios to take a tougher line with other barbarian groups who attempted to cross the frontier (Wolfram 1988: 131–5; Heather 1991: 147–75; Blockley 1992: 39–42). A few years later, in 387, a peace treaty with Persia settled the main source of friction between the two powers by partitioning Armenia, ushering in over a century of largely peaceful relations (Blockley 1992: 44–5; Greatrex 2000).

The reign of Theodosios is pivotal in the development of the eastern empire. As has already been noted, the emperor took a far more strident line in condemning paganism than had his predecessors. He also acted quickly to ensure that orthodox Christianity prevailed in the eastern empire: both Constantius and Valens had supported forms of Arianism, and the majority of the leading bishops of the eastern empire were Arians. A council was held in Constantinople in 381 to confirm this policy; among its decisions was the declaration that the bishop of Constantinople should be second in precedence to the bishop of Rome on the grounds that

Constantinople was the new Rome, a position reaffirmed at Chalcedon in 451. Although the sees of Alexandria and Antioch had far more distinguished pasts and apostolic connections, and despite their objections and those of other sees, the steadily increasing importance of the imperial city is clear, as emerges also from the extensive building projects carried out by the emperor (Dagron 1974: 436–87; Meyendorff 1989: 179–84; Maraval 1998a: 102–4; Leppin 2003: 188–201; Errington 2006: 229–30). In the political sphere, it is possible to observe the beginnings of eastern independence from the west and even ascendancy. Although Theodosios owed his position to Gratian, he did not hesitate to act without consulting his colleague: in early 383, for instance, he raised up his son Arkadios to the rank of Augustus. Later the same year, Gratian was executed by Magnus Maximus, a usurper from Britain who soon gained control of most of the western empire and who initially received recognition from Theodosios. Within a few years, Valentinian II was forced to flee to Thessalonike to escape Maximus' forces. Theodosios reacted by undertaking an expedition to unseat Maximus. It was a complete success, and in 388 Valentinian was restored to the western throne. But just four years later he was dead, and another usurper, Eugenius, had seized the western empire, promoted by Arbogast, formerly one of Valentinian's generals. Although he made efforts to come to terms with Theodosios, eastern forces once again crossed the Balkans, defeating Eugenius' forces at the River Frigidus in September 394 (Matthews 1975: 223–52; Curran 1998: 104–10; McLynn 1994: 292–6; Leppin 2003: 87–115, 205–20).

Theodosios died at Milan in January 395, but was survived by his two sons, Honorius and Arkadios, who had already been raised to the rank of Augustus. Both were young at the time of their father's death and relied heavily throughout their reigns on their ministers. This led initially to considerable friction between East and West, for Stilicho, the *magister utriusque militiae* (the master of both army groups, i.e. infantry and cavalry) in the west, considered himself the guardian not only of Honorius, the western emperor, but also of Arkadios; neither of the two ministers who dominated Arkadios' court at the start of his reign, the praetorian prefect Rufinus and the *praepositus sacri cubiculi* (the grand chamberlain of the palace, an office of great importance in the fifth century) Eutropios accepted this claim. The balance of power seemed initially to favour the western empire: much of the eastern army remained there in the wake of Eugenius' defeat, and Stilicho proved to be a skilled commander. In his campaigns in the Balkans in the late 390s he was able to outmanoeuvre Alaric's Goths on several occasions, without, however, ever inflicting a decisive defeat on them. Arkadios' government preferred a more pliant response to the invaders, according Alaric a high command and undertaking to pay his men as Roman allies (*foederati*) (Mitchell 2007: 89–95). The influence of the Goths in the eastern empire reached its acme at this point, culminating in the brief success of Gainas in imposing himself as Arkadios' leading general in 400. His regime was short-lived and ended in the massacre in Constantinople of the entire

Gothic population (Liebeschuetz 1990: 92–125; Heather 1991: 193–208; Cameron and Long 1993). Henceforth civilian officials would exert greater influence in the eastern empire, whereas in the west generals continued to dominate, eventually undermining imperial rule altogether. The ability of the eastern government to secure the loyalty of a considerable number of (originally) non-Roman generals and soldiers is also significant: it was the Gothic general Fravitta who prevented Gainas from crossing into Asia Minor after he had left Constantinople in 400 (Liebeschuetz 1990: 126–31; Elton 1996a: 136–51; Elton 1996b; Lee 2000: 59–60).

When Arkadios died in 408, his son, Theodosios II, Augustus since 402, became sole emperor. Both Arkadios and Theodosios, who reigned until 450, spent almost their entire reigns in Constantinople: it was during the fifth century that the city securely established itself as the capital of the eastern empire, indissolubly tied to the emperor and court. New fora and cisterns were built, along with the massive Theodosian walls, 1.5 km beyond the walls of Constantine's city, which were largely completed by 413 (Mango 1990: 42–50; Dagron 1974: 85–115; McCormick 2000: 136–42). Theodosios himself appears to have left the running of government to a series of ministers, such as the praetorian prefect Anthemios and the *praepositi sacri cubiculi* Antiochos and Chrysaphios; his sister Pulcheria also played an important role (Holum 1982; Lee 2000: 34–6; McCormick 2000: 145–56). It was during the reign of Theodosios that church politics came to take centre stage in the empire, culminating, under his successor, in the Council of Chalcedon (451). A new doctrinal dispute emerged, centring on the nature of Christ—whether human, divine, or a union of both. For a while it seemed as though the view of Nestorios, the bishop of Constantinople from 428 to 431, which privileged Christ's human nature, might prevail. But the third ecumenical council, convened by Theodosios at Ephesos in 431, condemned Nestorios' views, a decision accepted by the emperor. Under the influence of the Alexandrian Church, led by Cyril (412–44) then Dioskoros (444–51), more emphasis came to be placed on the divine nature of Christ; this view was ratified by a further council at Ephesos in 449, a meeting which came to be known as the 'Robber Council'. Two years later, the Council of Chalcedon, just outside Constantinople, was summoned by Marcian. There the assembled bishops, undoubtedly influenced by the emperor and his wife Pulcheria, approved a more moderate definition of Christ's dual nature. Nevertheless, this attempt to achieve a compromise between the different christological standpoints failed to win public support in many parts of the eastern empire, notably in Egypt and Syria (Frend 1972: 1–49; Meyendorff 1989: 165–87; Fraisse-Coué 1998; Maraval 1998a; Allen 2000: 811–14; Gaddis and Price 2005: 9–51; Millar 2006: 130–91).

While the fifth and sixth centuries were in general a time of prosperity for much of the eastern empire, notably the Near East (Foss 1995 and 1997; Ward-Perkins 2000: 320–32), the Balkan provinces suffered heavily (but cf. Whitby 2000). In the 430s and 440s the power of the Huns, now installed close to the Roman Danube frontier, grew enormously, allowing them to subjugate numerous other peoples.

Their leader, Attila, was able to wrest titles and payments from the eastern government, as well as to dominate the region (Blockley 1992: 59–67; Thompson 1996: 81–136). Even once he had led his forces against the western empire in 451 and 452, the situation in the region improved little, for his death in 453 led to the fragmentation of his empire. As a result, numerous barbarian groups now attempted to seize territories to settle, several of them in the Balkans (Heather 1996: 124–9). Despite the difficulties in the Balkans during Theodosios' reign, eastern forces did intervene on occasion in the west, notably in 425 to install Valentinian III, the nephew of Honorius, on the throne, ousting the usurper John; other expeditions, aimed at curbing the depredations of the Vandal fleet based in North Africa and designed more to protect the eastern empire than to help the West, were less successful (Blockley 1992: 60; Lee 2000: 39).

MARCIAN TO ANASTASIOS (450–518)

The influence of Germanic military commanders of the East had increased once more by the time of Theodosios' death in July 450. Probably through the machinations of the former *magister militum* Aspar, Marcian ascended the throne later the same year; the western emperor, Valentinian III, was not consulted, and the appointment marks a further stage in the separation of east and west (Burgess 1993–4; Lee 2000: 42–3). He was succeeded in 457 by Leo, another obscure officer with ties to Aspar. The new emperor was nonetheless able to free himself from the excessive influence of Aspar by promoting another warlike group from the margins of empire, the Isaurians. Prominent among them was Zeno, who later succeeded to the throne. Leo took considerable interest in the western empire, by now drastically reduced in size and power. In 467 he sent Anthemios, the son-in-law of Marcian, to take over the western throne, then vacant, as a preliminary to the dispatch in the following year of a massive naval expedition to destroy Vandal power, now threatening the Aegean Sea. The expedition of 468 proved to be a costly disaster, however, and the last years of Leo's reign were overshadowed by the gathering power of two Gothic groups in the Balkans (Heather 1991: 242–71; Blockley 1992: 71–9; Moorhead 1992).

When Leo died in January 474, he was initially succeeded by his young grandson Leo II. Zeno was appointed his guardian, and when the boy died later the same year, he ascended the throne. Only with difficulty was he able to retain his position: he was the victim of several coups, notably that of Basiliskos, Leo's brother-in-law, in 475, who gained control of Constantinople for twenty months, as well as having to contend with uprisings by other Isaurians (Heather 1991: 271–2; Lenski 1999:

446–55). The main challenge for Zeno when not dealing with domestic emergencies lay in mastering the situation in the Balkan provinces. Here two Gothic groups, each led by a ruler called Theoderic, vied to reach a definitive settlement with the empire while simultaneously devastating the provinces in order to exert pressure on the government as well as to ensure their own survival. Zeno reacted by prevaricating and supporting different groups at different times, a policy which had some success until Theoderic the Amal united the two groups following the death of his rival in 481. Since by this time there was no longer an emperor in the west, Italy being in the hands of a general named Odoacer, Zeno proposed to Theoderic that he take possession of the peninsula, which he would then rule in Zeno's name. Theoderic accepted the offer, marched to Italy, and wrested control from Odoacer; there he ruled the Goths until his death in 526 (Wolfram 1988: 258–332; Heather 1991: 272–308).

Through the influence of his wife Ariadne, the daughter of Leo I, Zeno was succeeded on his death in January 491 by Anastasios, an official in the imperial palace. The coronations of both Leo and Anastasios are recorded in the tenth-century *Book of Ceremonies*, allowing us to trace the evolution of imperial accession rituals, in which the declining influence of the army is at once apparent. For while Leo left Constantinople for the Hebdomon, to be acclaimed by the troops assembled there, after which he returned to the city in triumph, Anastasios remained in the capital throughout the whole ceremony, addressing the people and soldiers from the imperial box in the hippodrome. In both cases, the patriarch of Constantinople emerges as an important figure in the proceedings (MacCormack 1983: 240–7; Burgess 1993–4: 66–7; Dagon 1996: 79–90; McCormick 2000: 158–9; Whitby 2004: 182–3; Haarer 2006: 1–6). Anastasios' reign proved to be a stable and prosperous time for the eastern empire. Rebellious Isaurians were brought into line in the 490s and a Persian invasion in 502 was countered effectively enough to restore peace between the two sides in 506 (Greatrex 1998: 73–118; Haarer 2006: 11–65). Despite some continuing instability in the Balkan provinces, the imperial treasury accumulated a healthy surplus; the emperor was even able to abolish certain taxes (Jones 1964: 235–6; Lee 2000: 54–5). The dominant issue of his reign, however, was that of the definition of orthodoxy. Already Zeno had made strenuous efforts to come up with a formula acceptable to the whole eastern empire, culminating in his *Henotikon* (edict of union) of 482, which avoided mention of the Council of Chalcedon altogether. Anastasios initially pursued a similarly moderate anti-Chalcedonian policy at first, but towards the end of his reign, under the influence of the patriarch Severos of Antioch, he attempted to take a harder line. This policy set him at odds with the bishop of Rome, as well as with one of his own generals in the Balkans, Vitalian, who rose up in rebellion to force the emperor to back down. Although Vitalian was unsuccessful, it was his pro-Chalcedonian line that would be adopted by Anastasios' successors in their quest for doctrinal unity (Frend 1972: 143–233; Meyendorff 1989: 187–206; Maraval 1998*b*: 107–33).

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Further Reading

In the last few years there has been a huge flurry of general publications on Late Antiquity in general and on the emperor Constantine's reign in particular. The fifth century, by contrast, remains relatively neglected, and the old but thorough treatments of Stein 1949–59 and of Bury 1923 may still be consulted with profit. On the third and fourth centuries, several excellent surveys deserve mention, in particular those of Mitchell 2007 (covering all of Late Antiquity), Morrisson 2004 (a collective volume concentrating on the eastern empire in Late Antiquity) and Potter 2004. The era of Diocletian and Constantine is well served by Lenski 2006, in which each contributor offers suggestions for further reading; Chastagnol 1994*a* is also an admirable handbook, while Cosme 1998 offers an excellent guide for the period up to Constantine's reign. Both Bleckmann 2003 and Brandt 2006 provide recent biographies of Constantine; note also Hartley, Hawkes, and Henig 2006. Worthy of note too is Rees 2004, an introduction to Diocletian's reign; one should mention too the two volumes of *Antiquité Tardive* devoted to the Tetrarchy, 2–3 (1994–5), and the volume of Demandt, Goltz, and Schlanger-Schöningen 2004. On the last part of the fourth century, and Theodosios I in particular, there are good recent books by Lenski 2002, Leppin 2003, and Errington 2006.

Among general works, the *CAH* 12–14 (Cambridge 1998–2005) are an extremely useful starting point, especially the thematic bibliographies; Carrié and Rousselle 1999 is equally indispensable for the period up to Constantine, and a follow-up volume in this series is in preparation. The introductory works of Averil Cameron (1993*a*, 1993*b*) provide a good overview of the period, while Lançon 1992 is somewhat more cursory; Rémondon 1997 is still useful and covers precisely the period dealt with in this section. A useful analysis of social and economic developments in the period may be found in Garnsey and Humfress 2001; Kelly 2004 provides a good guide to the transformation of the bureaucracy in the late empire. Jones 1964 remains a fundamental work of reference, to which one should add Demandt 2008. Treadgold 1997: 13–173, covers the same period as this chapter in more detail, while Gregory 2005: 21–118, is briefer. Among other general works on late antiquity and Byzantium, mention must be made of Bowersock, Brown, and Grabar 1999 as well as of Schiavone and others 1993. On church history Pietri and Pietri 1995 and Pietri 1998 provide good up-to-date syntheses. Although more concerned with western affairs, the recent popular works of Heather 2005 and Ward-Perkins 2005 are interesting analyses of the period.

POLITICAL-
HISTORICAL
SURVEY, 518–800

JOHN HALDON

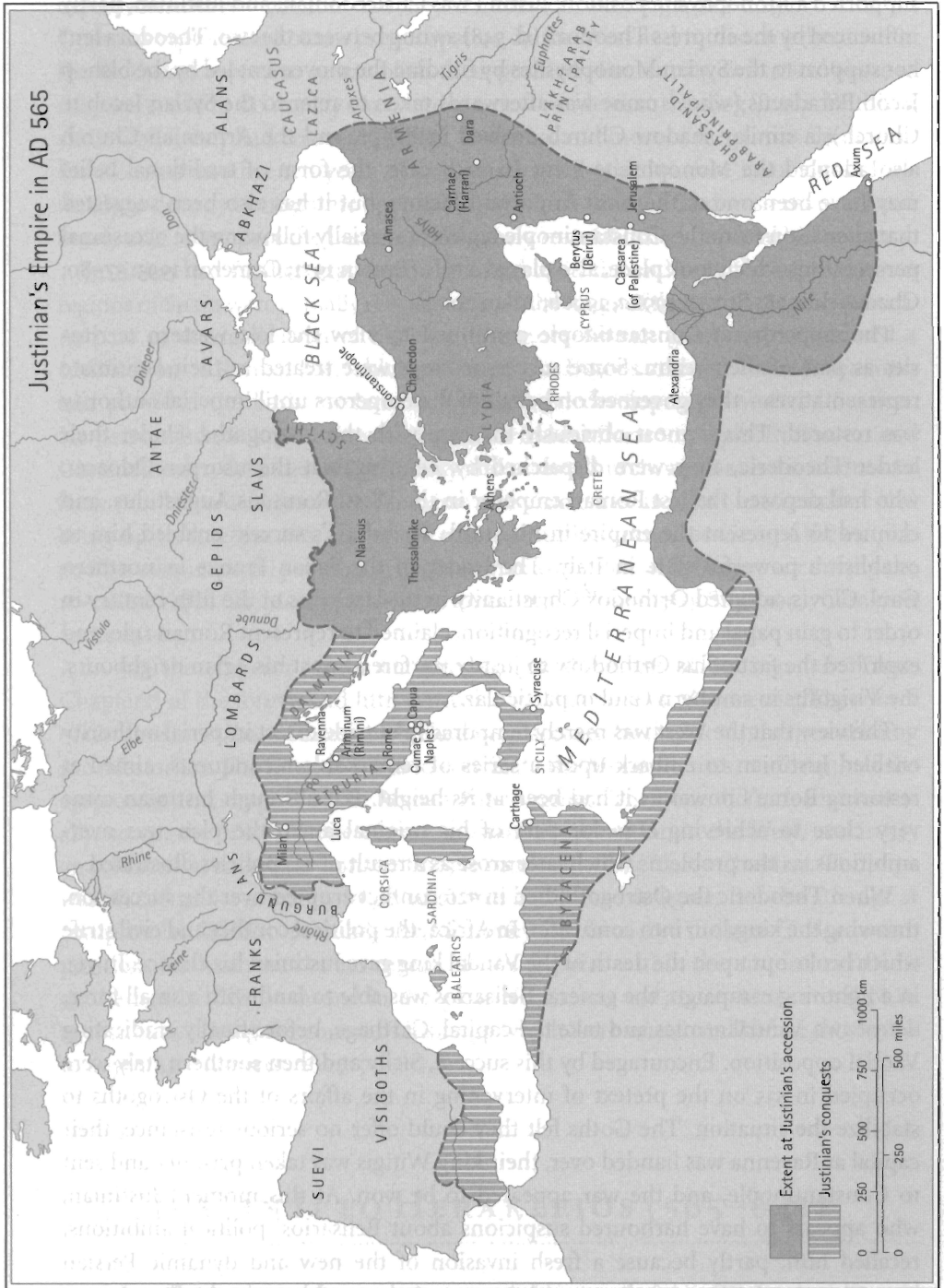
THE eastern half of the empire survived the troubles of the fifth century for a variety of reasons: a healthier economy, more diversified pattern of urban and rural relationships and markets, and a more solid tax-base, for Constantinople had Egypt and the rich provinces of Syria at its disposal. In addition, eastern diplomacy encouraged barbarian leaders to look westward, while at the same time the walls of Constantinople—newly-built on a massive scale under Theodosios II (408–50)—rendered any attempt to take that city fruitless. The *magistri militum* (masters of the soldiers) who commanded the imperial field forces nevertheless remained for the most part of German origin and continued to dominate the court. Only with the appointment of the emperor Leo I (457–74) was this cycle broken, for Leo, although a candidate promoted by the master of soldiers Aspar, the ‘king-maker’, was able to take the initiative (through using Isaurian mercenaries) and during the last years of his reign rid himself of Aspar. Leo I was succeeded by his grandson Leo II, the son of a certain Zeno, who had married Leo I’s daughter and was commander of the *excubitores*, Leo’s Isaurian guards. When Leo died in 474, Zeno became sole emperor. After defeating a coup d’état and winning a civil war (which lasted for much of his reign) with the help of Gothic mercenaries, whom he was then able to send to Italy on the pretext of restoring imperial rule there, Zeno died in 491.

His successor was Anastasios (491–518), an able civil official chosen by Zeno's empress Ariadne with the support of the leading officers and court officials. An Isaurian rebellion was crushed in 498, an invasion of 'Slavs' eventually repulsed, and a campaign against the Persians finally concluded successfully in 506. Anastasios' most important act was a reform of the precious-metal coinage of the empire, through which he stabilized the gold coinage and the relationship between it and the copper coinage.

JUSTIN I AND JUSTINIAN I (518–65)

Anastasios was succeeded in 518 by Justin, who had in turn been commander of the *excubitores*. His reign saw a stabilization along the eastern front and the consolidation of the political stability won during the reign of his predecessor; when he died in 527 he was succeeded without opposition by his nephew, Justinian. The reign of Justinian was to prove a watershed in the evolution of East Rome—Byzantium—and can be said in many ways properly to mark the beginnings of a medieval east Roman world (Bury 1889: vol. 1, 227–482; vol. 2, 1–64; Jones 1964: 221–302; Stein 1959; Lee 2000: 42–62; Cameron 2000).

Theological issues were always a dominant feature of internal politics. Although the Nestorians had seceded after the council of 431, formally establishing a separate Church at their own council at Seleucia-Ctesiphon in Persia in 486, Christological debates continued to present serious political problems for the government. There now evolved a much more significant split within Christianity in the form of the Monophysite movement, which—although only referred to under this name from the seventh century—represented a reaction to some Nestorian views, and centred around the ways in which the divine and the human were combined in the person of Christ. Two 'schools' of Monophysitism evolved, the more extreme version, elaborated by a certain Eutyches, arguing that the divine was prior to and dominated the human element (hence the description 'Monophysite': *mono*—'single' and *physis*—'nature'). A council held at Ephesus in 449 (the 'Robber Council'), which was marred by violence and intimidation on the part of the monks who supported Eutyches, found in favour of the Monophysite position. But at the Council of Chalcedon in 451 a larger meeting rejected it and redefined the traditional creed of Nicaea to make the Christological position clear. The political results of this division were that in Egypt and Syria in particular Monophysitism became established in the rural populations, and led to occasional, but harsh, persecutions. At court, imperial policy varied from reign to reign leaving some confusion within the Church as a whole, and involving persecutions by both sides: Zeno (474–91) issued a decree



Map 4 The Byzantine Empire in the 6th century

of unity, the *Henotikon*, which attempted to paper over the divisions; Anastasios supported a Monophysite position; Justin I was Chalcedonian; and Justinian, partly influenced by the empress Theodora (d. 548) swung between the two. Theodora lent her support to the Syrian Monophysites by funding the movement led by the bishop Jacob Baradaeus (whose name was afterwards taken to refer to the Syrian Jacobite Church); a similar shadow Church evolved in Egypt, and the Armenian Church also adopted the Monophysite view. In each case, the form of traditional belief may have been one of the most important factors, but it has also been suggested that alienation from the Constantinople regime, especially following the occasional persecutions which took place, also played a role (Brown 1971; Cameron 1993: 57–80; Chadwick 1998; Brown 1998*a*, 1998*b*; Allen 2000).

The emperors at Constantinople continued to view the lost western territories as part of their realm. Some successor kings were treated as their legitimate representatives—they governed on behalf of the emperors until imperial authority was restored. This is most obviously the case with the Ostrogoths. Under their leader Theoderic, they were dispatched by Zeno against the usurper Odoacer, who had deposed the last Roman emperor in the West, Romulus Augustulus, and claimed to represent the empire in his stead. Theoderic's success enabled him to establish a powerful state in Italy. The leader of the Salian Franks in northern Gaul, Clovis, adopted Orthodox Christianity in the last years of the fifth century in order to gain papal and imperial recognition, claimed to represent Roman rule, and exploited the fact of his Orthodoxy to justify warfare against his Arian neighbours, the Visigoths in southern Gaul in particular.

The view that the West was merely temporarily outside direct imperial authority enabled Justinian to embark upon a series of remarkable reconquests, aimed at restoring Rome's power as it had been at its height. But although Justinian came very close to achieving a major part of his original aims, the plan was over-ambitious, as the problems which later arose as a result of his policies illustrated.

When Theoderic the Ostrogoth died in 526 conflict erupted over the succession, throwing the kingdom into confusion. In Africa, the political conflict and civil strife which broke out upon the death of the Vandal king gave Justinian his chance. In 533, in a lightning campaign, the general Belisarios was able to land with a small force, defeat two Vandal armies and take the capital, Carthage, before finally eradicating Vandal opposition. Encouraged by this success, Sicily and then southern Italy were occupied in 535 on the pretext of intervening in the affairs of the Ostrogoths to stabilize the situation. The Goths felt they could offer no serious resistance, their capital at Ravenna was handed over, their king Witigis was taken prisoner and sent to Constantinople, and the war appeared to be won. At this moment Justinian, who appears to have harboured suspicions about Belisarios' political ambitions, recalled him, partly because a fresh invasion of the new and dynamic Persian king Chosroes I (Khusru) threatened to cause major problems in the East. In 540 Chosroes captured Antioch, one of the richest and most important cities in Syria,

and since the Ostrogoths had shortly beforehand sent an embassy to the Persian capital, it is entirely possible that the Persians were working hand-in-glove with the Goths to exploit the Roman preoccupation in the West and to distract them while the Goths attempted to re-establish their position. For during Belisarios' absence they were able to do exactly that, under a new war leader, the king Totila. Within a short while, they had recovered Rome, Ravenna, and most of the peninsula. It took the Romans another ten years of punishing small-scale warfare throughout Italy finally to destroy Ostrogothic opposition, by which time the land was exhausted and barely able to support the burden of the newly re-established imperial bureaucracy.

Justinian had further expansionist plans, but in the end only the south-eastern regions of Spain were actually recovered from the kings of the Visigoths, also Arians. As part of the realization of his plan to restore Roman greatness, he ordered a codification of Roman law, which produced the Digests and the *Codex Justinianus* and provided the basis for later Byzantine legal developments and codification. He persecuted the last vestiges of paganism in his efforts to play both Roman and Christian ruler, defender of Orthodoxy and of the Church, and he also introduced a large number of administrative reforms and changes in an effort to streamline and bring up to date the running of the empire. But his grandiose view of the empire and his own imperial position brought him into conflict with the papacy during the so-called Three Chapters controversy, for example (Jones 1964; Stein 1959; Cameron 2000: 63–84).

In 543 the emperor issued an edict against three sets of writings (the Three Chapters) of the fourth and fifth centuries by Theodore of Mopsuestia, Theodoret of Cyrrhus, and Ibas of Edessa, who had been accused by the Monophysites of being pro-Nestorian. The intention was to conciliate the Monophysites, and required the agreement and support of the Roman Pope Vigilius. The pope did indeed, eventually, accept the edict in spite of very substantial opposition in the West, and in 553 an ecumenical council at Constantinople condemned the Three Chapters. The pope was placed under arrest by imperial guards and forced to agree. But the attempt at compromise failed to persuade the Monophysites to accept the neo-Chalcedonian position. Justinian was by no means always popular within the empire, either. In 532 he nearly lost his throne in the great Nika riots, and there were several plots against him during the course of his reign which were uncovered before they came to anything (Cameron 2000: 79–81).

JUSTIN II TO HERAKLEIOS (565–641)

Justinian died in 565, leaving a vastly expanded but perilously overstretched empire, in financial as well as in military terms. His successors were faced with the reality

of dealing with new enemies, lack of ready cash, and internal discontent over high taxation and constant demands for soldiers and the necessities to support them. Justin II, Justinian's successor and his nephew, opened his reign by cancelling the yearly subsidy (in effect, a substantial bribe paid to keep the Persian king at a distance, and regarded by the latter as tribute) to Persia, beginning a costly war in the east. In 568 the Germanic Lombards crossed from their homeland along the western Danube and Drava region into Italy, in their efforts to flee the approaching Avars, a Turkic nomadic power which, like the Huns two centuries earlier, were in the process of establishing a vast steppe empire. While the Lombards rapidly overran Roman defensive positions in the north of the peninsula, soon establishing also a number of independent chiefdoms in the centre and south, the Avars occupied the Lombards' former lands and established themselves as a major challenge to imperial power in the northern Balkan region. Between the mid-570s and the end of the reign of the emperor Maurice (582–602), the empire was able to re-establish a precarious balance in the east. Although the Romans suffered a number of defeats, they were able to stabilize the Danube frontier in the north. However, the lands over which the campaigning took place, especially in Italy and the Balkans, were increasingly devastated and unable to support prolonged military activity. Maurice cleverly exploited a civil war in Persia in 590–1 by supporting the young, deposed king Chosroes II. When, with Roman help, the war ended in the defeat of Chosroes' enemies, the peace arrangements between the two empires rewarded the Romans with the return of swathes of territory and a number of fortresses which had been lost in the previous conflicts.

Maurice was unpopular with the army in the Balkans because of the hard nature of the campaigning there, as well as because of his efforts to maintain some control over the expenses of this constant warfare. This was, rightly or wrongly, perceived as miserly and penny-pinching by the soldiers, and in 602 the Danube army mutinied, marched on Constantinople, and imposed their own candidate as emperor, the centurion Phokas. Maurice's entire family was massacred, and the tyranny of Phokas (602–10) began. While he appears to have been a fairly incompetent politician, his armies seem to have held their own in the Balkans, and against the Persians who, on the pretext of avenging Maurice, had invaded the eastern provinces. Phokas was popular in many regions of the empire, but in 610 Herakleios, the military governor (exarch) of Africa, at Carthage, set out with a fleet to depose him, while his cousin Niketas took a land force across the North African provinces, through Egypt and northwards into Asia Minor. Phokas was deposed with little opposition, and Herakleios was crowned emperor. Some troops remained loyal to Phokas, and his deposition was followed by a short period of civil war in Egypt and Asia Minor. But the empire was now unable to maintain its defences intact, and within a few years the Avars and Slavs had overrun much of the Balkans, while the Persians occupied Syria and Egypt between 614 and 618, and continued to push into Asia Minor. Italy was now divided into a number of military commands isolated from each other by Lombard enclaves; these commands became increasingly autonomous,

and eventually independent in all but name. In 626, a combined Persian-Avar siege of Constantinople was defeated (contemporaries attributed the victory to the intercession of the Mother of God), while from 623 Herakleios boldly took the war into Persian territory and, in a series of brilliant campaigns, destroyed Chosroes' armies and forced the Persian generals to sue for peace (Chosroes was deposed and murdered). The *status quo ante* was re-established, and the dominant position of the Roman Empire seemed assured. Although the Danube remained nominally the frontier, the Balkans were, in practice, no longer under imperial authority, except where an army appeared; while the financial situation of the empire, whose resources were quite exhausted by the long wars, was desperate (Whitby 2000: 86–111; Whittow 1996: 69–82; Haldon 1997: 41–53).

The complex ecclesiastical politics of the Church continued to play a crucial role. The disaffection brought about by Constantinopolitan persecution of the Monophysites in particular—under Justin II, for example—rendered some sort of compromise formula an essential for the reincorporation of the territories whose populations had been largely Monophysite and which had been lost to the Persians. Under Herakleios, the patriarch Sergios and his advisers came up with two possible solutions, the first referred to as 'monoenergism', whereby a single energy was postulated in which both divine and human aspects were unified. At this point, the arrival of Islam on the historical stage made the need for a compromise which would heal the divisions even more urgent. Even more importantly, the defeats at the hands of the Arabs were interpreted (in keeping with the fundamental assumptions of the era) as a sign of God's displeasure, requiring some sort of action on the part of the Romans, or their guardian and God's representative on earth, the emperor, to make amends. Herakleios and his patriarch, Sergios, undoubtedly framed their proposals for compromise with monophysitism with these considerations in mind. But monoenergism was rejected by several leading churchmen. The alternative, the doctrine of a single will—'monotheletism'—although supported by moderate Monophysites, was eventually rejected, both by hard-line Monophysites and by the majority of the western Chalcedonian clergy, surviving as an imperial policy which had to be enforced by decree after Herakleios' death in 641. By this time, of course, the Monophysite lands had been lost to the Arabs and the point of the compromise no longer existed (Haldon 1997: 48–59).

THE RISE OF ISLAM

The origins of Islam lie in the northern Arabian peninsula, where different forms of Christianity and Judaism had competed and coexisted for centuries with

indigenous beliefs, in particular in the much-travelled trading and caravan communities of Mecca and Medina. Mohammed was himself a respected and established merchant who had probably accompanied the trade caravans north to Roman Syria. Syria and Palestine already had substantial populations of Arabs, both farmers and herdsmen, as well as mercenary soldiers serving the empire as a buffer against the Persians. Reflecting his own synthesis of Judaic, Monophysite Christian, and traditional Arab concepts within a Messianic framework which owed more to Judaism than Christianity, Islam under Mohammed rapidly attained a considerable degree of sophistication and coherence. Although Mohammed's preaching met initially with stiff resistance from his own clan, the Quraysh, who dominated Mecca and its trade (as well as the holy Kaaba), by 628–9 he had established his authority over much of the peninsula, made an alliance with the Quraysh, and begun to consider the future direction of the new Islamic community. On his death (traditionally placed in 632) there followed a brief period of internecine warfare; and there is little doubt that both religious zeal combined with the desire for glory, booty, and new lands motivated the attacks into both the Persian and Roman lands. A combination of incompetence and apathy resulted in a series of disastrous Roman defeats and the loss of Syria, Palestine, Mesopotamia, and Egypt within the short span of ten years, so that by 642 the empire was reduced to a rump of its former self. The Persian Empire was completely overrun and destroyed. The Arab Islamic empire was born (Hawting 2000; Kennedy 1986; Kaegi 1992; Whittow 1996: 69–88).

The most important loss was Egypt, the main source of grain for Constantinople and other eastern coastal cities. Along with Syria and the other eastern provinces it had provided the bulk of the empire's tax revenue. Constantinople was forced to restructure radically its fiscal apparatus and its priorities, including the way the army was recruited and supported; and the result was, by the later seventh century, an administratively very different state from that which had existed a century earlier.

BYZANTIUM IN THE SEVENTH CENTURY

The reduced and impoverished East Roman or Byzantine empire now had to contend not only with an aggressive and extremely successful new foe in the east. It had far fewer resources at its disposal, it had lost effective control in the Balkans, and had no real power in Italy, where the exarch, based at Ravenna, struggled against increasingly difficult odds to maintain the imperial position. The insistence of the imperial government during the reign of Constans II on enforcing the official Monothelete policy reflected the government's need to maintain imperial authority

and the views of those in power that the Romans were being punished for their failure to deal with the divisions within the Church. But it also brought the empire into conflict with the papacy and the western Church, as well as provoking opposition within the empire, bringing a further degree of political and ideological isolation with it. Through the reigns of Constans II (641–68), Constantine IV (668–85), and Justinian II (685–95), Asia Minor was raided and substantial tracts of territory devastated annually from the early 640s well into the first half of the eighth century, with catastrophic effects on population, on the economy of the regions affected, especially the border zones, and on urban life, which was reduced effectively to fortified garrison towns. A series of sieges and attempts to break Constantinopolitan resistance between 674 and 678 finally failed, and a major siege in 717–18 was defeated with great loss on the Arab side. The situation appeared desperate enough for Constans II to move the imperial court to Sicily in 662. His assassination in 668 brought the experiment to an end, but illustrates contemporary perceptions. Justinian II was deposed in 695; a series of short-lived usurpers followed until Justinian II himself recovered his throne in 705. Deposed again and killed in 711, internal political and military confusion lasted until the seizure of power by the general Leo, who became Leo III (717–41) and, having defeated the Arab besiegers in 717–18, finally re-established some political order (Haldon 1997: 41–91).

Arab strategy can be followed through several phases. Until the defeat of the siege of 717–18 Byzantine resistance seems to have been almost entirely passive, limited to holding on to fortified centres and avoiding any open contact. During the Arab civil wars of the late 680s and early 690s the emperor Justinian II was able to stabilize the situation for a short while; but it was only during the 720s that the empire was able effectively to begin meeting Arab armies in the field and reasserting imperial military control. In the meantime, the Byzantine resistance, focused on fortified key points and a strategy of harassment and avoidance, had at least prevented a permanent Arab presence in Asia Minor, aided of course also by the geography of the region. The Taurus and Anti-Taurus ranges were an effective physical barrier, with only a few well-marked passes allowing access and egress.

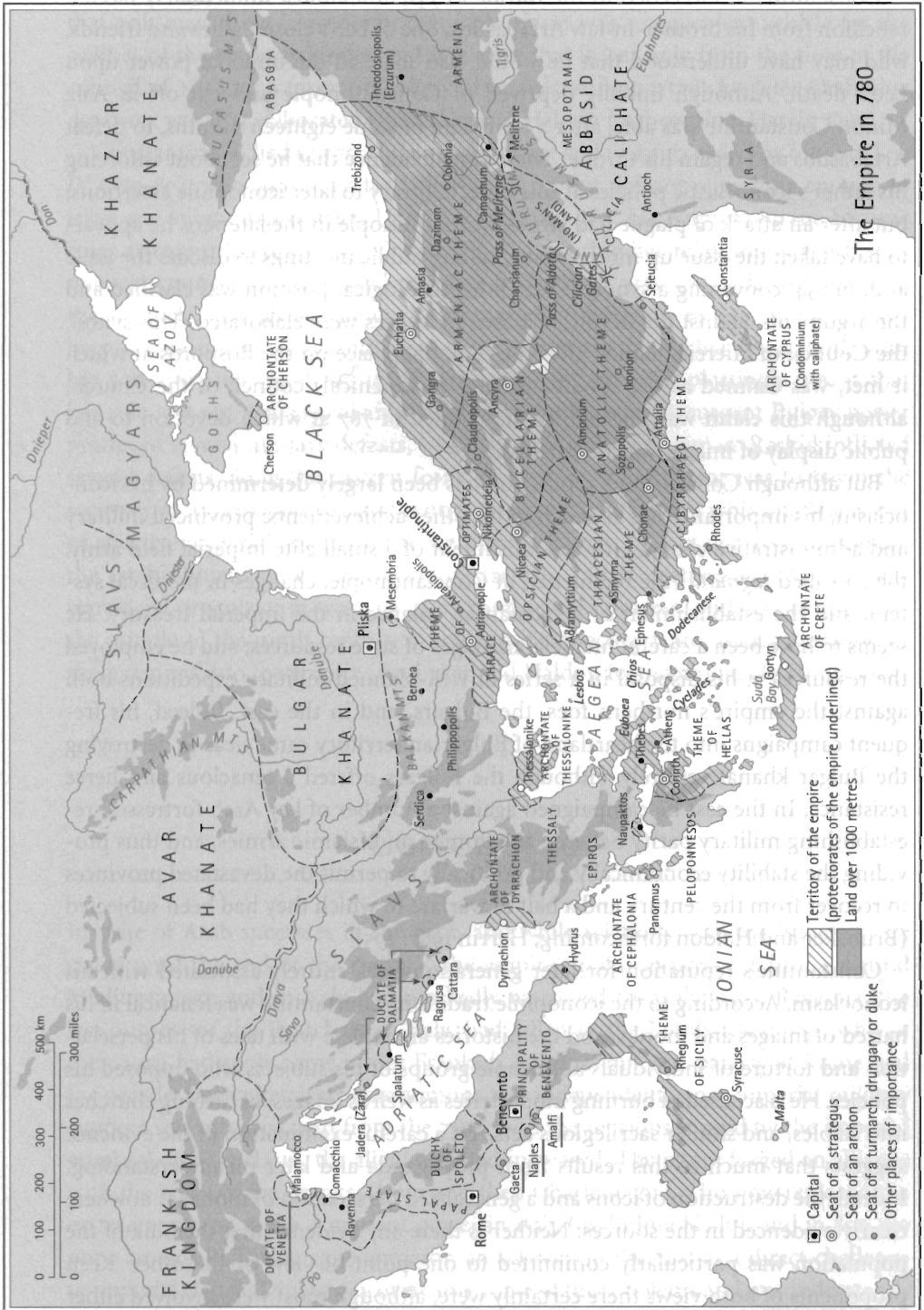
The Balkan front was also a concern for Constantinople. Technically, the Danube remained the border even in the 660s and 670s. In practice, only the presence of an imperial army could bring the local Slav chieftains, briefly, to heel. In 679 the situation was transformed by the arrival of the Turkic Bulgars, a nomadic people who had been forced out of their homelands and pastures around the Volga by the encroachments of the Khazars from the east. They were refused permission by Constantine IV to cross the Danube for protection on 'Roman' territory (the Danube river itself remained in fact largely under Byzantine control because it was navigable, and the imperial fleet could patrol it); they crossed over, where they met an army under Constantine himself. Poor discipline and mistaken signals led to a serious defeat of the imperial forces, and over the next twenty years the Bulgars

consolidated their hold over the region, establishing a loose hegemony over the indigenous Slav and other peoples in the region. By 700, the Bulgar khanate was an important political and military power threatening Byzantine Thrace (Haldon 1997; Whittow 1996).

THE EIGHTH CENTURY AND ICONOCLASM

Nevertheless, the first half of the eighth century saw the reassertion of imperial military strength, the stabilization of the frontier along the Taurus and Anti-Taurus range, and the consolidation of the new fiscal and military administrative arrangements which had evolved out of the crisis of the 640s and after, generally referred to collectively, if not entirely accurately, as the theme system. In 741 Leo III and Constantine V issued a brief codification of Roman law, the *Ecloga* (selection), based on a combination of Justinianic law with Old Testament morality, reflecting the ideological perceptions and assumptions of the times. Under Leo, however, there was also an increasing alienation between Constantinople and Rome, chiefly over matters of ecclesiastical jurisdiction and imperial taxation policy in Italy, but also over an ideological clash embodied in the imperial adoption of what came later to be called iconoclasm. The origins of the debate are no longer clear, but the issue of whether or not Christians were right to employ and pay respect to images of Christ or the Virgin had gradually come to the fore in the later years of the seventh century, and some churchmen felt strongly that it was inappropriate. Traditionally, and partly influenced by later iconophile propaganda, it has been assumed that the sources describing the mass persecution, harassment, and death of many iconophiles, as well as the destruction of icons themselves, were more-or-less accurate accounts. In fact, it seems that much of the story is invention and exaggeration. Leo III seems to have been a fairly mild critic of the use of images; Constantine V, while theologically more involved, only adopted a strongly iconoclastic policy after the first eight or so years of his reign; and neither seems to have destroyed images. The iconoclasts were concerned that images be removed from those positions in churches, for example, where they could be the object of mistaken veneration (Herrin 1987: 307–43; Brubaker and Haldon forthcoming).

Whatever the truth of the matter, there is no doubt that it is in the reign of Leo III, a competent general and statesman, that the beginnings of a recovery in the empire's fortunes can be dated. His son, Constantine V, one of the Byzantine Empire's most successful generals and a popular hero in his own lifetime, was to use this to re-establish the East Roman Empire as a major power in the eastern Mediterranean/Balkan region.



Map 5 The Byzantine Empire in the 8th century

Constantine V succeeded to the throne in 741, and almost immediately faced a rebellion from his brother-in-law Artabasdus, one of Leo's closest allies and friends, who may have understood that he would also share in the imperial power upon Leo's death. Although initially deprived of Constantinople and cut off in Asia Minor, Constantine was able, after a campaign of some eighteen months, to defeat Artabasdus and regain his throne. There is no evidence that he set about enforcing his father's iconoclastic policies at this time, contrary to later iconophile assertions; but after an attack of plague had struck Constantinople in the late 740s he appears to have taken the issue up more vocally, calling public meetings to discuss the issue and, in 754, convening a synod at which his theological position was clarified and the arguments against the devotion shown to images were elaborated. This synod, the Council of Hiereia, named after the imperial palace on the Bosphoros at which it met, was claimed as the seventh general (ecumenical) council of the Church, although this claim was rejected by the council of 787 at which devotion to and public display of images was re-established.

But although Constantine's reputation has been largely determined by his iconoclasm, his importance lies as much in his other achievements: provincial military and administrative changes, the establishment of a small elite imperial field army, the so-called *tagmata* (the regiments) at Constantinople, changes in the fiscal system, and the establishment of a substantial balance in the imperial treasury. He seems to have been a careful financial manager of state resources; and he employed the resources at his disposal in a series of well-planned military expeditions both against the empire's northern foes, the Bulgars, and in the east. Indeed, his frequent campaigns into the heartland of Bulgarian territory came near to destroying the Bulgar khanate entirely, although the Bulgars offered a tenacious and fierce resistance. In the east he campaigned against a number of key Arab fortresses, re-establishing military parity between the Roman and Islamic armies, and thus providing the stability economically and politically to permit the devastated provinces to recover from the century and a half of warfare to which they had been subjected (Brubaker and Haldon forthcoming; Herrin 1987: 295).

Constantine's reputation for later generations was entirely associated with his iconoclasm. According to the iconophile tradition, Constantine was fanatical in his hatred of images and monks, and the histories are replete with tales of his persecution and torture of individuals and whole groups of his subjects who opposed his policies. He is accused of burning monasteries as well as images, of turning churches into stables, and similar sacrilegious acts. Yet a careful examination of the evidence suggests that much of this results from propaganda and later misunderstanding. Indeed, the destruction of icons and a generalized persecution of monks is nowhere clearly evidenced in the sources. Neither is there any evidence that the bulk of the population was particularly committed to one point of view or the other. Keen proponents of both views there certainly were, although most were involved either in the state or Church hierarchy at one level or another. A small but very vocal

monastic opposition only appears in the reigns of Eirene and Constantine VI. Be that as it may, there is no doubt that iconoclasm was a convenient vehicle for the politics of the empress Eirene, and it is clear that it was only from the time of the council of 787 that a formal theology of images, so important for later Orthodox doctrine, was first elaborated (Brubaker and Haldon forthcoming; Herrin 1987).

Constantine V died in 775 while on campaign and was succeeded by his son, Leo IV (775–80), who continued his father's policies but did not reign long enough to leave any substantial impact. Upon his death in 780, his empress Eirene became ruler as regent for the young Constantine VI. During her reign, the seventh ecumenical council was convoked and image devotion was restored, with most of the iconoclast clergy accepting the change. But although Eirene seems to have been a reasonably able administrator, the circumstances of her reign, both with her son and after his death in 797 (the result of her own plotting), meant that her rule was not well regarded by many contemporaries. Resurgent Bulgar power produced several military defeats, while the able Caliph Harun ar-Rashid inflicted several defeats along the eastern front. Her major achievement was to begin the recovery of the Peloponnese and central Greece, the interior of which had been out of effective imperial control for more than a century. Conversion to Christianity, the establishment of a Church administration, and the setting up of a military provincial organization went hand in hand in this process, and was to result by the middle of the ninth century in the complete recovery and reincorporation of these regions into the empire (Brubaker and Haldon forthcoming; Herrin 1987).

CONCLUSION

In spite of Arab successes in the 790s, and while relations with the Bulgars were stable until the end of the century, the empire's political presence in the central Mediterranean and in Italy had markedly worsened from the 750s. Ravenna, the last outpost of the Exarchate of Italy, had fallen to the Lombards in 751, who in their turn had soon come under Frankish domination. The papacy at Rome had for decades been effectively autonomous and independent, since imperial military support was minimal, and from the 750s, with the tensions caused by the imperial espousal of iconoclasm, the alienation had increased. The popes forged an alliance with the kings of the Franks, Pepin and then Charlemagne, who now replaced the eastern emperor as the dominant power in Italy (excluding Sicily); and in 800 the pope crowned Charlemagne emperor, an act seen in the East as a direct challenge to imperial claims. Diplomacy overcame some of the problems and misunderstandings, but the Byzantine emperors had henceforth to reckon with a 'revived' empire

in the West, independent of Constantinople, frequently with contrary interests, and potentially also a military opponent (Herrin 1987: 344–476).

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POLITICAL-
HISTORICAL
SURVEY, 800–1204

CATHERINE HOLMES

INTRODUCTION

BYZANTIUM changed profoundly in the centuries between the deposition of the empress Eirene (802) and the Fourth Crusade (1204). The first half of the period was one of expansion. Provinces lost in earlier centuries were regained; missionaries travelled far beyond the empire's territorial frontiers; the end to Iconoclasm proved the catalyst for an artistic revival. In the eleventh and twelfth centuries new external adversaries forced Byzantium back onto the defensive. Final collapse came in 1204 when Constantinople was sacked by Latin Crusaders. This decline was caused partly by Byzantium's own political fragilities, but also, paradoxically, by its commercial vitality and rich material culture, strengths which proved irresistible to strong external predators.

NIKEPHOROS I TO MICHAEL III (802–67)

Despite the eighth-century extension of imperial authority into central Greece and the Peloponnese, Byzantium around the year 800 was still a medium-sized state.

The only substantial landmass under effective imperial control was Asia Minor. Beyond this, the empire amounted to Constantinople and its hinterland, the shores of Greece, a few Aegean islands, and a handful of coastal outposts in southern Italy, the Adriatic, and the Crimea. Byzantine influence in Italy had been undermined by Charlemagne's annexation of Lombard territory and his alliance with the papacy. On other frontiers too Byzantine authority was challenged. In the east an Arab Muslim threat persisted throughout the ninth century. While high-profile Abbasid campaigns like that against Amorion in 838 certainly became rarer in this period, seasonal raids on Anatolia were still common. A further Muslim threat came from the sea. In 827 the North African Aghlabids attacked Sicily; around the same time Crete fell to Muslims from Spain. Meanwhile to the north Bulgaria continued to threaten the empire. During a campaign in 811 emperor Nikephoros I (802–11) was ambushed and killed by the Bulgarians in the Haimos mountains, the first eastern emperor to die in battle since Valens in 378 (Ostrogorsky 1968: 186–200; Fine 1983: 94–8; Shepard 1995: 234–6; Whittow 1996: 275–80; Treadgold 1997: 424–9; Magdalino 2002*b*: 169–72).

The two decades which followed Nikephoros' death were typified by internal unrest and external defeat. Nikephoros' son Staurakios was forced almost immediately to abdicate in favour of his brother-in-law, Michael Rangabe. Michael's own reign was notable for little except the Byzantine recognition of Charlemagne as an emperor, albeit not as Emperor of the Romans, a title reserved to the emperor in Constantinople. After another catastrophic Bulgarian defeat Michael was replaced as emperor by Leo the Armenian (813–20). Leo V's own survival owed much to the death of the Bulgarian khan Krum in 814 and the thirty-year truce which followed (Fine 1983: 98–110; Shepard 1995: 236–7). Meanwhile, Leo reintroduced Iconoclasm, forcing iconophiles such as Theodore the Stoudite into exile. Leo's murderer and successor Michael II (820–9), founder of the Amorian dynasty, maintained his predecessor's iconoclast policy. But upheaval continued during the unsuccessful coup of Thomas the Slav in 821–2. It was only with the accession of Michael's son Theophilos in 829 that some stability returned. New administrative units (both themes and *kleisourai*) were created in eastern Asia Minor. A *strategos* (thematic governor) was appointed to Cherson, Byzantium's outpost on the Crimea. Architects were sent to Sarkel on the river Don to build a defensive fortification for the Khazars, Byzantium's allies on the steppes. Complex links were also forged with the east. Envoys, intellectuals, and manuscripts were exchanged with Baghdad. Theophilos' new suburban palace of Bryas was built in conscious imitation of Arab models. Despite Abbasid success at Amorion in 838, Theophilos' own armies enjoyed victories against the Arabs which were celebrated in imperial triumphs in Constantinople (Ostrogorsky 1968: 200–9; Treadgold 1997: 429–46; Whittow 1996: 150–9, 233–5; Mango 1978: 108; McCormick 1986: 146–50).

Theophilos' son, Michael III (842–67), was the last Amorian. The events of his reign are notoriously difficult to reconstruct because they were later extensively

rewritten by historians loyal to the dynasty of Michael's eventual successor. Nonetheless, it is clear that Michael's reign witnessed an important shift in state religious policy. In 843 veneration of icons was reintroduced by the empress-regent Theodora, a change which made a deep impact on religious life (Herrin 2001: 202–13). Within decades new artistic and architectural forms had developed, such as the cross-in-square church in which representations of Christ, the Virgin, and the Saints arranged in hierarchical order welcomed the faithful into the court of heaven (Mango 1978: 108–20). Another form of religious expression, monasticism, also began to expand, although the relationship between icon restoration and other social, political, and economic factors, such as lay patronage, in the growth of monasteries is complex (Morris 1995: 9–142). Equally obscure are the reasons for the expansion of Orthodox Christianity outside Byzantium, although without doubt missions were widespread during the ninth and tenth centuries, and many states and individuals converted to Orthodoxy. The most famous missionaries were Cyril (Constantine) and Methodios, who travelled to Moravia in 863 armed with a new alphabet which facilitated the writing down of Slav translations of the Greek liturgy. Although their mission in Moravia ultimately failed, their disciples helped to establish the Bulgarian Church after the conversion of khan Boris in 864. Another high-profile conversion involved Vladimir; prince of Kiev, who accepted Christianity in 988. Yet, few of these prominent conversions were initiated by the Byzantine imperial court. Only among the Slavs of central Greece and the Peloponnese does there seem to have been a systematic Byzantine conversion policy. Elsewhere conversion was usually requested by would-be converts and most missions were undertaken by private individuals rather than organized by the state (Obolensky 1971: 69–200; Shepard 2002).

THE MACEDONIANS: BASIL I TO BASIL II (867–1025)

In 866 Michael III raised his favourite, Basil 'the Macedonian', a groom within the imperial household, to the status of co-emperor; a year later Basil murdered Michael and became sole ruler. His reign was primarily dedicated to consolidating an uncertain power-base. He first legitimized his regime by having two sons crowned co-emperors. In the east he continued an offensive begun during Michael's reign. Although his record was unconvincing (it took him nearly a decade to eradicate the heretical Paulicians, allies of the emir of Melitene) he ensured that his achievements were positively displayed in victory triumphs (McCormick 1986: 152–7). Actions at home were often undertaken for recognition abroad. One of

Basil's first moves on assuming the throne was to look for papal support by deposing the patriarch, Photios, who had been excommunicated by Pope Nicholas I the previous year in the context of a series of jurisdictional disputes between Rome and Constantinople (Dvornik 1948: 1–158; Ostrogorsky 1968: 224–6, 233–5; Treadgold 1997: 450–6).

Basil was succeeded by his son (who may possibly have been Michael III's son) Leo VI, 'the Wise' (Tougher 1997: 23–41). Leo was a prolific writer of sermons, poems, and orations as well as a sponsor of encyclopaedic projects (Antonopoulou 1997). During his reign the *Book of the Eparch* was compiled, a code regulating the conduct of different trades within Constantinople (Koder 1991). Leo also advanced efforts to codify Byzantine law. Following the publication during Basil's reign of the *Procheiron* and the *Eisagoge*, legal handbooks based on and intended to replace the *Ecloga*, Leo oversaw the completion of the *Basilica*, the rationalization of the Justinianic corpus in Greek (van Bochove 1996; Tougher 1997: 32–6). But he did not merely summarize the old; he also propagated the new. He himself issued novels, legislating over contemporary matters. In his immense *Tactica* he combined ancient military material with observations about the empire's ninth-century foes (Tougher 1997: 166–72; Haldon 1999). One of the most interesting documents to survive from his reign is the *Kleterologion* of Philotheos, a list of the empire's senior military and civil administrative offices, which clearly demonstrates the growing sophistication of central and provincial governance during the ninth century (Ostrogorsky 1968: 239–55; Oikonomides 1972: 65–235, 281–344, 348–54).

In striking contrast to this inscribed order, the actual events of Leo's reign were less tidy. In Italy the general Nikephoros Phokas strengthened the Byzantine presence, but elsewhere little progress was made. The Bulgarians defeated the Byzantines in 896, and in 902 Taormina, the empire's last outpost on Sicily, fell to the Muslims (Tougher 1997: 173–93). Meanwhile Leo's search for a male heir led to him to contract four marriages, the last two illegal according to canon law. In protest at Leo's actions the patriarch Nicholas Mystikos forbade the emperor from entering Hagia Sophia. Nicholas was himself then deposed. Leo died in 912 (Ostrogorsky 1968: 255–60; Treadgold 1997: 461–70; Tougher 1997: 133–63). His brother Alexander's short one-year reign was long enough to see hostilities with Bulgaria reopen. This conflict formed the backdrop to seven years of domestic political upheaval during the infancy of Constantine Porphyrogenetos, Leo VI's son by his fourth marriage. The emperor's mother Zoe, the restored patriarch Nicholas, and members of the Phokas and Doukas families wrestled for control. All sought to legitimize their own position in internal politics through their relations with Symeon, tsar of Bulgaria; all were compromised. Nicholas himself crowned Symeon outside Constantinople in 913 in a ceremony of obscure meaning. This agreement was nullified by a Byzantine attack ordered by Zoe in 917, which in turn met with crushing defeat (Fine 1983: 137–58; Whittow 1996: 288–92; Shepard 1999a: 573–6).

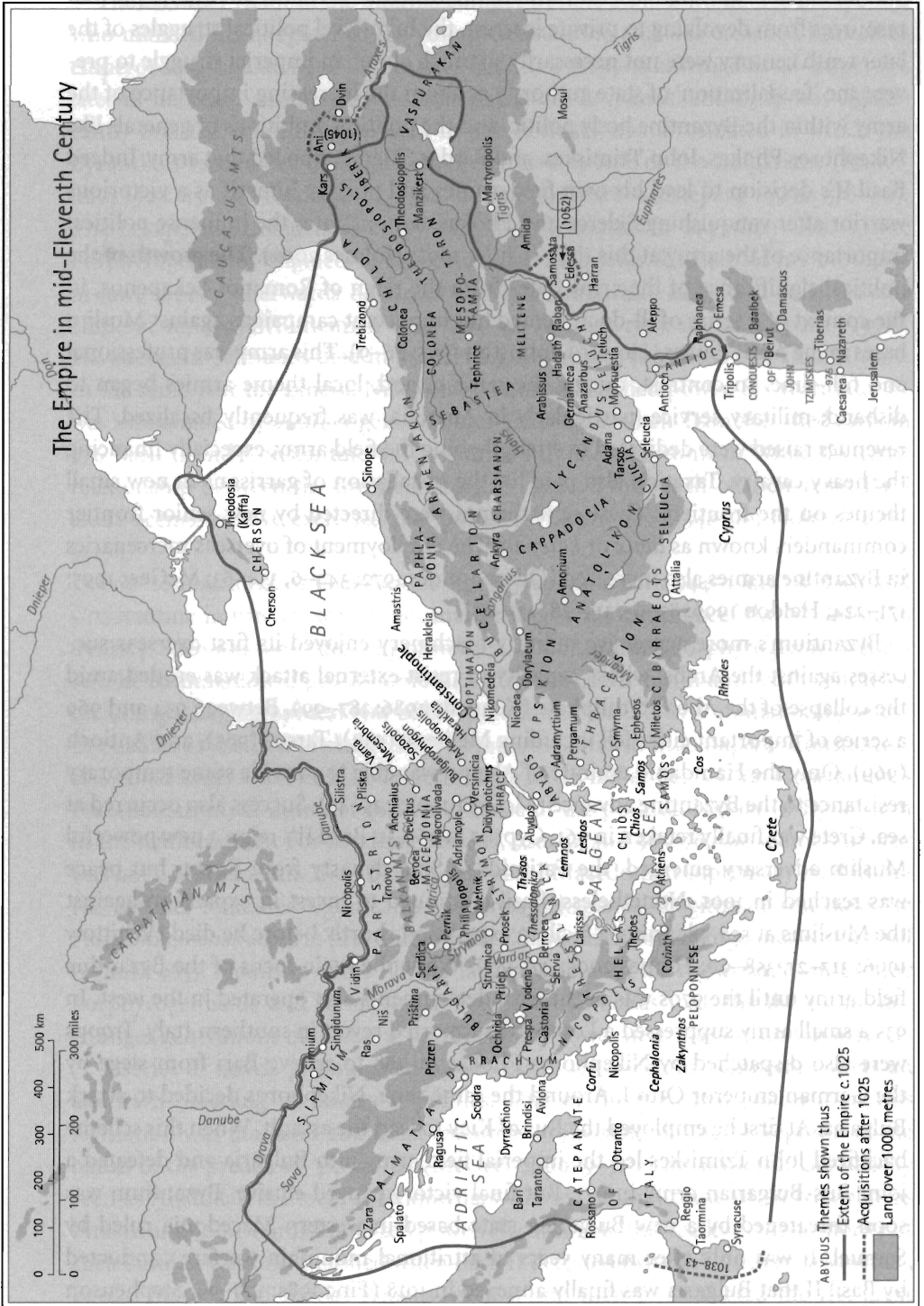
The eventual victor in the internal conflict was the admiral Romanos Lekapenos, who married his daughter to the young Constantine and was crowned himself as emperor in 920. Like Basil I, Romanos had his own sons crowned as co-emperors; later in his reign another son became patriarch. Romanos' authority was significantly boosted when Symeon died in 927. A treaty was formulated in which the Byzantines recognized Symeon's son Peter as emperor of the Bulgarians (Runciman 1929: 45–101; Toynbee 1973: 360–2; Fine 1983: 160–4; Shepard 1999a: 576–80). The Lekapenos stranglehold on power was only broken in 944 when Constantine Porphyrogennetos engineered Romanos' downfall with the help of his brothers-in-law; shortly afterwards he struck down his erstwhile allies and ruled as sole emperor until 959 (Runciman 1929: 229–45; Toynbee 1973: 10–12; Shepard 1999b). His successor Romanos died in 963 leaving two young sons Basil and Constantine. In the same year the general Nikephoros Phokas snatched power. Six years later he was assassinated by another general, John Tzimiskes. When Tzimiskes died early in 976 Basil II and Constantine VIII assumed full imperial control. While the exact relationship between the brothers remains unclear, for much of their reign Basil alone seems to have exercised real power (Whittow 1996: 348–90; Holmes 2005: 522–5).

The 'restorations' of Constantine Porphyrogennetos in 944–5 and of Basil and Constantine in 976 are sometimes interpreted as the triumph of the Macedonian dynasty. Such was the orthodoxy promoted by Constantine Porphyrogennetos himself: he commissioned pro-Macedonian histories of the ninth and tenth centuries, including a hagiographical *vita* of his grandfather Basil I. In commissioning encyclopaedias of useful knowledge such as the *De Administrando Imperio* Constantine also consciously emulated the imperial style of his father Leo VI. Yet Constantine's Macedonian myth does not make full sense of the political history of Byzantium in the tenth century. For two long periods, 920–44 and 963–76, the senior emperor was not a Macedonian. Even during periods of Macedonian supremacy rival imperial families remained significant. Romanos Lekapenos' illegitimate son Basil the *Parakoimomenos* acted as first minister for Constantine Porphyrogennetos and Basil II (until 985). Members of the Phokas family supported the regimes of Constantine Porphyrogennetos and Romanos II; Nikephoros Phokas took the throne in 963; younger generations of the same family sought power in 971, 985–7, and in 1021–2.

A series of novels promulgated by successive tenth-century emperors offers an alternative reading of domestic politics. One of the principal concerns of this legislation was that land and fiscal resources of the state should be kept out of the hands of the predatory 'powerful' (McGeer 2000: 9–31). The 'powerful' are usually seen as Anatolian aristocratic landowners whose triumph came when Nikephoros Phokas and John Tzimiskes seized power. According to this reading, the authority of such families was only quashed when Basil II defeated two other eastern aristocrats, Bardas Skleros and Bardas Phokas, in 989, and then promulgated the last great anti-powerful novel in 996 (Ostrogorsky 1966: 216–21; Morris 1976; Cheynet 1990:

321–36; Kaplan 1992: 414–44). But, while emperors were certainly anxious to prevent resources from devolving to private interest, the high-level political struggles of the later tenth century were not necessarily so much about an imperial struggle to prevent the ‘feudalization’ of state authority as about the increasing importance of the army within the Byzantine body politic, and the political ambitions of generals like Nikephoros Phokas, John Tzimiskes, and Bardas Skleros, who led that army. Indeed Basil II’s decision to lead his own field armies and portray himself as a victorious warrior after vanquishing Skleros and Phokas demonstrates the immense political importance of the army at this time (Cutler 1992; Holmes 2002). The growth of the political significance of the army dates from the reign of Romanos Lekapenos, in the context of a series of ill-documented but important campaigns against Muslim bases in the Anti-Taurus (Howard-Johnston 1995: 86–9). This army was professional and full-time. In contrast, during the same period, local theme armies began to disband; military service, particularly in Anatolia, was frequently fiscalized. The revenues raised were dedicated to strengthening the field army, especially financing the heavy cavalry. Taxation also paid for the installation of garrisons in new small themes on the frontiers. These new themes were directed by new senior frontier commanders known as *doux* or *katepan*. The employment of overseas mercenaries in Byzantine armies also increased (Oikonomides 1972: 344–6, 354–63; McGeer 1995: 171–224; Haldon 1999: 83–93, 115–28, 217–25).

Byzantium’s more aggressive military machinery enjoyed its first overseas successes against the Arabs, whose capacity to resist external attack was eroded amid the collapse of the Abbasid caliphate (Kennedy 1986: 187–99). Between 934 and 969 a series of important cities fell including Melitene (934), Tarsus (965), and Antioch (969). Only the Hamdanid emirate of Aleppo was able to provide some temporary resistance to the Byzantine advance (McGeer 1995: 225–45). Success also occurred at sea. Crete was finally retaken in 961, Cyprus in 965. In Basil II’s reign a new powerful Muslim adversary emerged, the Fatimids, a Shia dynasty from Egypt; but peace was reached in 1001. Nonetheless, Basil continued to invest in expansion against the Muslims at sea, planning a Sicilian expedition shortly before he died (Whittow 1996: 317–27, 358–90; Homes 2005: 475–87). While the main focus of the Byzantine field army until the 970s was in the east, detachments also operated in the west. In 935 a small army suppressed a Lombard-supported revolt in southern Italy. Troops were also dispatched by Nikephoros Phokas in 968 to relieve Bari from siege by the German emperor Otto I. Around the same time, Nikephoros decided to attack Bulgaria. At first he employed the Rus of Kiev to lead the assault. When this scheme backfired John Tzimiskes led the imperial field army into Bulgaria and defeated a joint Rus-Bulgarian army in 971. But final victory proved elusive. Byzantium was soon threatened by a new Bulgarian state based in western Macedonia ruled by Samuel. It was only after many years of attritional mountain warfare conducted by Basil II that Bulgaria was finally annexed in 1018 (Fine 1983: 179–99; Stephenson 2000: 47–79; Holmes 2005: 487–502).



Map 6 The Byzantine Empire under Basil II

Basil's military operations later earned him the reputation of 'Bulgar-slayer'. After the battle of Kleidion in 1014 he was said to have blinded 15,000 prisoners. But while his reputation was bloody, his eventual absorption of Bulgaria owed as much to negotiation as to conquest (Stephenson 2003). Diplomacy was a tool widely used by Byzantium in the tenth century. Significant territorial gains were made in Christian Armenia and Iberia (Georgia) through diplomacy: the princes of Taron (965) and Vaspurakan (c.1019) were offered titles, offices, and lands within the empire in return for their territories in the east. Constantine Porphyrogenetos' manual *De Administrando Imperio* outlines the inducements that the Byzantines customarily offered small powers on the empire's periphery either to engineer territorial expansion or to enlist friendly clients (Shepard 1999c, 2001).

CONSTANTINE VIII TO NIKEPHOROS III BOTANEIATES (1025–81)

When Basil II died in 1025 the Byzantine Empire's frontiers extended from the Danube to the Euphrates. Byzantium's only serious rivals were the Fatimids and Ottonians. But within fifty years Byzantium had collapsed. Michael Psellos, a contemporary, suggested that the incompetence of the emperors who followed Basil II precipitated decline. They frittered away the financial reserves on self-promoting building projects; they left the frontiers unprotected. More modern explanations include economic collapse, conflict between rival civilian and military aristocracies, hostility between descendants of families involved in the tenth-century civil wars, disloyal overseas mercenaries, the disappearance of the theme armies, and ethnic tension between Greek-speaking Orthodox Christians and subject populations: Slavs in Bulgaria, Lombards in southern Italy, and Armenians and Syrians in the east (Vryonis 1959; Svoronos 1966; Cheynet 1990: 38–90, 337–58). More recently Basil II has been blamed for overstretching imperial resources by creating an army that was too expensive to maintain and a frontier too extensive to defend (Angold 1997: 24–34).

The most obvious manifestation of political instability after Basil's death was the very rapid turnover in imperial rulers: Constantine VIII (1025–8), Romanos III Argyros (1028–34), Michael IV (1034–41), Michael V (1041–2), Zoe and Theodora (1042), Constantine IX Monomachos (1042–55), Theodora (1055–6), Michael VI (1056–7), Isaac Komnenos (1057–9), Constantine X Doukas (1059–67), Romanos IV Diogenes (1068–71), Michael VII Doukas (1071–8), and Nikephoros III Botaneiates (1078–81). Few of these imperial rulers could claim deep-seated legitimacy. From Romanos III to Constantine IX emperors held imperial office primarily because of

their connection by marriage or adoption with empress Zoe, daughter of Constantine VIII. When Theodora, the last Macedonian, died in 1056, no family succeeded in establishing a viable imperial dynasty until 1081. Only Constantine IX reigned for more than ten years, and even he was forced to deal with two military coups, by George Maniakes (1043) and Leo Tornikios (1047). Eight other emperors were deposed. One of the principal agents in the deposition of Michael V was the Constantinopolitan crowd. As the city of Constantinople expanded in size so the 'mob' became an important, unpredictable actor in times of crisis. One particularly important intervention occurred during conflict between Latin and Greek churches in 1054. When the patriarch, Michael Kerularios, was excommunicated by the papal legate, he fomented an anti-Latin riot which destroyed the emperor Constantine IX's efforts to build an alliance between Byzantium and the papacy (Ostrogorsky 1968: 316–50; Angold 1997: 56–80; Treadgold 1997: 583–611).

Yet, while the reigns of individual emperors were often short and tumultuous, in other respects Byzantium initially remained robust. The economy boomed. At many urban sites new domestic dwellings and monasteries were constructed, deserted churches reused, and small industrial sites established. In Cappadocia the excavation and decoration of rock-cut churches continued apace. The incidence of stray copper coins, evidence of everyday economic exchange, is strong throughout the eleventh century. Minor debasements in the middle of the century are no longer thought to reflect economic collapse but instead measures taken during a period of inadequate metal supply to sustain a booming economy (Morrisson 1976: 13–20; Rodley 1985; Harvey 1989). Territorially too Byzantium continued to expand. Edessa was annexed in 1032 and Ani in 1042. Of course not all 'foreign policy' initiatives were successes. An invasion of northern Syria in 1030 and a naval expedition against Egypt in 1033 were disasters. Yet neither failure precipitated a revived Muslim threat (Felix 1981: 82–104, 142–6, 154–60). A deterioration in relations between Kiev and Byzantium which led to an 'out-of-the-blue' attack by a Rus fleet in 1043 was soon rectified by a marriage alliance (Shepard and Franklin 1996: 215–17). Incursions by the Seljuk Turks into Armenia and a Norman-assisted uprising in southern Italy were, at first, successfully contained. And while Pecheneg nomads intermittently attacked the northern Balkans, their aggression was defused by tactics reminiscent of the *De Administrando*; the Pechenegs were bribed with titles, tribute, and opportunities to trade with fortified entrepôts on the Lower Danube. Later they were encouraged to settle on the plains north of the Haimos mountains and to become soldiers (Stephenson 2000: 80–93). In their mid-century dealings with the Pechenegs the Byzantines tried to consolidate imperial power in peripheral zones of the empire by absorbing neighbouring peoples, a strategy first developed on the tenth-century eastern frontier when Armenian and Syrian immigrants had been used to repopulate conquered areas (Dagron 1976).

Signs of a deterioration in this relatively favourable situation first appear in the late 1050s. At this point attacks became more common on three separate frontiers:

from Seljuk Turks in the east, from Normans in the west, and from nomads in the north. Melitene (1058), Sebasteia (1059), and Caesarea (1067) were sacked by the Seljuks; in 1064 Ani was occupied. In 1059 the Norman Robert Guiscard was recognized by the pope as Duke of Apulia; the following year he seized Reggio, Otranto, and Brindisi. In 1065 the Oghuz Turks ravaged the northern Balkans. The year 1071 represented a double blow: the Normans seized Bari, Byzantium's principal stronghold in Italy; meanwhile the main imperial field army was defeated at Manzikert in Armenia by the Seljuks. The emperor, Romanos IV, was temporarily taken prisoner. One reason why the empire's strategic position began to deteriorate was because it was difficult for the imperial field armies, accustomed to offensive campaigns, suddenly to conduct defensive operations on several frontiers at once against invaders not easily defeated in single set-piece battles. The Turkomans, Normans, and nomads usually came in small groups rather than mass armies; they came as not just raiders but as permanent settlers. Temporary victory or defeat in battle was of little import to them. Yet, while these adversaries certainly presented the Byzantines with new problems, they only became truly dangerous when a vacuum opened up at the empire's centre. During the coup of Isaac Komnenos in 1057 and the Doukas-sponsored rebellion which followed the capture of Romanos IV in 1071, the main Byzantine armies were withdrawn from the frontiers, creating opportunities for invasions. More significantly, armies involved in the internal conflict employed the invaders as mercenaries, thus accelerating the rate of migration. Byzantium collapsed because too many senior political figures were more interested in acquiring personal power in Constantinople than in uniting to protect the empire (Ostrogorsky 1968: 341–50; Cheynet 1990: 337–57; Angold 1997: 35–55; Treadgold 1997: 598–611; Stephenson 2000: 93–100, 135–44; Magdalino 2002*b*: 182–90; Haldon 2003).

THE KOMNENOI AND ANGELOI: ALEXIOS I KOMNENOS TO ALEXIOS IV ANGELOS (1081–1204)

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The last successful eleventh-century coup took place in 1081. It brought Alexios Komnenos to power. In contrast to the rapid turnover in the eleventh century Byzantium was ruled for much of the next century by only three emperors, all from the same family: Alexios I (1081–1118), John II (1118–43), and Manuel (1143–80). Under their tutelage imperial authority was restored (Magdalino 1993; Cheynet 1990: 413–16; Mullett and Smythe 1996). Although new states began to emerge on

the empire's borders, Byzantium remained an important regional power-broker until Manuel's death. Thereafter, collapse was swift and, unlike the eleventh century, final.

The revivification of Byzantine power has been attributed to a variety of reforms introduced by Alexios Komnenos. These include the slimming down of financial administration and the stabilization of the coinage, measures which facilitated the reckoning and collection of taxes (Harvey 1996; Angold 1997: 148–56). Alexios is believed to have worked closely with the senior church authorities to bring monasteries directly under episcopal and patriarchal control, and to shore up ecclesiastical influence in the provinces by insisting that bishops lived in their dioceses (Angold 1995: 45–72, 265–85). He is also thought to have made the imperial family the bedrock of political society. Alexios had become emperor as the result of alliances between several aristocratic families, connections that he maintained after 1081. He used his own relatives extensively in government. His mother Anna Dalassene ruled the palace while he was on campaign. His brothers served as provincial governors and generals. Many family members were given large grants of imperial lands and taxes (*pronoiai*). Alexios created a new tier of titles for the imperial relatives based on the rank of *sebastos*. The emperor also built a new family palace inside Constantinople's walls at Blachernai (Cheynet 1990: 369–77; Magdalino 1993: 180–91, 202–6; Hill 1999: 120–52). This family-based 'system' reached its acme under Manuel (Magdalino 1993: 191–201, 209–17). Its most important result was that the most serious political dissent was now more likely to come from within the imperial family than from outside. Thus, John Komnenos' principal rival was his brother Isaac, Manuel Komnenos' main opponent his cousin Andronikos (Magdalino 1993: 217–27).

Yet, this reconstitution of Byzantine political life in the Komnenian period should not be overstated. Basil I and Romanos I had also both exploited their families to establish their dynasties; equally the Komnenoi, just like their predecessors, maintained a highly centralized government based in Constantinople. The Great Palace was still used. Merit as well as birth remained a path to prominence: John Komnenos' senior general, John Axouch, was a Turk (Magdalino 1993). The use of *pronoiai* to create vast family apanages occurred rarely after Alexios' reign. In the twelfth century the term usually referred to small temporary grants of land and taxes given to soldiers in return for military service (Lemerle 1979: 201–47). Mercenaries remained integral to Byzantine armed forces. Meanwhile support continued to be cultivated within the court and Constantinople through propaganda and ceremony: show trials of heretic Bogomils; the building of monastic welfare complexes; the performances of panegyricists; and the holding of triumphs (Magdalino 1993: 109–23; 1996; Angold 1995: 477–501; 1997: 137–43, 146–8).

While old and new were fused in Constantinople, it was reconquest of territory lost in the eleventh century that was fundamental to the restoration of Byzantine prestige: regained territories brought increased revenues, lent teeth to Komnenian

rhetoric, and gave Byzantium diplomatic leverage. Most reconquests were achieved by Alexios. His first success came against the Normans. When Robert Guiscard died in 1085 Alexios was able to force the Normans out of the western Balkans. Later in the 1080s the emperor tackled the Pechenegs. Although initially defeated in 1087, Alexios used another nomad army, the Cumans, to destroy the Pechenegs in 1091. The Cumans themselves invaded the empire in 1094, and sporadically thereafter during Alexios' reign; and it was John who finally reimposed Byzantine authority in the northern Balkans, an area which then seems to have boomed under Byzantine jurisdiction. The final area that Alexios looked to recover was Anatolia. From as early as 1089 the emperor gathered mercenary troops, particularly heavy cavalry from western Europe, to reduce Turkish positions in Anatolia. It was in this spirit that Alexios appears to have approached Pope Urban II around 1095. The response to Alexios' request for military aid came in the shape of the First Crusade. Although the sheer size of this movement probably came as a shock, Alexios successfully shepherded it through the Balkans and Constantinople. The Crusaders helped Alexios reduce Nicaea (1097) and then as they journeyed across central Anatolia, a Byzantine army was able to regain the western littoral of Asia Minor from the Turks. Although accord between the Byzantines and the Crusaders broke down over Alexios' failure to assist at the siege of Antioch (1098) and the subsequent refusal of Bohemond (son of Guiscard), to surrender the city, nonetheless Alexios' management of the Crusade meant that the most fiscally significant area of Anatolia was restored to the empire. The second half of Alexios' reign was given over to dealing with another Norman invasion of the western Balkans in 1107 and campaigns against the Turks in upland Anatolia (Ostrogorsky 1968: 351–75; Angold 1997: 124–35, 157–70; Treadgold 1997: 612–29; Stephenson 2000: 100–7, 144–86).

Although the reigns of both of Alexios' successors were characterized by warfare and diplomacy of great complexity, neither John nor Manuel advanced the territorial frontiers of Alexios' empire significantly. In some border areas direct Byzantine rule was re-established and fortified zones established (Foss 1982). But the principal Byzantine policy was to encircle the empire with a ring of clients: Serb princes, eastern Italian and Dalmatian cities, the Armenians of Cilicia, the Latin Crusader States, and even the Turks of Konya. Of course, not all clients were always willing allies. They also looked to Byzantium's rivals: the kingdom of Hungary, the German empire, and the Norman kingdom of Sicily. A mixture of force and negotiation was used to propel neighbouring powers into the Byzantine embrace. Both John and Manuel, for instance, led imperial armies to Antioch to intimidate the inhabitants into alliance. When Manuel arrived in 1158 he celebrated a triumph, during which the prince of Antioch and the king of Jerusalem appeared in his entourage. But intimidation was not the only diplomatic tool. Marriage deals were made with Hungary, Germany, the Normans, and the Crusader states. Manuel co-operated with Amalric of Jerusalem in military action against Egypt (Angold 1997: 181–225;

Stephenson 2000: 187–274; Harris 2003: 108–10). Indeed Byzantine relations with the Crusader States were considerably warmer than those with the armies of the Second and Third Crusades which passed through Byzantium in 1147 and 1189 on their way to the Latin east (Lilie 1993: 142–221; Harris 2003: 93–143).

The reasons for the collapse of Byzantium after the death of Manuel in 1180 resemble those which precipitated eleventh-century decline: a power vacuum at the centre accompanied by alert external predators. The first acute period of disintegration in Constantinople occurred in the early 1180s as various court parties fought for control of Manuel's young heir Alexios II. In 1183 the emperor's uncle Andronikos had himself crowned co-emperor; his nephew was murdered shortly afterwards. Andronikos was himself torn apart by the Constantinopolitan mob less than two years later. He was replaced by Isaac II, a member of the Angelos family, close relatives of the Komnenoi (Ostrogorsky 1968: 394–400; Cheynet 1990: 427–45; Angold 1997: 295–304; Treadgold 1997: 650–6). It was during this period of uncertainty at the centre that the first external blows were dealt against the empire: the Normans sacked Thessalonike; a new Bulgarian state formed north of the Haimos mountains; a Byzantine governor of Cilicia was expelled only then to create an independent state in Cyprus. For the next two decades the Angeloi struggled to contain provincial centrifugalism (Cheynet 1990: 446–58; Angold 1997: 304–16; Stephenson 2000: 275–315). Meanwhile, in 1195 another division opened up within the Constantinopolitan elite as Isaac II was deposed by his brother Alexios III. It was this dynastic feud that helped to destroy Constantinople, as Isaac's son, Alexios IV, asked for military aid and brought the Frankish and Venetian armies of the Fourth Crusade to Constantinople. When the Crusaders realized that they were not going to be paid for their military intervention they chose to ransack the city. This, at least, is the tale of accidental conquest told by Latin chroniclers. Some Byzantine contemporaries, such as Niketas Choniates, saw a deeper motive behind the attack: the covetousness of the Venetians, the Byzantines' long-term trading partners and naval allies. Whether short- or long-term motives precipitated Latin attack, it is clear that Byzantium *c.*1200 offered irresistible rich pickings to many ambitious neighbours (Ostrogorsky 1968: 401–17; Angold 1997: 226–40, 316–28; Treadgold 1997: 656–66; Nicol 1988; Lilie 1993: 222–45; Ciggaar 1996: 45–77; Queller and Madden 1997).

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Further Reading

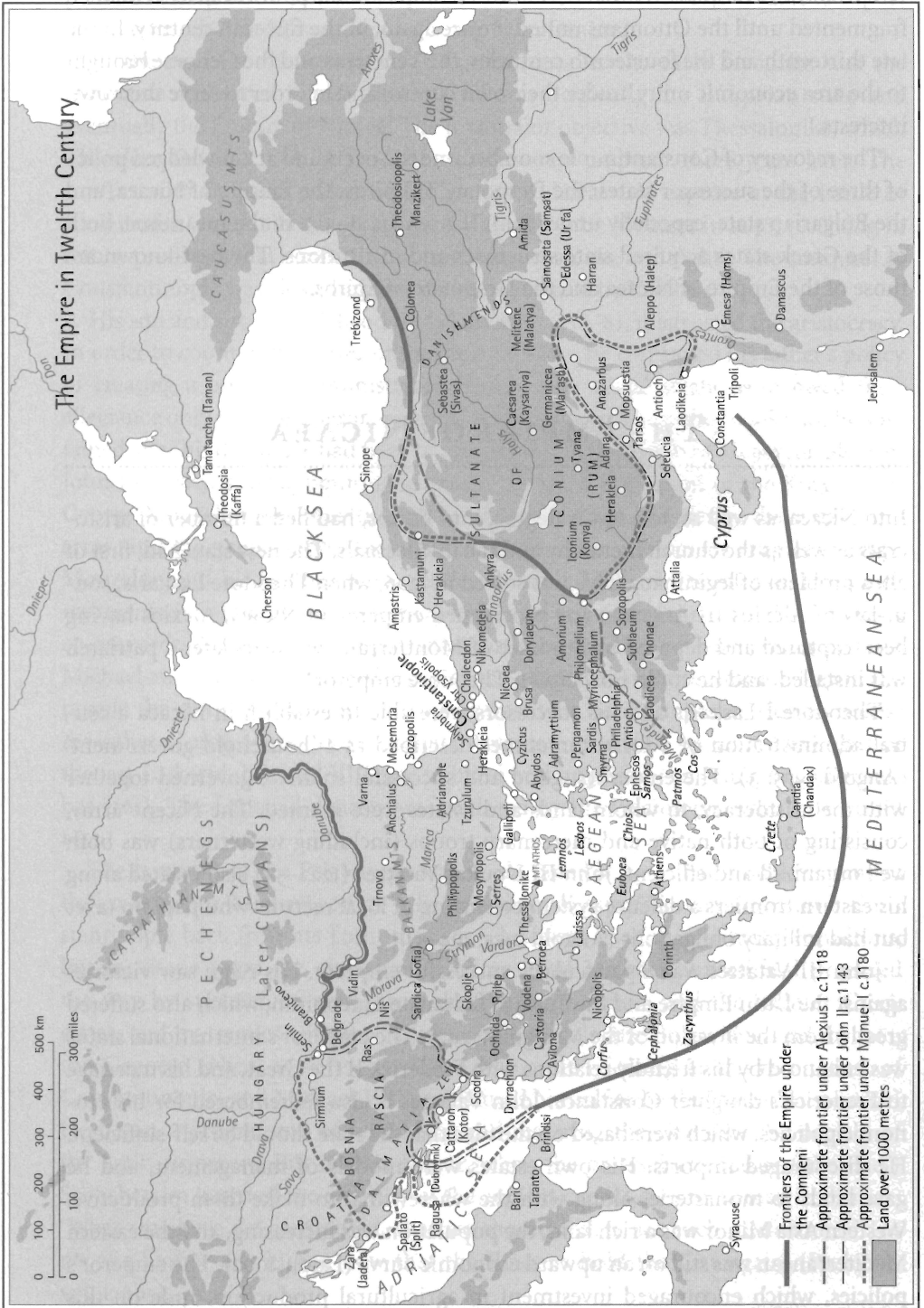
Whittow 1996 and Angold 1997 provide comprehensive surveys of the political history of this period. The relevant chapters of Ostrogorsky 1968, Treadgold 1997, Mango 2002, and the *New Cambridge Medieval History*, vols. 2–4, are also useful. Detailed analyses of single emperors include those by Tougher 1997 on Leo VI, Runciman 1929 on Romanos Lekapenos, Toynbee 1973 on Constantine Porphyrogenitus, Koliais 1993 on Nikephoros Phokas, Holmes 2005 on Basil II, and Magdalino 1993 on Manuel Komnenos. Collections of papers edited by Magdalino 2002*a* and Mullett and Smythe 1996 shed light on the reigns of Basil II and Alexios Komnenos. Brubaker 1998 contains important papers about many different aspects of the ninth century, *TM* 6 (1976) and Lemerle 1977 about the eleventh century. Imperial women are assessed by Herrin 2001 and Hill 1999. Morris 1995 and Angold 1995 examine the Church. Dagron 1996 explores the understanding and articulation of imperial authority between the eighth and tenth centuries. McGeer 1995 and Haldon 1999 discuss developments in the army and its relationship with the state. Debates about relations between the state, landowners, and peasants can be traced in Ostrogorsky 1966, Morris 1976, Lemerle 1979, Kaplan 1992, and McGeer 2000. Cheynet 1990 offers new ways of understanding political conflict. Useful starting points for understanding Byzantium's engagement with the outside world include Obolensky 1971, Shepard and Franklin 1992 and *TM* 12 (2000). Relations with the Muslim east can be followed in Kennedy 1986 and Felix 1981; with the Rus, in Shepard and Franklin 1996; with the Balkans, in Fine 1983 and Stephenson 2000; with the Crusader States, in Lilie 1993 and Harris 2003; and with the West, in Howard-Johnston 1988, Nicol 1988, Davids 1995, and Ciggaar 1996.

POLITICAL-
HISTORICAL
SURVEY, 1204–1453

ANGELIKI LAIOU

THE fall of Constantinople to the crusaders in 1204 had far-reaching results. The event itself, the subsequent looting of Constantinople, and the years of Latin occupation remained a powerful memory for a very long time, and doomed from the start any efforts either for cooperation between Byzantines and western Europeans or for union of the Orthodox and Catholic churches. Moreover, the Fourth Crusade resulted in the fragmentation of the political space that had been the Byzantine Empire. The weak and short-lived Latin Empire of Constantinople was but one of the successor states. There were three Greek ones: the Empire of Nicaea and the Empire of Trebizond in Asia Minor, and the Despotate of Epiros. The Venetians acquired part of Constantinople, the ports of Modon and Coron, Crete in 1211, and conquered Euboea and a number of other Aegean islands. In the Peloponnese, the Principality of Achaia soon emerged as the strongest of the Frankish possessions. In the Balkans, the separatist tendencies of the Bulgarians led to the coronation of Kalojan, while Serbia had become independent some years earlier, and Stephen the First-Crowned was given the royal title by Pope Honorius III in 1217.

The fragmentation had begun before the fall of Constantinople, as both Greek and Italian lords took over small areas in Greece, in Asia Minor, and in the Ionian islands, as well as Rhodes and Cyprus (Oikonomides 1976*b*: 13–28). However, the Fourth Crusade greatly accelerated separatist trends, as well as adding new states.



As a result, and despite eventual Byzantine reconquests, the political space remained fragmented until the Ottomans united it once again, in the fifteenth century. In the late thirteenth and the fourteenth centuries, the Venetians and the Genoese brought to the area economic unity, under their own control and in order to serve their own interests.

The recovery of Constantinople soon became the overt and acknowledged policy of three of the successor states: the Despotate of Epiros, the Empire of Nicaea, and the Bulgarian state, especially under John II Asen (1218–41). In the meantime, both of the Greek states acquired state structures and institutions. The best-known are those of the Empire of Nicaea and the Despotate of Epiros.

THE EMPIRE OF NICAEA

Into Nicaea, as well as, to a lesser degree, into Epiros, had fled a number of aristocrats as well as the church hierarchy and the intellectuals. The new state had, first of all, a problem of legitimacy. This was solved in 1206, when Theodore Laskaris, son-in-law of Alexios III Angelos, was proclaimed emperor in Nicaea, Alexios having been captured and deposed by Boniface of Montferrat. Two years later a patriarch was installed, and he could now crown Theodore emperor.

Theodore I Laskaris and his successors were able to establish in Nicaea a central administration of a form sometimes described as a ‘household government’ (Angold 1975: 3). The emperors, good and successful soldiers, governed together with the aristocracy, to whom lands and estates were granted. The Nicene army, consisting of both native and mercenary troops (including westerners) was both well organized and efficient. John III Doukas Vatatzes (1222–54) also created along his eastern frontiers a defence system consisting of local recruits who paid no taxes but had military obligations (Angold 1975: 194–5).

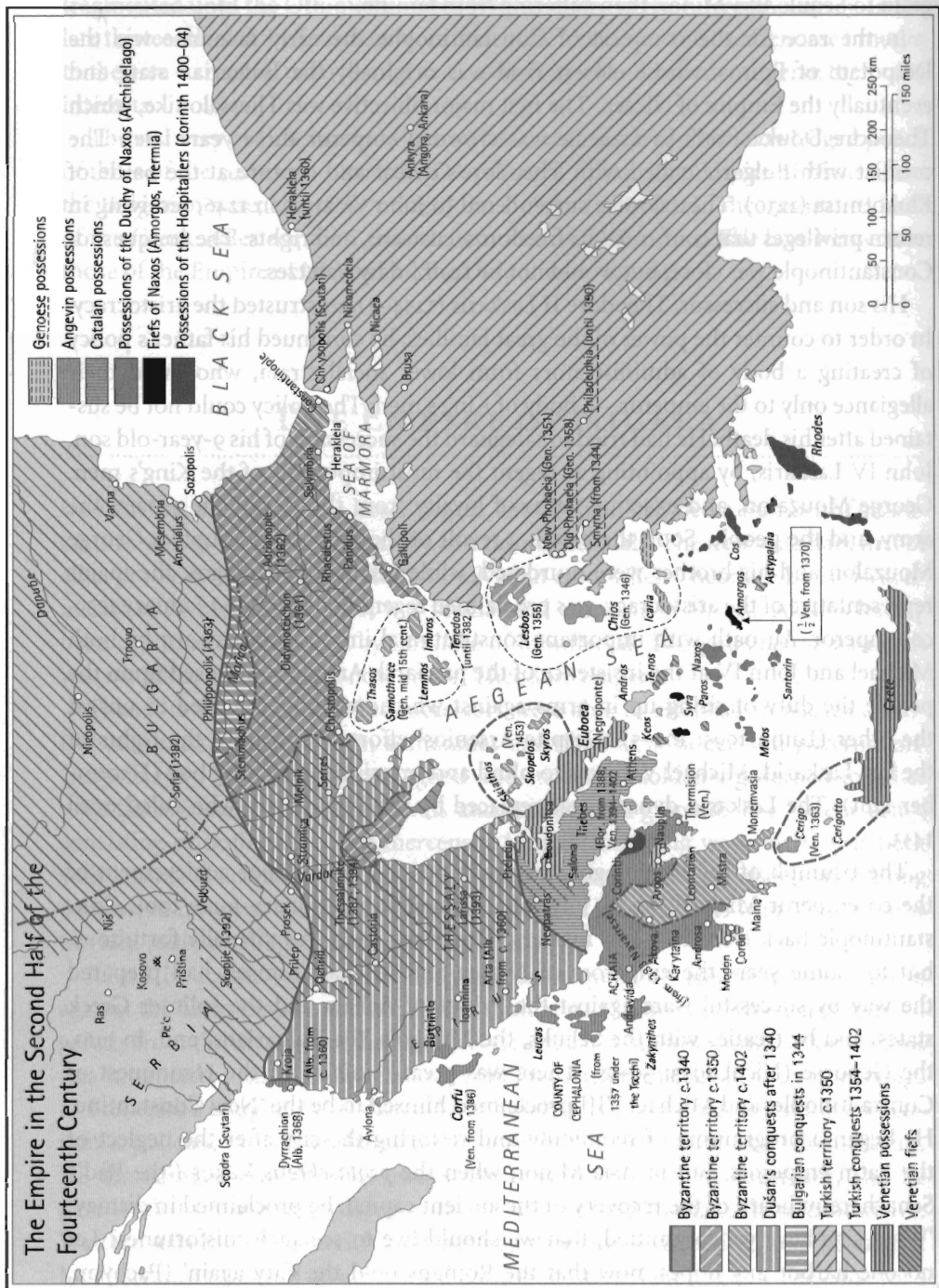
John III Vatatzes was a particularly successful emperor. His reign saw victories against the Latin Empire and the Turkish Sultanate of Iconium, which also suffered greatly from the invasion of the Mongols (1242). The emperor’s international status was enhanced by his friendly relations with Frederick II the Great, and his marriage to Frederick’s daughter Constance. John Vatatzes is also remembered for his economic policies, which were based on the idea that the state should be self-sufficient. He discouraged imports. His own estates were models of management, and he gave lands to monasteries along with the wherewithal to make them productive. Western Asia Minor was a rich land, the population was increasing, and the eastern Mediterranean was still on an upward economic curve (Laiou 2002). The emperor’s policies, which encouraged investment in agricultural production, rode on this

positive economic conjuncture, and were successful; Nicaea was even able to export grain to Seljuk Asia Minor, then suffering from famine.

In the race for the conquest of Constantinople, the early favourite was the Despotate of Epiros, whose closest rival was originally the Bulgarian state and eventually the Empire of Nicaea. The first major objective was Thessalonike, which Theodore Doukas took in 1224; he was crowned emperor three years later. The conflict with Bulgaria ended with Theodore's defeat and capture at the battle of Klokotnitsa (1230). Thessalonike surrendered to John Vatatzes in 1246, receiving in return privileges that confirmed its freedoms, customs, and rights. The conquest of Constantinople was close, but would not be realized by Vatatzes.

His son and successor, Theodore II Laskaris (1254–8), mistrusted the aristocracy. In order to counter the power of the great families, he continued his father's policy of creating a body of administrators from lower social strata, who owed their allegiance only to the emperor—a body of King's men. The policy could not be sustained after his death. He had tried to safeguard the succession of his 9-year-old son, John IV Laskaris, by appointing as regent the most important of the King's men, George Mouzalon, and exacting oaths of loyalty from the clergy, the senate, the army, and the people. Soon thereafter, a revolt of the aristocracy erupted; George Mouzalon and his brother were murdered, while Michael Palaiologos, the major representative of the aristocracy, was proclaimed regent and then, on 1 January 1259, co-emperor. An oath with important constitutional implications, sworn by both Michael and John IV at the insistence of the patriarch Arsenios, imposed upon the people the duty of rising up in arms against whichever emperor tried to unseat the other (Laiou 1995: 102–5). Despite Arsenios' efforts to preserve the rights of the last Laskarid, Michael VIII was to blind and imprison the young boy (December 1261). The Laskarid dynasty was replaced by the Palaioiogoi, who ruled until 1453.

The triumph of the Palaioiogoi was made possible by a major achievement of the co-emperor Michael: on 25 July 1261, a small expeditionary force took Constantinople back from its Latin masters. The event itself was virtually fortuitous, but for some years the emperors of Nicaea and Michael himself had prepared the way by successful wars against the Prince of Achaia and the splinter Greek states, and by treaties with the Seljuks, the Mongols, the Bulgarians, and, in 1261, the Genoese (Nicol 1993: 30–7). There was great rejoicing at the reconquest of Constantinople, and Michael VIII proclaimed himself to be the 'New Constantine'. He began a programme of rebuilding and restoring the city after the neglect of the Latin emperors. But in Asia Minor, when the *protasekretis* Kakos ('the Bad') Senachereim heard of the recovery of the ancient capital, he proclaimed in dismay: 'What sins have we committed, that we should live to see such misfortunes? Let no one harbor any hopes, now that the Romans hold the City again' (Pachym., vol. 1: 205).



Map 8 The Byzantine Empire in the second half of the 14th century

THE RESTORED EMPIRE: MICHAEL VIII PALAIOLOGOS (1261-82)

The long history of the restored empire may be divided into two parts, from 1261 to 1354, and from 1354 to 1453. General conditions and the problems facing the state, as well as the policies of the emperors differed significantly in these two periods.

Some traits, nevertheless, characterize the entire period, from 1261 to 1453. The Byzantine Empire never recovered all of the territories it had held before 1204, not even in Greece and the Balkans. It was a small state with reduced finances and armed forces. In its immediate neighbourhood other states, Serbia and Bulgaria, waxed and waned, posing significant threats. Western Europe as a whole was much more powerful than it had been in the early thirteenth century, both economically and politically, certainly so until the time of the Black Death. Even though the Hundred Years War (1337-1453) would embroil France and England in a long struggle, there were intervals in the fighting, and western European states had to be taken very seriously indeed by the Byzantine Empire. The royal house of France posed a particularly acute danger until 1311. Other western powers, primarily Catalonia and Aragon, were soon to acquire an interest in the eastern Mediterranean. At the same time, the Venetians and the Genoese were struggling for commercial supremacy in Byzantine waters; armed with the privileges granted them by the emperors, they were to achieve an informal and unstated division of areas of influence and control by the early part of the fourteenth century (Laiou 1980-1: 177-222). In the east, the Turks (first the Seljuks, then the Ottomans) were a major and eventually fatal threat, while the Mongols, the Golden Horde in the north, the state of the Ilkhanids in the east, were significant newcomers. Finally, one of the Greek successor states, the Empire of Trebizond, remained independent. Thus the Byzantine Empire not only had to face enemies on three fronts, but these enemies were often powerful, and, since they were also numerous, careful and delicate diplomacy was essential; it proved generally successful for a long time (Oikonomides 1992: 73-88).

The policies of the first Palaiologoi until the death of Andronikos III in 1341 may be summarized as follows. First, perhaps, came what may be termed as the gathering of territories, the effort to recover the Greek lands that had been occupied by splinter states after 1204. A second imperative, which took pride of place during the reign of Michael VIII, was to forestall attacks from western Europe aimed at the reinstatement of a Latin Empire (Geanakoplos 1959). The emperors also had to deal with the ambitions of Venice and Genoa, and with those of Serbia and Bulgaria. All of these imperatives required an orientation of interest and policy on the western provinces of the empire, on the Balkans, and on western Europe. The recovery of Constantinople in 1261 had embroiled the Byzantines heavily with the West, a policy which ultimately contributed to the fall of Asia Minor. Michael VIII

neglected the province, until it was too late to save it from the Turks. Hence the report of the statement of Kakos Senachereim by the major historian of the times, George Pachymeres, for whom the fate of Asia Minor was a matter of supreme interest.

Michael VIII Palaiologos was a soldier and diplomat of no mean talent. During his reign, the Byzantine Empire became a major player in the field of international relations for the last time, since the resources and possibilities of his successors were much reduced. Michael fought against the Principality of Achaia, recovering Mistra and Monemvasia, which was to become a major commercial city; he fought against the Venetians in the Aegean, with mixed results; he recovered the cities of the Bulgarian coast with their Greek-speaking population and their commercial importance as outlets of Black Sea grain. He made alliance both with Hulagu, leader of the Ilkhanids of Persia, against the sultanate of Iconium, and with the Mongols of the Golden Horde against the Bulgarian state; he also made an alliance with Baybars, the sultan of Egypt. His defensive policies were, in time-honoured Byzantine fashion, meant to use friends at the back of one's enemy to help subdue the enemy, and were, on the whole, successful. His aggressive policies were aimed at the full restoration of the Byzantine Empire, and were only partially successful.

Michael VIII's most important achievement was to save the empire from the very real threat of the restoration of Frankish rule, a threat embodied in the person of Charles of Anjou, brother to the sainted king of France, Louis IX. Charles had, at papal and French royal request, occupied Sicily after wresting it from Manfred, the illegitimate offspring of the *stupor mundi*, Frederick II. Byzantine historians thought that Charles of Anjou had the ambition of conquering the entire world (Greg., vol. 1: 123–4; Laiou 1972: 11–12). An exaggeration, to be sure; but he certainly intended to conquer the Byzantine state and Constantinople, and restore the Latin Empire, the heir to whose titular emperor (Philip, son of Baldwin II) had wed Charles's daughter. The papacy and Venice were party to those ambitions. They were thwarted by Michael's first major diplomatic move, the acceptance of the union of the Orthodox and Latin churches, the Union of Lyons, proclaimed on 6 July 1274. This removed temporarily the papal blessing on Charles's plans, but caused a great movement of protest in Constantinople. Eventually, Martin IV, a French pope, restored the papal–Angevin alliance, claiming that the union was not being truly implemented. A major attack on the Byzantine Empire, planned for 1283, was forestalled by the Sicilian Vespers, a revolt of the population of Sicily against the Angevins, which broke out on 30 March 1282. The king of Aragon was called in, and the Aragonese displaced the Angevins as rulers of Naples and Sicily, thus ending the Angevin threat to Byzantium. Michael VIII was to claim that he had encouraged and supported the revolt, and this may well be true. The western claims to Constantinople were eventually taken up by Charles of Valois, husband of the titular empress of Constantinople, Catherine of Courtenay; the threat of a western invasion, acute once again in 1308, did not end until about 1311.

Michael VIII's diplomatic triumph had been bought at a very high price: the union of the two churches, on the papacy's terms. He was deeply hated for this by large segments of Byzantine society; his son, Andronikos II, repudiated the union. The matter was not seriously taken up again until the 1360s.

ANDRONIKOS II AND ANDRONIKOS III PALAILOGOI (1282–1341)

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Michael's successors, his son Andronikos II (1282–1328) and his great-grandson Andronikos III (1328–41), reversed his policies to a considerable extent. Andronikos II still had to deal with western claims to Constantinople, and managed fairly well. But his energies were directed towards the Balkans, where the kingdoms of Bulgaria and Serbia, especially the latter, were becoming dangerous. They were also directed towards the reconquest of the territories of Epiros and Thessaly, and very much towards Asia Minor. The same may be said of Andronikos III. Personal campaigns of the sovereigns, as well as campaigns by important lieutenants, such as Alexios Philanthropenos in the early 1290s (Laiou 1978: 89–99), aimed at pushing back the Seljuks and strengthening the defences of Asia Minor. Some successes notwithstanding, the results were not satisfactory. Effective Byzantine power in southern Asia Minor ended in the late years of Michael VIII and the first years of his successor. In the north, the Ottoman emirate was bent on expansion, fuelled by the ideology of *ghazi* warriors and thus aimed, in the first instance, at the Byzantines. The defeat of Michael IX, Andronikos II's son and co-emperor, at Bapheus in 1302, was a major disaster. The important cities of Bithynia, stepping-stones to Europe, were conquered by the Ottomans: Brusa in 1326, Nicaea in 1331, and Nikomedeia in 1337. Andronikos III and John Kantakouzenos established alliances with the Seljuk emirs of Sarukhan and Aydin.

The other aim of the early Palaiologoi, the gathering of territories, was achieved only in part. The major successes were in Epiros, where the inhabitants of Ioannina acknowledged Byzantine sovereignty in 1319, although they broke their oath of fealty some years later, while the rest of the Despotate surrendered in 1340 (Nicol 1984: 82–122). Thessaly was acquired piecemeal by 1333. These acquisitions were short-lived, since both areas would pass into the hands of the Serbian king Stephen Dušan a short time later. In the Peloponnese, the Byzantine lands were organized into the Despotate of the Morea, with its capital in Mistra, after 1349.

Internally, the reign of the first two Palaiologoi is characterized by the contradictory and conflicting needs of a state that would be centralized and an aristocracy that would be, and was, powerful and received special and privileged treatment.

In some ways, this is a replay of twelfth-century politics, with the difference that the claims of the state were, in practice, much weaker. Nevertheless, the first two Palaiologoi exercised a heavy fiscality, levying a number of extraordinary taxes, and also claiming regalian rights which translated into monetary terms, rights that had not been exercised in the centuries of wealth and power, such as the tenth century, but which may date back to the late Komnenoi (Laiou 2000: 97–110). At the same time, however, all of the Palaiologoi granted tax privileges to the lay aristocracy and the church, both secular and monastic, especially the latter. There is a powerful contradiction here, which was not resolved until the second half of the century, when the prerogatives of the state were gravely diminished.

In economic terms, agriculture especially and trade to some extent did quite well into the 1340s (Laiou 2002). Byzantium was going through the same virtuous cycle as western Europe; a cycle which ended with the wars that prevailed after 1341 and the plague. In fiscal terms, however, the government's resources diminished. A good deal of the surplus was appropriated by lay and ecclesiastical landlords, as the tax-paying peasants progressively turned into rent-paying tenants. Michael VIII could draw on the treasury of the Nicaean Empire for his very expensive foreign policy, but his successors had no such reserves. Extraordinary taxes could yield only so much, and a good deal was spent to pay off mercenaries, especially the Catalans. The coinage was devalued several times, but this in no way helped either the economy or the fisc.

The Byzantine army and navy were small, as befitted a small state. In 1285, on the pretext of the defeat of the plans of Charles of Anjou, Andronikos II dismantled the fleet, thus more than ever placing the empire into dependence on the Italian naval powers, Venice and Genoa. Subsequent efforts to rebuild the fleet were only partially successful. As for the army, it included both native troops and foreigners, whether allies or mercenaries. The native troops were composed in considerable part of *pronoia*-holders. The *pronoia*, an institution that dates to the time of the Komnenoi, was a temporary grant of lands and, primarily, their revenues, in return for service, especially military service. The *pronoia*-holders were not necessarily members of the aristocracy; indeed, many of them were no better off than the peasant-soldiers of the tenth century; but there were no more peasant-soldiers, and in this sense the *pronoia*-holders were a privileged group. The *pronoia* has considerable differences from the western fief: it was revocable, there was no subinfeudation and, until the very late period, there were no attendant rights of justice. As for mercenary troops, the most famous among them is the Catalan Company, invited by Andronikos II to help fight against the Turks in Bithynia; the mercenaries rebelled, and eventually set up the Catalan Duchy of Athens, in 1311.

Until 1341, the aristocracy was very powerful. A few great families had considerable estates and the revenues therefrom; their members were the army commanders and intermarried with people of lower yet still aristocratic families (such as Theodore Metochites and Nikephoros Choumnos) who held high administrative

office. Provincial aristocratic families held corresponding offices in the provinces; some were very wealthy. The period is marked by the increase in the power, political and economic, of the aristocracy, as well as that of the Church, which benefited from the donations of emperors, aristocrats, and peasants (Laiou 1973: 131-51).

CIVIL WAR, 1341-54

The major internal event of the fourteenth century was the second civil war, which lasted from 1341 to 1354. Earlier, a civil war had been fought between Andronikos II and his grandson, Andronikos III. It lasted intermittently for seven years (1321-8) and had perhaps been primarily an intra-aristocratic affair, with members of a younger generation trying to seize the crown from the old emperor. Yet it was also attended by the involvement (at the request of both parties) of the Serbians and the Bulgarians (Laiou 1972: 284-300). The second civil war, by contrast, was a much more complex affair. It, too, began as a struggle for the throne, between John Kantakouzenos, member of a great and wealthy family, and the regency for John V, the heir to the throne: John's mother Anne of Savoy, the Patriarch John Kalekas, and the *megas doux* Alexios Apokaukos, a man who had become powerful in the administration. However, almost immediately the war acquired strong social aspects. Although all generalizations regarding this issue have exceptions, it holds generally true that John Kantakouzenos was backed by the landed aristocracy, while Apokaukos was backed by the merchants (quite a powerful group), the sailors, and the common people, especially in the cities. The social aspect of the civil war became more evident with the passage of time, particularly in Thessalonike which was ruled by the 'Zealots', a radical group whose ideology remains hidden under the obscuring veil of hostile sources; they seem to have been sailors and other people connected with the sea, including possibly some refugees, although their leaders bore aristocratic or upper-class names (such as Michael and Andrew Palaiologos). Some members of the aristocracy of Thessalonike were killed, while the rest fled the city, spreading the tale of the reversal of the natural order of social relations.

Eventually, John Kantakouzenos and the aristocracy won the battle, although they very much lost the war. The opposition collapsed in 1344 and 1345, Alexios Apokaukos was assassinated in 1345, and in early 1346 Kantakouzenos entered Constantinople as co-emperor. He is known as John VI. Thessalonike resisted until 1350, and four years later John V Palaiologos forced John VI to abdicate; he became a monk, and his retirement from imperial politics marks the real end of the civil war.

The war had other overtones as well. Apart from the fact that it is rather reminiscent of the revolution of 1339 in Genoa and the accession of Simone Boccanegra to

power (although no direct connection can be established: Ševčenko 1953: 603–17), there are tantalizing statements in the sources that Alexios Apokaukos aimed at establishing a new type of Byzantine state: essentially a coastal state, with Constantinople as its capital (Kantak., vol. 2: 537). Such a state would necessarily be tied to commerce, not to agriculture, in emulation of the maritime cities of Italy, and it might well have been westward-looking. Moreover, the civil war was contemporary with a crisis in the Byzantine Church, the Hesychast controversy, which centred on the question of the possibility of experiencing God in his essence through a form of mystical prayer, as the Hesychasts claimed (Meyendorff 1959). While the debate regarding the experience of God in his essence rather than through his works was certainly not novel in the context of medieval Christianity, it acquired major importance in the 1340s and became, to some extent, tied to the civil war, mostly because major proponents of Hesychasm, like the learned Gregory Palamas, were also staunch supporters of Kantakouzenos. His triumph spelled theirs as well.

The political triumph was entirely illusory. In order to win the war, Kantakouzenos had called in foreign allies: Stephen Dušan, kral of Serbia, the Seljuks of the emirate of Aydin, and the Ottomans. Stephen Dušan had brought the Serbian state to its apex. Expanding into Macedonia since the late thirteenth century, the Serbs, who were experiencing a silver rush because of the production of the Novo Brdo mines, and who were undergoing political transformations, were ready for much more than an alliance with the Byzantines. Dušan ended up conquering much of Macedonia, Thessaly, Epiros, and part of Greece, and besieging, though not taking, Thessalonike. After the conquest of Serres, he proclaimed himself Emperor of the Serbs and the Romans, laying claim to the universal empire. His state was ephemeral, but after his death in 1355 Serbian principalities remained on Byzantine soil, notably that of Serres, under John Ugljesha.

The Ottomans, too, had been invited by John Kantakouzenos to Europe, to help him fight the civil war. In 1354, the year Kantakouzenos abdicated, they took over the fort of Gallipoli. They were never to leave Europe again; from that strategic position they began the conquest of the European provinces of the Empire.

The Byzantine aristocracy emerged from the civil war severely weakened. Two civil wars with looting armies had impoverished the countryside, while Dušan confiscated a number of estates to reward his own soldiers (Laiou 1985: 148–56; Oikonomides 1980). Between that and the Ottoman conquests that were soon to follow, the land base of the economic strength of the aristocracy was greatly reduced. Some aristocrats were to turn to commerce and banking instead (Oikonomides 1979).

The late stages of the civil war coincided with the outbreak of the Black Death. While direct evidence for its effects on the Byzantine Empire is much scarcer than for western Europe, a significant demographic decline in the second half of the fourteenth century is undisputed.

THE FINAL COLLAPSE (1354-1453)

The last hundred years of the Byzantine Empire are characterized by the progressive diminution of the geographic extent of the state, by constant threat from foreign enemies, especially the Ottomans, by a restructuring of the aristocracy, by civil wars, and by the increasing relative power of the Church. Economic conditions were very bad until the end of the century, a situation that affected all of southern Europe; the depression led to antagonisms and wars, very much involving the Byzantine Empire. The fact that the Byzantine state survived for a hundred years is due in great part to external causes (the reappearance of the Mongols, civil wars among the Ottomans) and to a diplomacy that, surprisingly, was still rather effective.

In the course of the long reign of John V (1341-91), the decline became obvious. The Byzantine Empire, a phantom term used here only for reasons of convention, became a very small state, which at the end of the century consisted essentially of Constantinople, parts of Thrace, Thessalonike, a few islands in the northern Aegean, and the Despotate of the Morea, the most compact territory. A majority of the Greek-speaking, Orthodox population lived under foreign occupation, whether Venetian, Genoese, Serbian, or, increasingly, Ottoman. The Ottoman advance was unrelenting. While the Ottomans were gradually bringing the Seljuk emirates of Asia Minor under their control and into their state, in Europe the cities fell one by one: Didymoteichon in 1361, Philippopolis (Plovdiv) in 1363, and, most importantly, Adrianople in 1368-9. The city became the Ottoman capital in Europe. In 1371, the Serbian ruler of Serres, John Ugljesha, was defeated at the battle of the Maritsa. This spelled an end to any possibility that the Orthodox powers of the Balkans might put up an effective defence against the Turks. The Byzantine emperors were forced to pay tribute to the Ottomans. In 1390 when Philadelphia, the last Byzantine outpost in Asia Minor, fell, the first to enter it, according to one source, were the emperors Manuel II and John VII, who were doing service in the Ottoman army (Chalk. 64). Meanwhile, Thessalonike had surrendered in 1387, although it was to return to the Byzantines in 1403 for a brief period. On 15 June 1389, the battle of Kosovo Polje broke the resistance of the Serbs. Bayezid Yildirim (Bolt of Lightning), who became sultan after the death of his father, Murad, in this battle, was to prove a formidable enemy.

Civil strife and civil war were ever present, even as the Ottomans advanced. Poor economic conditions, as well as the threat of conquest, created a good breeding ground for civil strife, especially well documented in Thessalonike. However, the civil wars, which became endemic after 1373, had no discernible social component. They were dynastic wars, pitting the princes of the royal house against each other and against the emperor John V. The aristocracy vied for control of a rapidly declining state and equally declining resources. The wars involved Genoa and Venice, in

fierce competition over dwindling trade, and the Ottomans as well. They sapped any internal strength the Byzantine Empire might still have. In 1382 there were three capitals of the Byzantine Empire: one in the town of Selymbria, under Andronikos IV Palaiologos and his son John VII, one in Thessalonike under Manuel (eventually emperor Manuel II, 1391–1425), and one in Constantinople, where John V ruled. The declining power of the state was, to some extent, picked up by the Church, whose authority extended over much larger areas, and whose economic strength, especially that of the monasteries of Mt Athos, increased through gifts by Stephen Dušan and the Ottomans, turning it into the richest institution by far in the Empire.

In 1394 the Ottomans blockaded Constantinople, and the fall of the city looked imminent. Manuel II went west to look for help. Indeed, Byzantine emperors had been hoping for succour from western Europe ever since the rise of the Ottomans became evident. A few westerners, among them the Venetian Marino Sanudo Torsello, had recognized the threat the Turks posed to Europe already in the early fourteenth century (Laiou 1972: 312–14). However, the popes, on whom much depended, tied the granting of aid to the healing of the Schism on the papacy's terms, an abomination in the eyes of the majority of Byzantines. John V had made a personal conversion to Catholicism, with very few results. A chivalresque crusade in 1396 had ended in disaster at Nikopolis: The king of France did send to Constantinople a small force under Marshall Boucicault in 1399; but Manuel II's three-year stay in Europe brought no tangible results (Barker 1969: 167–99). The blockade of Constantinople ended only because of the reappearance of the Mongols on the international scene. Timurlane, posing as the champion of the Seljuk emirates, fought and won a great battle against Bayezid in Ankara, in 1402. The sultan was, so it is said, placed in an iron cage and paraded throughout Timur's domains. The Ottoman state entered a period of upheaval and civil war, affording the Byzantines both a breathing space and some territories, notably Thessalonike and Chalkidike, parts of Thrace and the Bulgarian coast, and a few islands. By 1422, however, Mehmet I had reorganized the Ottoman state, and his son, Murad II, was able to take Thessalonike (which had been given to the Venetians in 1423) by assault in 1430, while Ioannina surrendered; thus its inhabitants were spared the killing and enslavement and the city the destruction that was the common fate of those who resisted, like Thessalonike and, later, Constantinople. The monasteries of Mt Athos had surrendered already in 1423–4 (Oikonomides 1976a: 10).

The advance of the Ottoman forces led the emperor John VIII to agree to the union of the Catholic and Orthodox churches. It was proclaimed in Florence on 5 July 1439; a unionist mass was sung in Constantinople on 12 December 1452; but the people never accepted the Union. When Mehmet II came to the throne, Constantinople was isolated, depopulated, and impoverished. On 7 April 1453 he laid siege to the city. The Ottoman army, including the irregular troops, must have numbered well over the 150,000 regular soldiers that are attested. Constantinople was defended by 5,000 native troops, and about 2,000 foreigners—mostly

Genoese and Venetians. Furthermore, Mehmet II had cannon; that the city withstood the siege for over seven weeks is a tribute to its fabled walls and to the heroism of its defenders, very much including the emperor Constantine XI. When the sultan offered him the Morea and his life in exchange for the city, Constantine XI is said to have replied: ‘surrendering the City is not in my power, nor in that of its other inhabitants; all of us, with a common will and purpose will die, with no regard for our lives’ (Doukas 351). The emperor was killed in the last battle. The city was taken on 29 May 1453. It was mercilessly looted and destroyed, while its inhabitants were killed or enslaved. Soon thereafter, Mehmet began the process of reconstruction and repopulation, while Gennadios Scholarios, the most ardent opponent of Church Union, became patriarch.

The fall of Constantinople was followed by the conquest of the Despotate of the Morea (1460) and the Empire of Trebizond (1461). Although the Byzantine Empire had been declining rapidly for a century, it was the fall of Constantinople that signalled its end, both among the Orthodox peoples and in western Europe. Under Mehmet II and his successors, a huge empire was reborn on the ruins of the Byzantine Empire. The replacement of the weak Orthodox states of the Balkans and Asia Minor by a large, powerful, multinational, imperial state was an event of historic significance. In the late Middle Ages, after 1204, there had been signs that local, viable states with relatively compact populations might have replaced the large, multinational Byzantine Empire: Nicaea in Asia Minor, Serbia, Bulgaria, and the Palaiologan state in the Balkans. The Ottoman conquests put an end to that possibility. Thus, the area did not undergo the long and slow process of state- and nation-building that took place in western Europe. Instead, that process, abbreviated and slow to complete, began again in the nineteenth century.

To western Europe, the late Byzantine Empire made one last but major contribution. The Empire of Nicaea, like the Komnenian empire before it, could boast many intellectuals. In the Palaiologan empire, philology, philosophy, history, and art flourished. To Renaissance Italy, the dying empire contributed not only manuscripts and texts, but also significant numbers of scholars and humanists, such as Cardinal Bessarion and, for a short time, during and just after the Union of Ferrara–Florence, George Gemistos Plethon. Based as it was upon Greek letters, the Renaissance owes a great deal to the scholars trained in Byzantium.

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COMMUNICATIONS

ROADS AND BRIDGES

KLAUS BELKE

THE Romans were not the first road builders in history, but they were the first to attempt to cover the whole empire up its frontiers with a systematic and dense network of carefully engineered and well-maintained roads (Schneider 1982: 1–2). As the Byzantine empire is the Roman empire of the east, Byzantine roads are in effect the Roman roads of the eastern provinces, which the Byzantines in the course of their history little by little adapted to changing circumstances, needs, and means. We will restrict ourselves here to the central regions of the Byzantine Empire, the Balkan peninsula and Asia Minor. The following points will be treated:

I. The main routes of the Byzantine empire; II. the purposes of road-building, their users, the means of travel; III. road administration, Byzantine road-building and repairing activities; IV. different levels of roads and their Byzantine designations; V. the archaeological aspect of roads, bridges, staging posts.

MAIN ROUTES

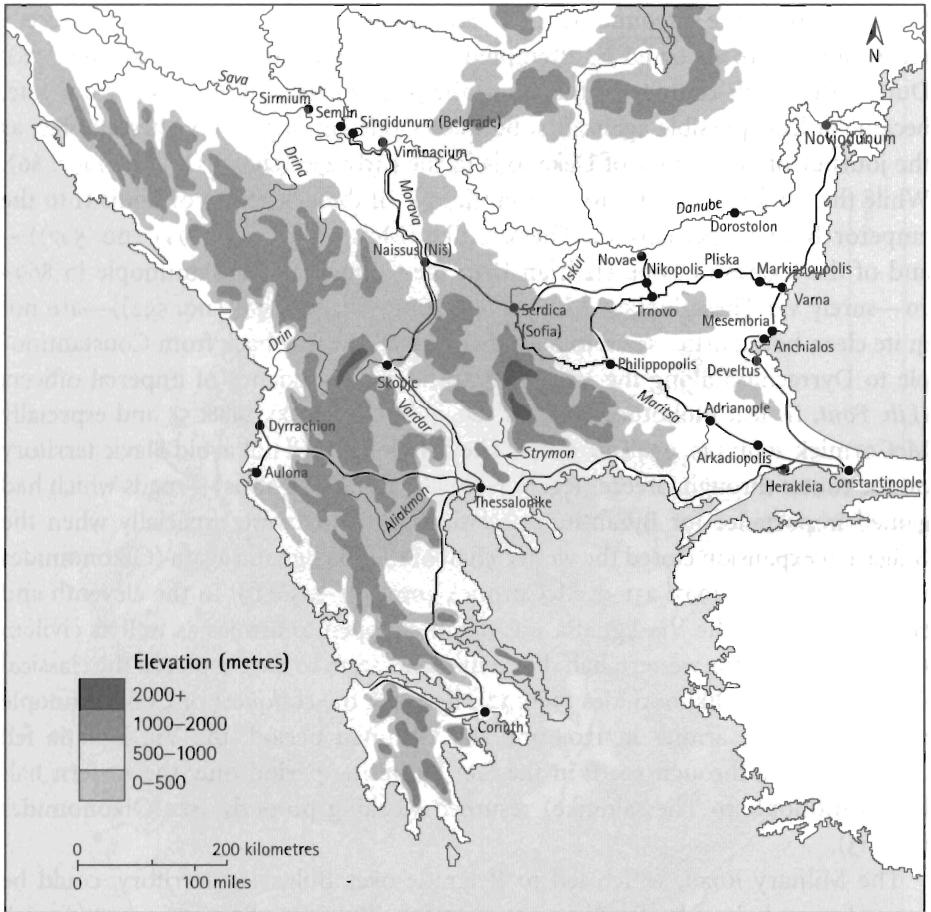
The main lines of overland communication in the eastern provinces of the Roman Empire remained essentially unchanged until the shrinking frontiers of the Byzantine Empire cut them off; with some modifications they were continued or

resumed under Ottoman rule (for the Via Egnatia, the Military Road, and roads in Asia Minor described below, see Zachariadou 1996; Jireček 1877: 113–38 and Popović 2006; Taeschner 1924: 77–150). The network of roads in the later Roman imperial and the early Byzantine periods can be reconstructed above all from the late antique and early Byzantine itineraries, especially the so-called *Itinerarium Antonini* (late 3rd/early 4th cent.), the *Itinerarium Burdigalense* (333 CE, describing the road from Burdigala (Bordeaux) to Jerusalem via Constantinople), and the *Tabula Peutingeriana*, the only *itinerarium pictum* that has been preserved in a medieval copy (late Roman empire, with additions until the mid-5th cent.) (Cuntz 1929; Weber 1976; Avramea 2002: 63–4). For this early period written sources are to be completed by epigraphical sources such as road inscriptions and milestones (for Asia Minor see French 1988), which, however, virtually cease to exist after the beginning of the sixth century, and observation of extant road surfaces and bridges. Continuation of use and modifications of the network in later periods must be deduced from all kinds of historical, documentary, and hagiographic sources, including Arabic geographers and historians (especially Ibn Khurdadhibih, Ibn Hauqal, al-Muqaddasi, and al-Idrisi).

1. *Balkans*: There were two main arteries for long-distance traffic in the northern Balkans, the Via Egnatia and the so-called Military Road. The Via Egnatia, virtually a continuation of the Via Appia from Rome to Brindisi and expressly called a *via militaris* (Šašel 1997: 238 (nos. 1, 3, 5), 241), was the main overland route from the Adriatic Sea (Dyrrachion and Apollonia (Aulona) to Thessalonike and Constantinople (C. Mango in *ODB*, under ‘Egnatia, Via’; Belke 2002: 73 n. 2; Avramea 1996; 2002: 68–72; Fasolo 2003 (each with references to sources and secondary literature)).

Several roads from central Europe, northern Italy, and Dalmatia met at Sirmium (Sremska Mitrovica) or Singidunum (Belgrade). The so-called Military Road went from Singidunum across the Balkan peninsula via Naissus (Niš), Serdica (Sofia), and Adrianople (Edirne) also to Constantinople (Jireček 1877: 10–55; Avramea 2002: 65; for the section in Thrace, Soustal 1991: 132–5); the (modern) name is based on a (wrong) application of the *viae militares* of Thrace, mentioned in three identical Latin inscriptions and found on three different roads (Šašel 1977: 239 (nos. 12–14), 242), to the Military Road exclusively (Jireček 1877: 5, 7; Popović 2006: 47–8).

Another militarily important road followed the southern shore of the Danube river. At least five roads leading from north to south over passes of the Balkan mountains connected this Danube road with the Military Road and the Via Egnatia; one of them, which regained importance in the tenth century (*De Adm. Imp.*, ch. 42), was identical with the Military Road (between Belgrade and Niš), where it branched off to Thessalonike via Scupi (Skopje). For these roads see, for example, Beševliev 1969; Škrivanić 1977: 120–9; Schreiner 1986: 27 (map), 31–5; Hendy 1985: 82 (map 17); Avramea 2002: 66–7; for sections in Thrace Soustal 1991: 139–46.



Map 9 Major roads in the Balkans, 7th–12th centuries

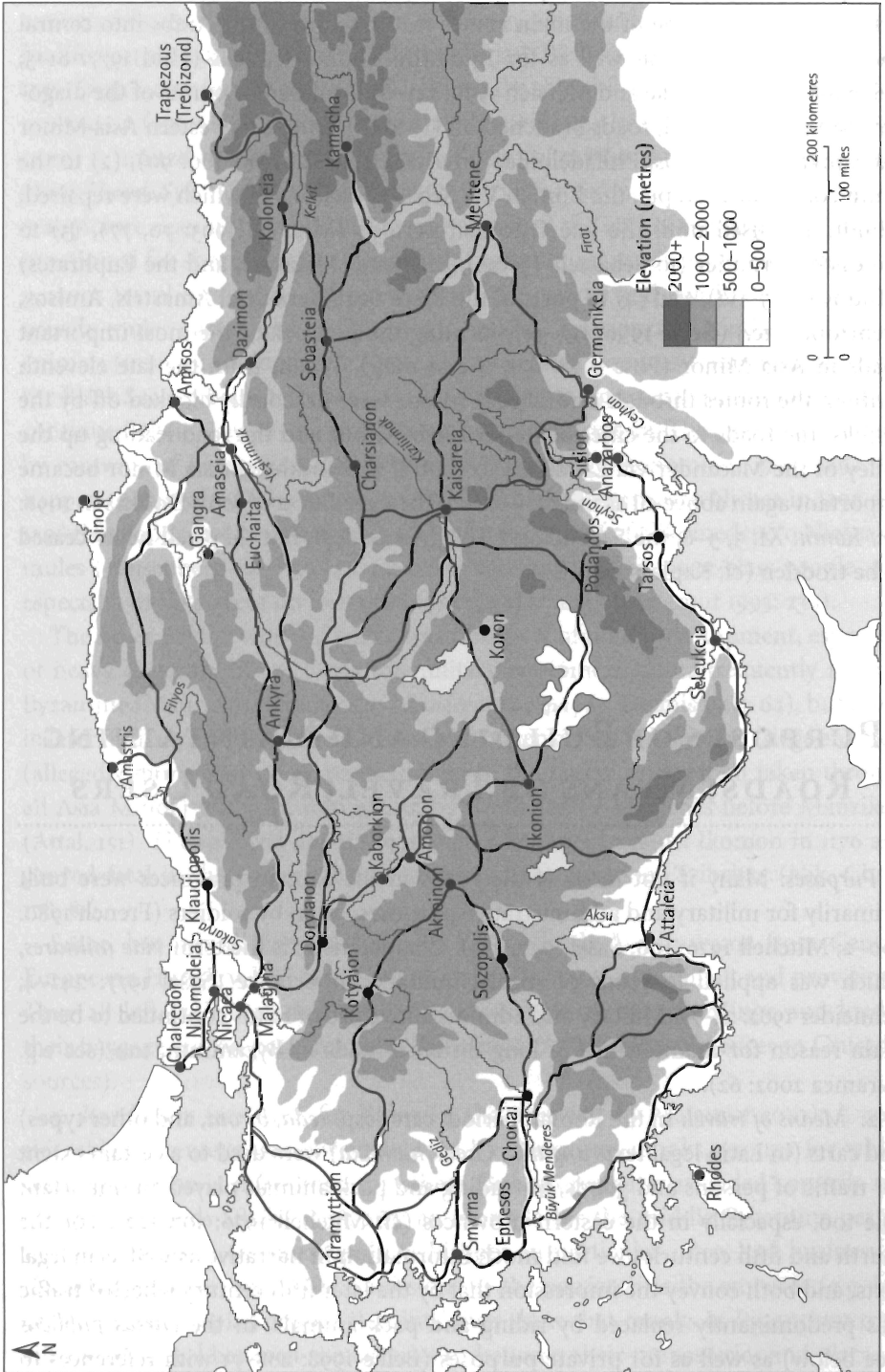
Road connections to Greece followed more or less the coastlines, or some parallel valleys, of the Adriatic and the Ionian Sea in the west and, more importantly, of the Aegean Sea in the east (Škrivanić 1977: 129–33, 136 (map)); Koder and Hild 1976: 90–2; Soustal 1981: 88, 90–3; Avramea 2002: 72).

In spite of the numerous invasions from which the Balkan peninsula suffered from the third century onwards, this network of major roads was more or less maintained, until all lines of communication were interrupted in the immediate hinterland of Constantinople as a consequence of the conquest by Avars and Slavs in the west, Bulgarians in the east (Schreiner 1986: 35; Obolensky 1988: 50; McCormick 2001: 67–74). All communication with the west, which usually had gone along the Via Egnatia, was replaced by sea traffic (Obolensky 1988: 50; Oikonomides 1996: 9; Belke 2002: 74–6; overwhelming abundance of material in McCormick 2001: appendix 4). It was only in the late seventh and especially in the eighth and ninth centuries that, with the slow reconquest and repopulation of the hinterland of

Constantinople, the surroundings of Thessalonike, and also some areas of Greece, a reactivation of roads could be attempted (Oikonomides 1996: 10; Belke 2002: 76). During the ninth century traffic along the Via Egnatia, although far from safe, became at least possible again, first between Constantinople and Thessalonike, as the journey of St Gregory of Dekapolis in the early 830s shows (Makris 1997: 86). While the (different) routes to Constantinople of the delegation of Louis II to the emperor Basil I—perhaps via Thessalonike (McCormick 2001: 943 (no. 597))—and of the legates of Pope Hadrian II to the Council of Constantinople in 869–70—surely via Thessalonike (McCormick 2001: 144, 560, 941 (no. 592))—are not quite clear, both parties seem to have marched all the way back from Constantinople to Dyrrachion along the Via Egnatia under the guidance of imperial officers (*Lib. Pont.* II. 184; Bibliothecarius, *PL* 129. 39B; Obolensky 1988: 58 and especially McCormick 2001: 145, 944 (no. 601)). They obviously did not avoid Slavic territory on the routes through Greece (e.g. to Naupaktos and/or Patras)—roads which had gained importance for Byzantium's relations with the west, especially when the Bulgarian expansion closed the western half of the Via Egnatia again (Oikonomides 1996: 12; Kislinger 1997: 231–9; McCormick 2001: 531–7, 561 f.). In the eleventh and twelfth centuries the Via Egnatia was definitely open to armies as well as civilian travellers, but in the western half different tracks seem to have replaced the classical line of the road (Oikonomides 1996: 12). Between the conquest of Constantinople by the Crusader armies in 1204 and the Ottoman period, the Via Egnatia fell out of use as a through road; in the late Byzantine period only the eastern half (Constantinople to Thessalonike) resumed working properly (see Oikonomides 1996: 13).

The Military Road, which led to Belgrade over Bulgarian territory, could be opened as a whole only after the conquest of the Bulgarian Empire in 1018 (Jireček 1877: 81); it was soon to be trodden by pilgrims, especially from Central Europe (Runciman 1969: 75), and by various Crusader armies.

2. *Asia Minor*: The first Roman roads in Asia Minor radiated from Ephesos, capital of the province of Asia (French 1980: 706–7). But as early as the third century CE the main road through Asia Minor (often called the Pilgrims' Road, because from the fourth century it was the main land connection for pilgrims to the Holy Land) and, in fact, the continuation of the main arteries of the Balkans, began in Chrysopolis or Chalcedon opposite Byzantium and crossed Asia Minor diagonally to Syria via Nikomedeia, Nicaea, Ankyra, Koloneia (Aksaray), the Pylai Kilikias (near Podandos (Pozantı)), and Tarsos (French 1981; Belke 1984: 93–7; Hild 1977: 33–59; Hild and Hellenkemper 1990: 132–3). In the middle Byzantine period variants of this large transversal via Dorylaion (Eskişehir), Amorion (or, alternatively, Kotyaion (Kütahya) and Philomelion (Akşehir)) and Ikonion (Konya) replaced the old Pilgrim's Road via Ankyra. Short-cuts avoided the circuit of the Gulf of Nikomedeia by a ship passage from Constantinople to Helenopolis (Hersek) (Prok. *SH* 30, 8–9) or Pylai (near Yalova) (see e.g. Kaplan 2000: 83, 89–93; Lefort 1995:



Map 10 Major routes in Asia Minor, 7th–12th centuries

210–15; 2003: 469–70). The line Pylai Kilikias (Cilician Gates)–Ikonion–Amorion–Dorylaion was also one of the main routes for invasions of the Arabs into central and western Anatolia, as well as for Byzantine counter-attacks (Hild 1977: 61–3; Belke 1984: 97–101; Belke and Mersich 1990: 141–8). At different points of the diagonal road just described, roads branched off (1) to the centres of western Asia Minor (Adramyttion, Ephesos, Philadelphia, Smyrna, etc.) (Kaplan 2000: 90), (2) to the south coast (for example, the Roman Via Sebaste, sections of which were repaired, rebuilt, and used until the late Ottoman period) (Mitchell 1993: 70, 77), (3) to the eastern frontier (to Sebasteia (Sivas), Melitene (Malatya), and the Euphrates) (Hild 1977: 65–112), and (4) to ports of the Black Sea (Herakleia, Amastris, Amisos, Trebizond, etc.) (Belke 1996: 117–34), forming the network of the most important roads in Asia Minor (Foss 1998: 422–4 and map). When, from the late eleventh century, the routes through central Asia Minor were practically blocked off by the Seljuks, the roads to the cities of western Asia Minor and the road leading up the valley of the Maeander via Laodikeia to central and southern Asia Minor became important again above all as military roads (the expedition of John Doukas in 1098: *An. Komn.* XI. 5, 3–6; the Second and Third Crusades), but they had never ceased to be trodden (cf. Kaplan 2000: 88).

PURPOSES OF BUILDING AND MAINTAINING ROADS; MEANS OF TRAVEL; ROAD USERS

1. *Purposes*: Many if not most of the roads in the Roman provinces were built primarily for military and administrative purposes, often by soldiers (French 1980: 700–2; Mitchell 1976: 106; Šašel 1977: 235). Characteristic is the term *viae militares*, which was applied to roads of special military importance (Šašel 1977: 242–4; Schneider 1982: 21–7). Military and administrative use of roads continued to be the main reason for maintenance of long-distance roads in Byzantium, too (see e.g. Avramea 2002: 62).

2. *Means of travel*: In the Roman period, cars (esp. *reda*, *birota*, and other types) and carts (in Latin legal texts *angaria*, Greek *hamaxa*) were used to a certain extent for traffic of persons and goods, but riding and pack animals played an important role too, especially in the eastern provinces (cf. Mitchell 1976: 107, 122). For the fourth and fifth centuries we find much information in narrative as well as in legal texts, and both convey the impression that by the later fifth century wheeled traffic was predominantly replaced by riding and pack animals, in the *cursus publicus* (see below) as well as for private purposes (Belke 1998: 268–71 with references to constitutions and other sources). This impression is confirmed by one of the most

instructive sources for many aspects of everyday life and society in the Anatolian countryside, the *vita* of St Theodore of Sykeon, who was born in and spent most of his life near a staging post on the Pilgrims' Road. Well-to-do persons used horses for travelling; ladies (one instance only), litters; the saint himself usually rode a donkey or went on foot. Once a mule is mentioned for riding. Use of carts (always drawn by oxen) is limited to local transport of agricultural products and building materials (*Vita Theod. Syk. I: passim*; Belke 1998: 273–5 with references to chapters). This general picture does not change fundamentally until the end of the empire. Carts are mentioned for short-distance transport of agricultural products in many instances; persons travel on foot or ride animals (in the middle and late Byzantine periods usually mules and donkeys rather than horses). Transport of goods was by pack animals (mules and donkeys). According to a twelfth-century source, goods from the Black Sea region, which were taken by sea first to Constantinople for inspection, continued their way to the great fair of St Demetrios in Thessalonike overland by caravans of horses and mules (*Timarion* 55, 126; Oikonomides 1993: 649). We happen to know from the two journeys of Nikolaos Mesarites to Nicaea in 1206 and 1208 that goods and people were brought from the gulf of Nikomedeia to Nicaea on mules (Heisenberg 1923: 39–42, 45; Belke 1998: 283). Most lower-class people, and especially monks, went on foot even for long distances (Malamut 1993: 234).

The other field of wheeled traffic was transport of military equipment, especially of heavy siege machines. Carts for military equipment occur frequently in early Byzantine (Maur. *Strat.*, index s.vv. *ἄμαξα* and *καργός*; Dennis 1985: 64), but rarely in later military treatises (Dennis 1985: 304). Oxen carts for *helepoleis* (siege engines) (allegedly more than 1,000; requisitioned in the region rather than taken through all Asia Minor) were put into action by Romanos IV Diogenes before Manzikert (Attal. 151). They slowed down the march of Manuel I against Ikonion in 1176 and proved fatal in the ensuing battle in the narrow gorges of Tzibritze (Nik. Chon. 178–81).

Some, but not all Crusader armies, especially those who came from Central Europe via Hungary, had carts with them for baggage, equipment, and provisions. They all left their carts behind before crossing over to Asia Minor and loaded their baggage etc. on pack animals (Belke 2002: 79–82, with references to Crusader sources).

3. *Road users* (see now, for Bithynia, the overview by Malamut 2003): A considerable percentage was always formed by clergy and monks, groups for which our information is richer than for others. Bishops regularly attended councils and (regional) synods (Belke 1998: 269; an example for the middle Byzantine period in Avramea 2002: 61); metropolitan bishops in particular often had business in Constantinople or were sent on missions by the patriarch or the emperor (e.g. Leo of Synada; see Kaplan 2000: 83); saints' lives show that monks in Byzantium travelled a great deal between monasteries or between their monasteries and places of pilgrimage and/or ecclesiastical centres, above all Constantinople (Malamut 1993).

Pilgrims also formed a considerable part of travelling laymen (Malamut 1993: 272). Last but not least there were merchants and farmers on their way to the markets (Malamut 1993: 274; Oikonomides 1993; Laiou 1990).

THE ADMINISTRATION OF ROADS

The *cursus publicus* (in Greek *demosios dromos*) unified Roman predecessor institutions ('requisitioned transport') into one system which, exclusively in the interest of the State (1) served the needs of the empire's intelligence service, (2) provided transportation and travel facilities for high-ranking civil and military officers, and (3) was used for transport of certain taxes in gold and silver as well as of military equipment, especially from the state-run *fabricae* (Kolb 2000: 53–70, 96–8). Details are known above all from constitutions of emperors of the fourth and fifth centuries, which are collected in the *Codex Theodosianus* (VIII. 5, 1–66) and the *Codex Iustinianus* (XII. 50, 1–23), reprinted in Stoffel 1994 with a German translation and commentary. Transport of heavy loads, the *cursus clavulari(u)s* (*platys dromos*), as one of the tasks of the *cursus publicus*, was abolished during the later fifth century (*Cod. Iust.* XII. 50, 22; Stoffel 1994: 132, 159). The emperor Justinian I is blamed for having reduced considerably the (only remaining) *cursus velox* (*oxys dromos*) (Prok. *SH* 30, 1–11; Lyd. *De Mag.* III. 61; Belke 1998: 271–3).

Essential for the working of the *cursus publicus* was, of course, the maintenance of roads and bridges but also, along the main routes, the building and maintenance of hostels and stables with the necessary draught animals and beasts of burden. As we can see in the *Itinerarium Burdigalense*, there were hostels with larger stables and facilities to spend the night (*mansio*, in Greek *stathmos*, sometimes *pandocheion*) at intervals of on average of thirty-five kilometres, and in addition between them one or two stables, where animals could (or had to be) changed (*mutatio*, in Greek *allage*).

The (*oxys*) *dromos*, provided with public horses and staging posts, continued to be run by the state until the end of the early Byzantine period, and, subsequently under the supervision of the *logothetes tou dromou* and his subordinates, well into the middle Byzantine period (Hendy 1985: 608–13; Shepard 2000: 376–81; useful inventory of seals of the *logothetes tou [oxeos] dromou* and his subordinates in Koutava-Delivoria 1989: 184, 187–9 (tab. 2); Oikonomides 1972: 311) and even, if in a reduced form, the late Byzantine period. Stables and animals for the *cursus* and their fodder (and often accommodation for officials too) had, with exceptions during the early Byzantine period, to be provided by the provincials with or without recompense, certainly a heavy burden, as we happen to know from the Roman

and from all the Byzantine periods; construction and repair of roads and bridges was often achieved by compulsory labour (Stauridou-Zaphraka 1982: 25–38, 40–4 with rich references to sources). In the late Byzantine period, however, the emperor himself provided the necessary foodstuff for official delegations, which, in the instance of the delegation led by Theodore Metochites to King Uroš II Milutin in 1299, was apparently carried on carts, while the local population along the road had to offer shelter for the night (Theod. Met. *Presb.* 90–4; Malamut 1996). But in the later 1320s we hear of private inns along the Egnatia between Constantinople and Raïdestos (Tekirdağ) (Ahrweiler 1996: 11–13, 23–5).

Justinian I is the last emperor for whom we know of extensive building (or rather mending and repairing) activities in connection with roads, bridges, and hostels (facilities for the *cursus publicus*), though in reality his interventions were rather limited (Lounghis 1994–5: 37–9). They concern amongst others the end of the Via Egnatia near Constantinople (the road from Constantinople to Rhegion, the bridge over the Myrmex, the outlet of the lagoon lake of Küçük Çekmece: Prok. *Buildings* IV. 8, 4–9, 15–17; French 1993: 449) and above all the Pilgrims' Road (see Belke 2002: 117–20, 123) (for the Sangarios bridge see below). Later there are only some scattered direct testimonies for Byzantine road- and bridge-building, for example, the (re)building of the bridge of Rhegion (= Myrmex) by Basil I (*De Adm. Imp.*, ch. 51) or the repair of a bridge near the area Kırklareli–Vize in 769–75 (Soustal 1991: 421). That they did not cease becomes clear from the various forms of compulsory labour mentioned above, such as *hodoistrosia* (road-repairing) and *gephyroktisia* or *gephyrosis* (bridge-building).

BYZANTINE TERMINOLOGY

The Byzantines called the important highways by the traditional Roman or even Hellenistic designations, namely *basilike hodos* and *demosia* (or *demosiake*) *hodos*. For Byzantine ears at least the *basilike hodos* undoubtedly referred to the emperor's responsibility for maintenance and the provision of road facilities. The *demosia hodos* continues the Roman category of the *via publica*, to which all roads of some importance belonged (Radke 1973). Characteristic is the combination of the two terms in an early Byzantine hagiographic source (ἡ δημοσία σπράτα τοῦ βασιλικοῦ δρόμου, 'the public road of the imperial post', where, in the village of Sykeon, there was a *pandocheion* or staging post, *Vita Theod. Syk.* I: ch. 3 (p. 3)). Of course, every *basilike hodos* was a *demosia hodos* as well. From documents of the Athos monasteries it becomes clear that some roads—usually stretches of old long-distance roads—were called *basilikai*, others *demosiai*, but in the course of the

fourteenth century (and perhaps earlier) they were not clearly distinguished any more. Other designations refer either to the prevailing function of a (normally local) road, such as *agelodromion* (for herds), *hamaxegos* (for the farmers' oxen carts), or *xylophoricon* (for transport of wood from the forests), or to its physical aspect, such as *monopation* (a narrow path for pedestrians or pack animals) or *plakotos* (a paved road). As above all documents from Mount Athos prove, these local roads form an astonishingly dense network which was maintained into the Ottoman period (Lefort 1982; Belke 2002: 86–90 with reference to sources).

Before turning to the last point, the physical aspect of Byzantine roads, some conclusions from the presentation hitherto, which was based mainly on written sources, may be appropriate. Important roads, bridges, and road facilities such as hostels and inns, especially those which served the needs of the army and administration, were up to a certain degree kept in order. Along some long-distance roads which were of special importance for the army, even carts could be used, in the Balkans as well as in Asia Minor. The same is true for local roads, where markets had to be provisioned, building materials transported, and where local administration circulated.

ARCHAEOLOGY

The physical aspect of Roman roads and bridges is known quite well from innumerable publications (French 1981: 19–22; 1993: 446–8; Schneider 1982: 29–37 (with references); Gazzola 1963; O'Connor 1993; Fasolo 2003). Long-distance roads in the eastern provinces were broad (usually more than 6.50 m, except for unfavourable terrain) with a central spine; paving consisted of comparatively small stones that did not form a very smooth surface. Wheel-ruts are frequently observed (French 1980: 703 (where read 6.50 m instead of 3.50 m), 713; 1981: 19–22; 1993: 446). Some attempts to differentiate Roman from Byzantine roads have been made recently. According to French 1993, these highways would have been narrowed to non-vehicular 'roadways' in the Byzantine period, the paved surface of which was smoother, but stepped in mountainous stretches (which means in practice that they were not fit for vehicular traffic). This development would have begun during or after the reign of Justinian I, for whom the construction of some stretches of vehicular roads is attested by Prokopios (*Buildings* IV 8, 4–9; V 2, 6–8, 12–14; V 5, 1–3). Three examples of well-known roads illustrate this thesis: the road from Antioch to Beroea and Chalcis in northern Syria, the road from Tarsos to the Cilician Gates (today, after the destruction of many sections, best observable near Sağlıklı), and the Via Sebaste through the Döşeme defile from Pamphylia to Lycia.

Most instructive is the road in the Döşeme defile, where up to four layers of pavement from consecutive repairs or partial rebuildings were found (French 1990: 234; 1993: 448). The earliest observable layer belongs to the Via Sebaste (built by Augustus in 6 BCE (Levick 1967: 38–40; Mitchell 1993: 70, 77)), of which a milestone has been found *in situ* in the defile (Horsley and Mitchell 2000: 168). This Roman road was more than 6 m broad; the surface consisted of irregular stones that clearly show ruts of vehicles (French 1991: 163, figs. 11, 12; 1994: 33, 3, fig. 7). After at least two major repairs (and partial re-paving) during the Roman Empire, the whole stretch of the road was completely rebuilt in the early Byzantine period and used (therefore certainly repaired again) until the late Ottoman period. It was now much narrower (only up to c.3.50 m) and stepped; the edges are made of comparatively large blocks; the pavement between the edges consists of smaller blocks which are laid much more carefully than the Roman surface, but (using a certain amount of blocks from the Roman predecessors) not as regularly as the examples of the Tarsos or the Antioch roads (French 1990: 233–5; 1993: 448; 1994: 31; Aydal, Mitchell, and Vandeput 1997: 283; Hellenkemper and Hild 2004: 273–5, 643, 719).

The surfaces of the other two roads which French dates to the early Byzantine period look a little different. The surface of the Tarsos–Cilician Gates road near Sağlıklı is made of carefully laid square blocks which form a smooth surface; at the edges there is a raised kerb. The width (3.00 to 3.50 m) is similar to that of the Döşeme road, and uphill sections are equally equipped with steps. An arch built over the road near Sağlıklı is to be dated to the fifth or sixth centuries (Hellenkemper and Hild 1986: 96); it fits the width of the road and should therefore, according to French 1993: 451 n. 32, be contemporary (at least not earlier).

It seems plausible, therefore, that the rebuilding of the Döşeme road as well as the Tarsos–Cilician Gates road should be dated to the early Byzantine period (probably 6th cent.), when there was no more need for wheeled long-distance traffic. If these examples can be generalized, Byzantine long-distance roads in Asia Minor as well as in the Balkans (similar observations were made at the Via Egnatia, cf. French 1993: 449), where rebuilt, became narrower, were given a smoother surface, and were (because of steps) no longer designed for wheeled traffic. Crusader armies could still march along the Via Militaris with their carts, but Crusader sources describe stretches of this road as rocky and mountainous, or as swampy; sometimes carts were therefore more of a hindrance than useful (Belke 2002: 76–9 with references).

Bridges of the Byzantine period show no remarkable differences from Roman ones; there are therefore not many bridges of undisputedly Byzantine origin. They usually still have round, sometimes flat arches. One of the best-preserved Byzantine bridges, Justinian's famous bridge over the 'Sangarios', is still standing virtually intact (Whitby 1985); today it does not lead over the Sangarios, but over the Çark Suyu (Byz. Melas) south-west of Adapazarı; in spite of a different interpretation that has appeared recently (Şahin 1999), it should still be regarded as Justinian's Sangarios bridge (see provisionally Belke 2000: 120). Despite its slightly pointed

arch, the Karamağara Köprü over the Arapkır Çayı was built in the fifth to sixth centuries (Hild 1977: 144).

The only late Roman or early Byzantine staging post (*mutatio* or, more probable, *mansio*) that is preserved more or less intact lies at the southern entrance of the Döşeme defile (see above). It is a large two-storeyed house, which is built around a central courtyard with a central main entrance that leads directly to the court and two smaller side doors (French 1994: 31–3, 34–6, figs. 1, 3–6; Aydal, Mitchell, and Vandeput 1997: 283; Hellenkemper and Hild 2004: 719).

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POPULATION,
DEMOGRAPHY,
AND DISEASE

DIONYSIOS STATHAKOPOULOS

WHEN dealing with the demography of the Byzantine Empire it is best to begin with a grim statement: 'It is not possible to procure exact population figures at any time for any territory within the realm of Byzantine culture or the Byzantine state because of the lack of historical documentation' (Koder 1984/2001: 150). Exact quantification is impossible, while specific numbers reflecting the magnitude of population that appear in scholarly works on the Byzantine Empire are often based on subjective estimates and are thus misleading (Charanis 1966; Laiou 2002: 47–9). Therefore the figures that will be given in this overview are meant only as indicating plausible orders of magnitude and should not be taken at face value. Taking as a starting point an average population density of 15 inhabitants per km² (9 per km² for periods in which there is reason to believe that large parts of the state were less densely populated) and multiplying them with the estimated size of the territory occupied by the state in each period one may arrive at reasonably likely results (for the calculation of these indicators see Issawi 1981: 377; Koder 1984/2001: 153; 1987).

In the course of the eleven centuries of its existence the Byzantine Empire underwent major territorial fluctuations, frequently with demographic consequences. These were by no means linear in a direction of growth or decline. Other important factors that influenced the movement of population within the empire included warfare and major epidemics.

The Late Roman Empire covered vast amounts of territory (estimated at 3.8 million km²; Issawi 1981: 377) and enjoyed a prolonged period of economic prosperity and demographic expansion between the death of Augustus (14 CE) and the second century. During this phase population density was situated in the upper possible margins of pre-modern times (at roughly 20 inhabitants per km²) with a total population in the magnitude of 74.9 million (Issawi 1981: 377). The anarchy and general economic disarray of the third century will have taken its toll on the population, but we can safely assume that at the beginning of the Byzantine period, in the early fourth century, the demographic state of the empire was similar to that in the second century.

After the *de facto* separation of the empire into its eastern and western components, the eastern part while in effect losing territory enjoyed a period of demographic and economic expansion. This is reflected in the proliferation and growth of urban centres and rural settlement centres (Liebeschuetz 2001: 29–103; Alston 2001; Banaji 2001: 20–1). In an estimated realm covering some 1.4 million km² with a population density at 20 inhabitants per km² this would amount to roughly 28 million inhabitants (Koder 1984/2001: 154, between 24 and 26 million; Stein 1949–51: 154, 26 million). The fourth and fifth centuries were characterized by a growth that was supported not just by the political and military drive of the empire but also by a prolonged favourable climatic episode (Geyer 2002: 42–3). During this period Constantinople constantly grew in size and population, a fact suggested among other things by the enlargement of the area contained in the city (about 700 hectares) through the construction of the new Theodosian walls around 413. At its peak the city held a population estimated at 400,000 or higher (Jacoby 1961: 107–9; Mango 1985: 51; Müller 1993). Other important cities of the eastern Mediterranean such as Antioch and Alexandria continued to maintain a large population, the first with 150,000 to 200,000 inhabitants, the latter with 200,000 to 300,000 (Liebeschuetz 1972: 92–6). The positive trend continued, with varying regional intensity, up to the reign of Justinian. The emperor's expansionist policies brought territorial gains to the empire; however, the cost in terms of loss of life, massive depopulation of countryside, and financial strains was great.

The outbreak of the so-called Justinianic Plague (541–750) represents a watershed for the demographic development of the Byzantine state. The pandemic ravaged the Mediterranean world in some eighteen waves, on average one every twelve years, causing large-scale mortality (Stathakopoulos 2004: 111–55; Conrad 1981; Little 2007). The infection traversed the extensive and well-functioning network of land and maritime routes and spread in both urban and rural environments. The eastern Mediterranean was hit more often and in general harder than the west. Major urban centres, such as Constantinople, lost up to 20 per cent of their population during the first visitation in 542. Mortality seems to have diminished somewhat with time, but because the infection was a recurrent phenomenon it had a negative effect on the population's natural mechanism of reaction to such a catastrophe:

children born during the inter-epidemic periods succumbed to renewed outbreaks and thus slowed down the demographic replacement patterns. Already by the late sixth century there was a shortage of human resources (Teall 1959: 92). However, the full effects of the plague as well as that of continuous warfare became evident in the course of the next centuries. The huge empire that was secured through Justinian's *reconquista* was seriously challenged in the first half of the seventh century. Egypt, Palestine, and Syria were first lost to the Persians and then, from the 640s onwards along with Northern Africa, irrevocably to the Arabs. Moreover, the Lombards captured large parts of Italy. By the end of the seventh century the Byzantine empire was left with almost half of its territory compared to 565 (roughly 1.3 million km², substantial parts of which, were then not, strictly speaking, under direct Byzantine rule). Warfare devastated the countryside in Asia Minor; rural populations were often displaced and this lack of security certainly had a negative effect on the rates of reproduction. There are indications that suggest that the surviving Byzantine territory was less densely populated than before. Although the Egyptian grain was lost and the *annona* stopped in 618–19, there are no recorded serious subsistence crises in Constantinople up to at least the early tenth century; this suggests a significant population decline (Mango 1985: 54; Kislinger 1995: 292–3). Furthermore, there is a significant drop in the number of subsistence crises in the seventh and eighth centuries throughout the empire compared to the period before that, indicating a population that did not put pressure on the available resources (Stathakopoulos 2004: 23–34). For that we may assume that large parts of the empire were less densely populated (at 9 inhabitants per km²) with an overall estimated population of 12 million (13 million in 800—Russell 1958: 149; 7 million in the 780s—Treadgold 1997: 570).

Another aspect of the demography of the period that needs to be addressed is the one connected with the widespread phenomenon of urban decline. In reality this was not necessarily an indicator of demographic catastrophe: a number of cities persisted, others perished, but this decline went side by side with the rise in the importance of village communities. As such it represents a restructuring of the existing economic and social model (Kazhdan and Epstein 1985: 1–10; Lefort, Morrisson, and Sodini 2005). The population did not perish altogether, nor did it decline as dramatically as portrayed by the older literature. The last wave of the plague, 745–9, again brought about devastation in the empire (Stathakopoulos 2004: 111–55; Conrad 1981; Little 2007). Constantinople needed to be repopled with whole families from Greece and the Aegean islands, later on even with craftsmen who were brought to the city to repair Valens' aqueduct which had been destroyed by the Avars in 626 (Ditten 1993: 318–28), although the city's population never shrank to such an extent that it could subsist from its own resources (Teall 1959: 104–5).

Recovery, both demographic and economic, from the early ninth century onwards was fast and led to a period of stability, consolidation of territory, and

economic growth. Between 850 and 1000 there is evidence for the regression of woodland in favour of arable land, an indication of a growing population (Dunn 1992: 242–8; Lefort 2002: 269). Under the Macedonians (867–1054) the Byzantine Empire entered a phase of territorial expansion which culminated in the reign of Basil II: north Syria, Crete and Cyprus, Armenia, and finally Bulgaria were captured and annexed to the state, which now included an area of about 1.2 million km² (Koder 1984/2001: 153; Issawi 1981: 387). Again there are indications of a growing population (Charanis 1966: 16). Subsistence crises began to cause serious problems once more. The terrible winter of 927–8 brought on massive mortality, caused primarily by famine (Kaplan 1992: 421–2, 461–2), while there were also drought-induced subsistence crises in the 960s (Telelis 2003). Furthermore, from the tenth century onwards there are clear signs that the rising aristocracy is competing for more land. This drive, however, presupposes the abundance of agricultural labour (Ostrogorsky 1931: 233). Therefore we may safely assume that around 1025, although the empire occupied more or less the same amount of territory as in 750, it was more densely populated (at *c.* 20 inhabitants per km²) and all in all more populous at roughly 18 million (between 10 and 18 million—Koder 1984/2001: 153; 19 million around 1025—Laiou 2002: 50–1; 18 million around 1050—Stein 1949–51: 154).

The positive demographic trend continued well into the early fourteenth century, but this movement was punctuated by an almost steady decline of territory. The 1070s saw the final loss of Italy and Sicily while the disaster at Manzikert (1071) became an overture to the gradual loss of Anatolia. Under Alexios I (1081–1118) there was a respite: with the aid of Crusaders the Seljuks were held back in Asia Minor. During the next fifty years territories in Asia Minor were regained and the situation in the Balkans stabilized. The year 1176 signals the final, failed, Byzantine attempt to regain Asia Minor; from then on the Byzantine Empire became an increasingly European state. The twelfth century was nevertheless a period of internal prosperity (Harvey 1989: 47–67). Cities within the empire were as populous as they had last been in the pre-plague sixth century: Constantinople flourished again, holding perhaps a population of about 300,000 to 400,000 while Thessalonike held some 150,000 (Magdalino 2002: 535; Treadgold 1997: 702)

The last centuries of the Byzantine Empire were marked by a steady loss of territory. The interregnum of the Latin Kingdom at Constantinople (1204–61) unleashed centrifugal powers: there was widespread migration to Nicaea, Trebizond, Epiros, or the Morea, while Italian merchant colonies thrived at Constantinople and elsewhere. After the restoration of Byzantine imperial power in Constantinople (1261) old territory was gradually reclaimed from foreign powers. The area held by the state around 1280 was roughly one-quarter of what it had occupied in 1025: at about 350,000 km² it included a population ranging between 3 and 5.5 million (Koder 1984/2001: 153). The capital itself had been seriously depopulated (Talbot 1993: 245–6).

By 1300 large parts of Asia Minor were irrevocably lost together with major Aegean regions. The civil wars (1321–5 and 1341–6) devastated the countryside and were one of the most important factors that led to a considerable decline in the rural communities of Macedonia even before the 1340s, largely due to migration (Laiou-Thomadakis 1977: 223–66). The trend continued well into the fifteenth century (Jacoby 1962: 180). It is exactly this period, from the late thirteenth century to the early 1340s, which is uniquely rich in records on the demography of the Byzantine countryside. A number of surviving fiscal documents, concentrated on monastic estates in Macedonia, give us a rare insight into the size of rural habitats and the structure of the population that they held. They reflect a young population with a low life expectancy at birth, increasing significantly for those who survived the dangerous years of infancy (Laiou 2002: 51–2; Laiou-Thomadakis 1977: 267–98, esp. table VII-3). Of the females 71 per cent would have died before reaching the age of 45 and 74 per cent of the males would not have passed the age of 50 (Laiou-Thomadakis 1977: 296). The hearth-coefficient of these populations was set within the frame of 3 to 4.5, lower than the figure used for calculations for the West (4–5; Jacoby 1962: 175–6; Laiou-Thomadakis 1977: table VI-5). An earlier sample from thirteenth-century Epiros provides a similar picture of a ‘demographically unstable society’: almost 30 per cent of the recorded couples married more than once, producing an average of 1.6 children (Laiou 1984: 280–3). Infant mortality must have been substantial. Data from Corinth in the early fourteenth century sets it at over 40 per cent (Barnes 2003: 441).

If we compare data on lifespans of the Late Byzantine population with earlier sample sets we can notice no significant changes. Late antique data supplied from skeletal remains give an average age at death of 36.5 (Talbot 1984: 276), 40–45 (males) and 30–35 (females) (Bourbou 2003: 304, table 1). A larger data set collected from burial inscriptions shows that more than half of the recorded population perished between the ages 25–34 (females) and 35–44 (males), while the rest of the survivors died between the ages 45–54 (females) and 55–64 (males) (Patlagean 1977: 97–8). Similar results are provided by later samples: Corinth, in the years 1050–1300 (34.8); Athens, Corinth, and Boeotia, 600–1400 (35.7 with men living on average 6.6. years longer); St Polyuktos in Constantinople, twelfth century (28.9); Kalenderhane Camii in Constantinople (37.3 for women and 46.2 for men) (Talbot 1984: 276). Attempts to chart lifespans of known individuals from written sources produce very different results. The average age of the emperors of some Byzantine dynasties was 60 (Macedonians), 61 (Komnenoi), and 57 (Palaiologoi). Palaiologan literati reached on average 67.3 years, while holy men and women of the period enjoyed an even longer lifespan at 80.4 years (Kazhdan 1982: 116–17; Talbot 1984: 279). It is obvious that all the above calculations produce only imprecise and general results.

Returning to the fourteenth century we encounter the plague striking for a second time. The pandemic known as the Black Death broke out in Asia, reached Constantinople in the late spring of 1347, and was soon disseminated westwards.

Until the fall of Constantinople to the Ottomans in 1453 the Byzantine Empire was hit by some eleven waves of the infection, aggravating the already critical demographic situation of the empire (Kostes 1995; Congourdeau 1998). Unfortunately no Byzantine document from the period of the Black Death has recorded any figures of mortality. In the West mortality from the first wave of the Black Death ranged roughly between 50 and 60 per cent, with lower figures in the later visitations (Benedictow 2004: 380–4). In Macedonia, one of the best-documented regions in the late Byzantine period because of the material already mentioned, there is evidence to suggest that the plague was one of the chief reasons behind the desertion of rural agglomerations (Lefort 1991: 79–81). At least in Greece the second half of the fourteenth century was marked by the highest number of deserted villages before the nineteenth century (Antoniadis-Bibicou 1965: 365). The demographic crisis caused by the first waves of the plague seemingly encouraged the mass migration of Albanians into the Peloponnese (Panagiotopoulos 1985: 59–85).

At the same time Serbian power was expanding in Macedonia and Thessaly, while the Byzantine Empire now consisted solely of Thrace around Constantinople, Thessalonike and its hinterland, some lands in the Peloponnese, and the Northern Aegean islands (though some of these were under Genoese rule). The 1350s signalled the advent of the Ottomans in Europe, gradually conquering important towns and territories, defeating both Serbs and Bulgarians by the end of the fourteenth century. In the last fifty years of its existence the Byzantine Empire became an even smaller, territorially insignificant state before it fell to the Ottomans in 1453. Constantinople held some 40,000 to 50,000 inhabitants in the fifteenth century, one-tenth of the population it had contained during its prime (Schneider 1949).

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II.6. SETTLEMENT

CHAPTER II.6.1

TOWNS AND CITIES

HELEN SARADI

BYZANTIUM inherited an enormous network of cities and towns from the Roman Empire; these formed centres of urban civilization and the basis of intense economic activity. In the early Byzantine period, urban life flourished and the population in cities and in rural communities increased until the last quarter of the sixth century, although the northern Balkan peninsula, which suffered devastation from repeated enemy invasions, constitutes an exemption (Patlagean 1977: 301–13; Sodini 1993: 182; Saradi 2006: 31–8, 464–70). This was also a period during which the empire underwent a profound transformation in the areas of religion, culture, and administration. A new world was emerging which radically changed the structure and concept of the city in a slow process that had begun in the fourth century. The model of the ancient city, characterized by political self-determination within the Roman Empire and by a distinct civic tradition, was disintegrating.

A major change was the Christianization of the cities (Brands and Severin 2003; Brenk 2003; Saradi 2006: 211 ff., 349–52). Christianity promoted new ideals and new social and moral values, all of which formed an opposition to the antique urban culture. The Church was also creating its own institutions. Christian martyria, basilicas, and monasteries were constructed at first in the cities' suburbs, and later inside the urban centres, along major avenues, at the sites of the *agorai* and pagan temples. Christian churches became the new urban landmarks, attracting funds from donors which in the past had been directed towards civic munificence (Saradi 2006: 385–439). The pagan temples were abandoned and many were destroyed by the adherents of the new religion. Their stones, columns and sculptural ornaments were removed and reused in new constructions, such as Christian churches,

fortifications, public and private buildings or were burnt for the production of lime (Saradi 2006: 355–84). By the sixth century the urban space had become profoundly Christianized: Christian symbols, among which the cross was prominent, were engraved on urban fortifications, securing protection for the cities, and on various urban buildings; Christian icons were placed above the doors of houses and shops.

The Church also played a leading social role in the cities by establishing philanthropic institutions for the poor and the sick, and hostels for pilgrims and foreigners, administered by bishops and monasteries (see III.11.6 Charitable institutions). Bishops as the spiritual leaders of the urban communities naturally rose to positions of power in the cities. They took initiatives in times of war, appealed for imperial intervention to address urgent civic needs, and took care of civic works, the maintenance and construction of civic buildings (Avramea 1987 and 1989; Feissel 1989; Liebeschuetz 2001a: 137–68). The bishop, together with influential members of the local communities (*protoi*, *proteuontes*—headmen; *ktetores*—patrons), formed a group responsible for appointing civic officers, such as the *curator*, the *sitones* (in charge of corn supplies), the *pater*, and the *defensor* (*ekdikos*). The appearance of these new leaders in the cities was a response to the decline of the decurions (*bouleutai*) and of the institution of the *boule*. Although their role in the cities was sanctioned by imperial legislation, the group of new urban leaders was not defined as an institution, as was the *boule*: the new administrative system was not uniform everywhere in the empire and lacked the formality of the earlier government by the *boule* (Liebeschuetz 2001a: 104–36; Saradi 2006: 151–85).

Major changes in urban administration introduced in the fourth century had weakened the old urban ruling class and the cities' financial independence. Each city subsequently financed building programmes and various civic activities (public spectacles and festivals) from its own budget which was derived from income from municipal properties donated and bequeathed by citizens, and from municipal taxes. In addition, the cities' leading citizens, the *bouleutai*, contributed to their municipalities with 'liturgies', motivated by local patriotism and generosity towards their fatherland. In the course of the fourth century cities began to decline financially since part of the municipal land and taxes was confiscated and attached to the emperor's *res privata*. In the past, the *bouleutai* had been responsible for cities' administration, the construction and maintenance of public buildings, the organization of public spectacles and festivals, the collection of taxes, the corn supply, etc. From the fourth century the provincial governors began to take the initiative in these areas of city administration (Lewin 1991: 99–134; Di Segni 1995: 317–23; Saradi 2006: 174–9). Consequently, the *bouleutai* lost the prestige and political power they had enjoyed. They escaped their obligations and the governors' abusive power by moving to Constantinople where they received offices at the imperial court by serving in the provincial administration, or by joining the clergy or the bar. The *boule* was declining as an institution and, after the fifth century, meetings

and deliberations are no longer attested. *Bouleutai*, however, are mentioned in the sources, but not in all cities and in declining numbers. Where they existed, they continued to serve their cities with their properties to which were attached municipal charges. Since they no longer represented a political institution, in the sources of the fifth and sixth century the term *politeuomenos*, designating the civic administrator, very often replaced the term *bouleutes*. The office of the *bouleutes* survived fossilized in peripheral areas of the empire (Egypt, Italy) with very limited responsibilities, to be officially abolished as irrelevant in the middle Byzantine period by emperor Leo VI (Novel XLVI).

The area in which the administrative changes had visible consequences was the cities' architectural appearance. From the fourth century fewer new civic buildings were constructed and the quality of the restoration works deteriorated. As public buildings fell out of use, they were abandoned and were allowed to decay. Imperial legislation (*Cod. Theod.* XV.1) describes the liquidation of civic properties and encroachment on public land. Porticoes were blocked off to create space for business activities; state officers and powerful persons illegally appropriated civic properties; provincial governors robbed architectural elements from civic buildings in small cities to decorate their provincial capitals; private persons petitioned for ownership of vacant civic buildings by payment. Numerous private structures, shops, workshops, and houses appeared on civic land and in public buildings: the urban landscape in the early Byzantine period is marked by the privatization of civic properties. The cities' antique monumentality was fading away to be replaced by numerous small businesses and dwellings. The legislative texts of the period repeatedly blame the decline of civic buildings on the greed of members of the upper class and the indifference and corruption of civic leaders and state officers (Bowden 2003: 166–70; Saradi 2006: 188–207).

Administrative changes have been long recognized as a major factor, often *the* factor for the cities' decline (Jones 1964: 757; Liebeschuetz 1972: 256–65). The topic recently evolved into a new debate with opposing conclusions (Whittow 1990; Liebeschuetz 2001*b*; Lavan 2001: 238–45). Cultural changes also played a role in the transformation of urban life. Gymnasia, attached to public baths, ceased to function after the fourth century. Theatrical performances of the Roman type in this age (mime and pantomime) and chariot races in the hippodromes were also declining. Violence in the hippodromes forced emperors repeatedly to ban the spectacles and deprived the cities of the funds allocated for them (Cameron 1976). Theatres and hippodromes were increasingly abandoned and robbed of their marble blocks. From the end of the early Byzantine period chariot races were performed only in the capital Constantinople, but deprived of their competitive nature and assuming a ceremonial function to complement imperial festivals (see III.13.5 Entertainments, theatre, and hippodrome). Baths continued to function throughout Byzantium's history, but they lost the social role they had played in antiquity (Mango 1981; Liebeschuetz 2001*a*: 203–20; Saradi 2006: 211–352). Shifting mental attitudes among

the upper classes also determined urban changes: the urban elites were culturally transformed. Their Christianization meant the decline of the classical *paideia* through which the antique culture and expressions of the antique urban life were maintained. The urban upper class was indifferent to the preservation of the earlier architectural appearance of the cities; display of public munificence was no longer a driving force for its members, who are repeatedly accused in the sources of promoting their private interest instead of that of the cities. The urban elites as a social class also changed. Participation in the senatorial order no longer depended on family status but on positions held in the imperial administration. The crisis that struck the urban elites is manifested in the decline of the aristocratic house of the Roman type (*domus*). All over the empire large houses of this sort were subdivided and taken over by impoverished new inhabitants. Aristocratic residences like this were no longer built after the middle of the sixth century (Ellis 1988; Saradi 2006: 163–73, 452–4). A new upper class appears in the empire in the seventh century, composed of military men who made a career in the administration and were of a different social and ethnic origin (Haldon 1990: 165–6).

By the end of the early Byzantine period, the urban landscape had undergone dramatic changes. In excavated sites, private structures inserted between magnificent civic buildings mark the urban space with a dramatic tone of disorder and poverty. The contrast with the earlier elaborate architectural compositions is striking: some structures are now built of wood, but most from stones connected with mud or mortar with numerous *spolia*. Portions of porticoes were closed and streets were narrowed. The Graeco-Roman orthogonal town planning was replaced by an irregular layout with narrow winding streets and alleys. Fortification walls were shorter than the ancient ones, enclosing only a small part of the inhabited area to provide greater protection (Gregory 1982). From the last quarter of the sixth century urban communities were marked by stagnation: building activities were limited to churches and fortifications, while the quality of the materials and the workmanship was deteriorating.

Intense long-distance trade, a major source of prosperity for the cities in the earlier centuries, was in decline. In coastal cities artificial harbours, works of Roman engineering, were not maintained and with the passage of time they became silted, finally to be abandoned. The collapse of Roman rule in the West brought about a decline of trade with the East. Byzantine cities' trading activity was now limited to the towns of the area around each city (Liebeschuetz 2001a: 43–6; Saradi 2006: 41–4). Recurrent visitations of plague from the middle of the sixth century undoubtedly affected the urban population (Durliat 1989; Biraben 1989; Conrad 1994; see also in this volume, II.5 Population, demography, and disease). Immediately afterwards the cities in the Balkans were devastated by the Avar and Slav invasions. In the provinces of the Middle East and in Asia Minor the invasions of the Persians and the Arabs in the seventh century were the final blow for numerous previously prosperous cities.

In this period of transition, urban space disintegrated. Cemeteries and isolated tombs appeared in inhabited areas, in abandoned public buildings and in the sites of the *agorai* (Iverson 1996; Saradi 2006: 438–9, 459). The trend had started earlier as a consequence of cultural changes. Christianity promoted a re-evaluation of death, which was considered a pollutant by pagans. The first burials in an urban space were martyrs' relics, deposited in churches (Dagron 1977: 11–19; Duval 1988; Saradi 2006: 432–9). Aqueducts providing ever-running water were neglected and the communities' water supply was based on wells (Saradi 2006: 343–9). Agricultural installations were established everywhere in earlier public sites and private dwellings, marking the beginning of the 'de-urbanization' and ruralization of the cities (Zakythinos 1961: 83; Popović 1982; Saradi 2006: 454–9). Large urban communities were broken up into smaller ones around churches with markets, a trend that had started earlier (Liebeschuetz 2001a: 32–4).

The new medieval model of the Byzantine city was thus created by breaking free from the antique Graeco-Roman tradition with the addition of strong military and Christian elements. The early Byzantine emperors increasingly placed emphasis on urban fortifications and a network of forts on naturally defensible and inaccessible sites in order to defend the empire from invading barbarians. This was a change of strategy from the Roman defensive system of large army units and forts, which in the past protected the empire's borders. Prokopios' account of the Justinianic building programme in the *Buildings* emphasizes the emperor's policy of military construction all over the empire: restoration of city walls, relocation of some cities in the Balkans to better protected sites, and construction of numerous forts and walls defending natural passages. The new military role of the city is best described in the change of terminology: the term *polis* is now replaced by the term *kastron* which is applied to all cities, with the exception of the very large ones such as Constantinople and Thessalonike (Kirsten 1958: 19–22; Müller-Wiener 1986; Kazhdan 1998; Dunn 1994; Saradi 2006: 96–101, 464–70).

In the so-called Dark Centuries many cities disappeared as a consequence of enemy invasions, others were abandoned by their inhabitants who moved to more secure sites on hilltops, and the name of others was changed. The population declined and the size of the cities that survived was dramatically reduced (Zakythinos 1961: 78–80; Haldon 1990: 93–117). Archaeological remains from this period indicate that construction was limited and the population impoverished; the large early Byzantine basilicas were abandoned and replaced by small churches, while emphasis was placed on defensive works. Only major cities, which were also administrative centres, maintained elements of urban activities (Angold 1985: 3–6; Lightfoot 1998; Bakirtzis 2003). Crisis also marks Constantinople: the population shrank, civic buildings were abandoned, the aqueduct of Valens did not function between 626 and 768, and Theodosios' port, the largest of the capital, fell out of use (Mango 1985: 53–62). Characteristic of this period is the phenomenon of decline in coins of small denominations and their virtual disappearance from excavated

sites from the middle of the seventh century, indicating reduced economic activities (Haldon 1990: 117–20). However, the numerous earlier coins found in the excavated levels of the Dark Ages, suggest a crisis in state production rather than in demand (Sideropoulos 2002). Since the state played a major role in coin circulation through payment of soldiers and dignitaries, the development of the theme system in which farmer-soldiers were sustained by the *stratiotika ktemata* probably led to a reduction in the number of coins put into circulation by the state (Hendy 1985: 619–62). There is no doubt, however, that economic activity in the cities was very much reduced, while the economy in smaller towns and villages was in a better shape. It is indicative that in some sites coins continued to circulate in small towns and villages, although they are not found in the diminished city of the same area (Sodini and Tate 1980: 270–2, 301; Saradi 2006: 35–6, 39). Furthermore, the role of the cities with reference to the state had changed. After losing their independence, the cities now functioned in the context of the *themata* under the rule of the *strategos*. From the seventh century the new economic and fiscal system was based on villages rather than on cities (Haldon 1994: 77–8; Brandes and Haldon 2000).

From the ninth century, and perhaps already from the late eighth century (Bouras 2002: 501), Byzantine cities were marked by an economic revival. New cities and towns are mentioned in the sources. In many cases, this was the result of an imperial initiative. Civil and ecclesiastical administration and a military presence created conditions that encouraged the development of cities and towns. The theme system began slowly to be replaced by the emerging cities as centres of administrative, economic, and social life (Angold 1985: 7–9; Harvey 1989: 207; Dagron 2002; Bouras 2002: 501–4). There was a population increase and expansion of the urban inhabited area on the sites of the ancient *agorai*. Urban administration was carried on by the administration of the *themata*, and when the system declined, local powerful persons, the *archontes*, emerged as leaders of urban communities, together with bishops. In large cities some forms of municipal organizations are attested in neighbourhoods around churches (*geitoniai*) and religious confraternities (Angold 1985: 16–18).

While agricultural production remained the backbone of the Byzantine urban economy, in the middle Byzantine period the sources indicate a certain economic dynamism marked by an expansion of the rural economy and increase of industrial and commercial activities. The middle and upper classes were reaffirmed. Thessalonike was a major commercial centre in the Balkans. Thebes was important for its silk production. Corinth had various industrial workshops (glass, pottery, metal, and textiles) and two harbours for trade. In Constantinople the *Book of the Eparch* contains the regulations of various professional organizations supervised by the state. The revival of cities in Greece appears to have been more intense than that in Asia Minor where artisanal production and trade was not as significant, with the exception of some coastal cities such as Trebizond and Attaleia (Angold 1985: 8, 11–15, 22–4; Harvey 1989: 208–23; Dagron 2002; Bouras 2002: 514–20).

In the eleventh century the cities again became centres of provincial administration with the *krites* (judge) as head of the civil administration of the theme. The large themes were subdivided into smaller ones and in reoccupied territories small administrative units were created in the district of each city: the Byzantine city was reaffirmed (Dagron 1987: 160). In the eleventh and twelfth centuries the expansion of Italian commercial activities in Byzantium gave an impetus for the economic development of Byzantine cities and towns (Angold 1985: 24–8; Harvey 1989: 223–4; Dagron 2002: 401–3). A market economy flourished, free of the earlier strict state control. Social changes were also taking place in the cities. The guild organization was slowly transformed into loose local professional associations and was abolished after the twelfth century. In the eleventh century under the government of the civil party, Constantinople's middle class could be said to have assumed political power. In the provinces the weakness of the central government during the eleventh century and at the end of the twelfth, together with fiscal oppression by imperial agents, created a discontent in the cities towards the capital marked by a sense of local solidarity. Local dynasts took power in provincial cities and led rebellions against the emperors. In cities of Asia Minor such local lords offered protection from the invading Seljuks (Oikonomides 1976; Angold 1984).

The occupation of Constantinople by the Latins in 1204 marks the disintegration of the empire and a new period for Byzantine cities. The constant wars affected the urban population and consequently residential areas shrank and vacant land and agricultural plots appeared within the walls of large cities (Bryer 1986; Bakirtzis 2003). As a consequence of the fragmentation of political power city-states emerged, such as Thessalonike, Trebizond, Nicaea, Arta, Ioannina, and Mistra (Werner 1976). The Latins created autonomous colonies with a feudal system in Byzantine occupied lands. The Venetians introduced the system of civic communities (*universitas—communitas*), which defined the social and administrative structure of the colonies and brought about forms of regional self-government (Papadia-Lala 2004). The Italians enjoyed a privileged position: they had control of maritime trade, commercial privileges, and fiscal exemptions. In these new circumstances, Byzantine cities did not achieve the communal independence which brought prosperity to the cities of western Europe. Byzantine merchants could not compete with their Latin counterparts in long-distance trade and they faced hostile conditions in their efforts to expand in the west or in the Italian colonies on Byzantine soil (Matschke 2002a; 2002b: 789–99). They were restricted to local retail trade. A middle class, defined in economic and social terms, appears in the sources for the Palaiologan period. Its further development once again was impeded by Byzantine aristocrats who, when the empire was losing its land to the various enemies in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, turned to trade as a profitable economic activity (Oikonomides 1979: 83–107, 114–23). Some Byzantine cities prospered from trade and received commercial and fiscal privileges (e.g. Monemvasia, Ioannina) (Maksimović 1988: 248–67; Patlagean 1998; Angold 1984: 245). In the Palaiologan

period, the principal administrator of the cities was the *kephale* (governor of a district), while the role of the *prokathemenos* (governor of a town or fortress) lost its power becoming merely a title, and the *kastrophylox* (governor of a fortress) with military responsibilities was in decline (Maksimović 1988: 167–77). Indicative of the urban growth of this period is the reappearance of *ekphraseis* of cities, which, following rhetorical tradition, emphasize the fortifications, the churches, the administrator's residence, and the cities' economic vigour.

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THE VILLAGE

ALAN HARVEY

A variety of factors, social, economic, demographic, institutional, and political, have to be incorporated into an assessment of the Byzantine village. The village was a fundamental feature of Byzantine economy and society. It was also an essential element in the fiscal administration of the empire. Villages varied greatly in size. In Late Antiquity the largest villages in Egypt might have had as many as 5,000 inhabitants, and the smaller ones only a few hundred (Bagnall 1993: 110). Elsewhere settlements were not so large. Radolibos, one of the larger villages in eastern Macedonia, had a population of about 1,000 in the early fourteenth century, but many others were much smaller (Laiou-Thomadakis 1977: 43). Villages had, for practical purposes, a legal identity and their inhabitants acted collectively to defend their interest. In the 940s the inhabitants of Hierissos and its neighbouring villages resisted the claims of the Athonite monasteries to some land outside Athos; on Crete in the early twelfth century the villagers of Medikon engaged in a protracted struggle to obtain compensation for an infringement of their rights to water. The exercise of power and influence within the community varied greatly. In Egypt the pre-eminent villagers, the komarchs, had some influence over the distribution of the tax burden. The leading men of villages in Galatia and Paphlagonia are referred to in saints' lives of the seventh and eighth centuries. Elsewhere arrangements were more egalitarian; in 1008 the inhabitants of Radochosta in Macedonia assembled from 'small to great' to draw up a legal guarantee. The size of the village population was probably the determining factor. In large villages it was more practical for decisions to be made by a representative group (Harvey 1989: 76–7; Lefort 2002: 280).

From the perspective of imperial officials the most important function of the village was fiscal. The village and fiscal unit did not automatically coincide with each

other and land in the village belonging to large landowners was frequently separated from the fiscal unit, but the village was a convenient unit of fiscal assessment, a consideration reflected in the dual meaning of *chorion*, village and fiscal unit. The payments owed to the state were enumerated in a cadaster, which also acted as a title deed. Proof of tax payment was also proof of landownership. From the eighth century officials assessed the tax payment of the village according to the quality of the land. Fresh assessments were made periodically to take into account changes in the intervening years. The land of each tax-payer was assessed individually and entered in a line on the cadaster. If the peasant proprietor was unable to pay his tax, responsibility for the payment fell upon the other members of the community. Villagers also had rights in relation to their neighbours' properties. They had the first entitlement to purchase any land that the owner wished to sell. This right of pre-emption was designed to prevent powerful landowners from forcing their way into communities of peasant proprietors and transforming villages into their estates (Lefort 2002; Oikonomides 2002).

The importance attached to maintaining the viability of peasant communities is shown by the provisions for tax remission outlined in the *Fiscal Treatise*. If the land became less productive due to a natural disaster, or if danger from enemy raids had forced peasants to abandon their land, a remission of taxes was granted for up to thirty years. This was intended to mitigate the hardship caused to the remaining villagers through the transfer onto them of the fiscal burden of the migrants and thereby to prevent the total abandonment of the village. If land was not reclaimed by its legal owner after thirty years of tax remission, it was detached from the fiscal unit. Although the mechanism was intended to maintain the tax-paying capability of the village community, in the long run it posed a threat to the independence of the community, because the detached lands (*klasmata*) were often given or sold to powerful landowners (Harvey 1989; Lefort 2002).

The village economy was marked by great diversity owing to the variation in resources from one village to the next. The considerations which determined the prosperity, or otherwise, of a village economy were numerous: the extent of the land within the village boundaries, its quality and the most effective means of exploiting it, the level of population, non-agricultural activities, access to markets, demands for tax and rent. The peasant household was the most important unit of both production and consumption. Most households were nuclear, but there was always a proportion of extended households. Little is known about the division of labour within Byzantine peasant households. It is likely that women played a much more active role in the village economy than the sources indicate. The range of economic activities in which peasant families were engaged meant that the household economy could not function without the labour of all but the very young.

Agricultural production can be divided, in a rough and ready way, into three main zones. First, the land which was closest to the houses was cultivated most

intensively. This land was the easiest to fertilize with household waste and manure from animals kept around the house, and was exploited by intensive gardening. The second zone consisted of fields given over to arable cultivation, which was usually the main source of peasant wealth. The main grains were wheat, barley, and rye. Wheat was the most valuable because it was the grain of choice for human consumption in regions of reasonable fertility and, except in times of famine, the others were used for animal consumption. Cultivating different grains also gave peasant communities some protection against the impact of crop disease. Farmers cultivated plots of land located in different fields. Although this placed additional burdens on the farmers' time, it provided further protection against crop disease. Finally, there was the land which was left uncultivated due to either infertility or a lack of labour and was used for pasture and as a source of raw materials. As the population of a village grew and land at a greater distance from the village had to be brought into cultivation, some villagers found it advantageous to establish new, smaller settlements, known as *agridia*, nearer to the land that they were farming in the outlying parts of the village's territory. This outline of productive zones is, of course, very schematic and the pattern of production would have varied according to the terrain of each village and any specialist cultivation, particularly vines and olives.

Villagers were, however, not totally reliant on agriculture for their livelihoods. Peasant surnames suggest that crafts often supplemented peasant incomes. The resources of woodland and scrubland were also considerable and their contribution to the village economy has recently become more fully appreciated. Communities located close to rivers, lakes, or the sea made substantial gains from fishing. The best known example is the Macedonian village of Doxompous. The revenues to which the landowner, the monastery of Lavra, was entitled consisted largely of dues related to fishing; revenues linked to agricultural production were significantly lower. The importance of diversity of production to the village economy cannot be overemphasized. It provided some insurance, softening the blow if one crop failed, and gave peasant communities greater economic stability. Peasants were also able, under favourable economic circumstances, to specialize in cash crops such as oil and wine. Strong demand from urban centres was an essential prerequisite for such specialization. Peasant communities located near towns were best placed to benefit, but the disposal of the surplus produce of less favourably situated communities was facilitated by rural fairs. These occurred on specific days, often connected to the celebration of a saint, and gave peasants the opportunity to sell their produce to itinerant merchants. Such fairs proliferated when economic demand was strong, but their numbers declined sharply when conditions became more difficult (Harvey 1989; Kaplan 1992; Lefort 2002; Laiou 2002).

The village was not an unchanging entity. Its history has to take into account the impact of social, economic, demographic, and political developments which interacted to bring about significant transformations in the economic situation

and the social status of Byzantine villagers. The early Byzantine village was much more dynamic than older interpretations have allowed. It was argued that peasants were tied as *coloni* to their land which they were unable to leave, because land was plentiful and labour in short supply (Lemerle 1979: 7). Such views have been effectively refuted. In the early Byzantine period the countryside throughout the eastern Mediterranean was densely populated. Archaeological surveys have revealed large numbers of rural settlements. Villagers were able to take advantage of strong demand for agricultural produce from Constantinople and other urban centres by specializing in cash crops. The production of oil in villages in Syria is a case in point. Agricultural production was closely linked to markets and villagers prospered as long as conditions remained favourable for the efficient movement of produce (Morrisson and Sodini 2002; Banaji 2001).

The decline in imperial authority in the late sixth and the seventh century had a severe impact on the village economy. Slav incursions in the Balkans and the raids of the Persians and Arabs in Asia Minor made conditions much more precarious in regions still under imperial control and undermined the basis for a flourishing village economy. It was once thought that the settlement of Slavs inside the empire led to a growth in population which was of great benefit to the rural economy (Lemerle 1979: 48–9). This view is no longer tenable because archaeological surveys have shown that after the intensive settlement of the fifth and sixth centuries there was a sharp contraction in the number of settlements in the seventh and eighth centuries. The special measures taken by emperors to settle Slavs in imperial territories should not be regarded as a sign of recovery in population, but as evidence of a continuing problem of depopulation (Haldon 1990).

The impact which the transformation of the seventh century had upon the social status and economic conditions of Byzantine villagers is difficult to determine due to the paucity of source material from this period. Older interpretations suggest that there was a proliferation of independent peasant communities with no ties to landowners: their tax payments to the state confirmed their status as owners of the land which they cultivated. The evidence for this interpretation comes largely from the Farmer's Law (*nomos georgikos*), a legal compilation which may date from the late seventh or early eighth century, although its content can be traced back to earlier centuries. It covers a range of offences with which low-ranking provincial officials had to deal and it needs to be interpreted with great caution. Some clauses concerning leases suggest that larger landowners might have been a more significant presence in many villages than some historians (Ostrogorsky 1968) have allowed. Social conditions at this time could have had contradictory effects on the peasantry. Military insecurity would have increased the need for protection from powerful men, but the shortage of labour would have strengthened the bargaining power of the peasants when they negotiated with landowners. Our knowledge of rural society in the seventh and eighth centuries is very limited, but the reality was probably much more complicated than Ostrogorsky's

idealized perspective of flourishing communities of independent villagers (Haldon 1990).

Recovery from the economic decline of the seventh and eighth centuries was a slow process, but by the tenth and, especially, the eleventh century a revival in the rural economy was under way. As population increased again, the area under cultivation was extended. Archaeological surveys in many regions of the empire have found evidence of an increase in the number of rural settlements in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Documents from the archives of Mt Athos demonstrate that this expansion continued up to the first half of the fourteenth century, as arable expanded at the expense of pasture and woodland. As in the fifth and sixth centuries, villagers gained from urban demand by specializing in cash crops. In some Macedonian villages peasants cultivated vines on a scale well in excess of their subsistence requirements. The Peloponnese was noted for the high volume of its oil production, much of which was purchased by Venetian merchants to be traded in Constantinople and other major urban centres of the eastern Mediterranean (Harvey 1989; Lefort 2002; Armstrong 2002).

Although the village economy was buoyant from the eleventh century, it became increasingly difficult for villagers to protect their interests against powerful neighbours and to maintain their social status. *Paroikoi*, peasants who rented land from landowners or the state, became an increasingly large part of the rural population and villages of peasant landowners became scarcer. The imperial legislation of the tenth century, which was ostensibly concerned to restrict the purchase of peasant properties by powerful landowners, has been attributed great importance in this process (Ostrogorsky 1968). This was questioned by Morris (1976), who regards the clash between the powerful and poor as an artificial creation of imperial officials at times when tensions between the emperor and sections of the provincial aristocracy were running high. Although peasant proprietors certainly became a smaller proportion of the rural population, this development was much more protracted than is implied by interpretations based on the tenth-century legislation. It is best illustrated by evidence from the archives of Mt Athos. As population increased and village communities attempted to extend the land which they had under cultivation, they encountered obstacles because their territories were hemmed in by powerful neighbours. The distinction between independent peasants and the *paroikoi* settled on the estates of powerful landowners was easily blurred (Lefort 2002: 238). Peasant landowners who needed additional land to support their households might have found it necessary to rent from a landowner, even if that brought with it the status of *paroikos*. Where the state conceded fiscal revenues to aristocratic landowners, peasant proprietors were easily transformed into *paroikoi* over a period of time. This was, however, a matter of legal and fiscal status. Communities of *paroikoi* with the backing of a powerful landowner often had the advantage over independent peasant communities in disputes over land. The speed at which villages of peasant proprietors disappeared varied. In western Asia Minor they continued to act collectively in

legal disputes until the late thirteenth century (Angold 1995: 327–9). In Macedonia they had almost completely disappeared by that time. This had significant legal and fiscal consequences; in these matters the late Byzantine village had lost its earlier importance. Villages did retain considerable economic importance because the *paroikoi* controlled agricultural production on the land which they rented. The fundamental unit of production was still the peasant household, but from the middle of the fourteenth century the village economy was devastated by the combination of plague and warfare. Many villages became deserted and others had a much reduced population during the last years of Byzantine rule (Laiou 2002).

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II.7. BUILDINGS AND THEIR DECORATION

CHAPTER II.7.1

BUILDING MATERIALS AND TECHNIQUES

JONATHAN BARDILL

THE main building materials of the Byzantine world were stone (including marble), brick (of mud or clay), mortar (of varying qualities), and timber. Which of these materials were used, and the ways in which they were employed, depended on availability, local tradition, and structural, economic, and aesthetic considerations.

MORTAR

Mortar was used in beds between stone or brick courses, and for binding together the rubble that formed the core of walls. It was made by burning limestone to make lime, which was then slaked with water. If a lime containing less than 10 per cent clay was used, a non-hydraulic mortar was made, which had little strength and would dissolve in water. A hydraulic mortar, which would harden when immersed in water, and which was of far superior strength, could be made either by using

a limestone containing 10–40 per cent clay or by crushing and adding certain volcanic deposits to the lime. In Roman Italy, non-hydraulic lime was used, but a volcanic dust called pozzolana (*pulvis puteolanus*) was added to it. When added to rubble (*caementa*), the resulting pozzolanic mortar created a high-strength *opus caementicium*, often referred to as ‘concrete’, although strictly that is a modern term referring to an artificial mixture of lime, clay, and metallic salts (Ward-Perkins 1981: 98; Adam 1994: 72–3; Wright 2000: 130–1; Lancaster 2005: 51–67).

Only in a very few areas outside Italy, such as Cilicia (Hill 1996: 12; Ward-Perkins 1958: 82, 98–9) and southern Syria (Ward-Perkins 1981: 343), was anything similar to pozzolana available, but elsewhere crushed brick might be added to the lime (Mark and Çakmak 1994: fig. 2) to produce a mortar with similar hydraulic characteristics. This has been demonstrated by analysis of mortar from Hagia Sophia in Constantinople (Mainstone 1988: 70; Livingston 1993; Moropoulou and others 1997) and Hagia Sophia in Thessalonike (Theocharidou 1992: 94), and the usefulness of the material is illustrated by Prokopios’ descriptions of harbour building at Hieria and Eutropius where wooden chests full of mortar that solidified under water were employed (*Buildings* 1.11.18–22; Hohlfelder 1997). In the brickwork of Constantinople, mortar was used liberally between brick courses, which led to settling problems, as is well documented in the case of the construction of the tympana of Hagia Sophia (*Buildings* 1.1.74–8).

Generally, in the buildings of Asia Minor, Greece, and the Balkans, walls were built of a core of irregular lumps of local stone in a mortar inferior to the Roman. This core was usually faced with stone blocks, sometimes with brick bonding courses running right through the wall. A facing in brick alone, although the norm in Rome, was rare. In the core, the proportion of stone to mortar was generally large, making the mixture much lumpier than Roman *opus caementicium*. Consequently, the layers of the core dried too quickly to fuse satisfactorily with each other.

WALLS OF SOLID STONE AND OF STONE-FACED MORTARED RUBBLE

In the Thracian hinterland of Constantinople in the fourth and fifth centuries, aqueduct bridges were constructed of solid stone in their lower parts and of stone-faced mortared rubble above (Crow, Bardill, and Bayliss 2008: 89–108); and in the late fifth century the Anastasian Long Walls were built with ashlar facing (Crow and Ricci 1997: 245–6). In the same period in the city itself, the rotundas beside the Hippodrome and at the Myrelaion were built (at least in their lower parts) of substantial

ashlar blocks joined by cramps of wood or of iron set in lead (Naumann 1965, 1966; Bardill 1997). Such extensive use of stone was, however, exceptional, and in the city's later buildings—presumably for economic reasons, as stone was more expensive to transport than brick—ashlar was largely restricted to load-bearing elements, such as levelling courses (e.g. St Polyeuktos, the peristyle of the Great Palace) and piers (e.g. Hagia Sophia) (Bardill 2004: 52–3). In sixth-century Ravenna, where brick was the usual building material, the mausoleum of Theoderic, built of cramped ashlar, stands out (Deichmann 1974: 215). Elsewhere in the empire, ashlar construction was common wherever there was accessible stone of acceptable quality, such as on the western and southern coasts of Asia Minor, in Armenia, Georgia, Syria, northern Mesopotamia, and Palestine. In treeless areas, like the Negeb, the Hauran, and the Ledja, even doors and window shutters were made with stone. The quality of the finishing and decoration of the stone would depend partly on its hardness: the limestone of northern Syria is soft to work and was often carved with intricate designs, whereas the basalt of southern Syria is poorly finished and lacks decoration (Lassus 1947: 290–6).

WALLS OF SOLID BRICK, WITH BRICK FACING, AND OF BRICK ALTERNATING WITH STONE

Since the construction of the *Castra Praetoria* in 21–3, it had been usual in Rome to use brick to face concrete, late antique examples of this *opus latericium* being the basilicas of S. Sabina and SS. Giovanni e Paolo (Krautheimer 1986: pls. 133, 135). However, tufa facing was used in techniques called *opus vittatum* (or *listatum simplex* or *opus vittatum* (or *listatum*) *mixtum*). In the former, the facing was of small coursed blocks of tufa alone, and in the latter, which was much more common, the courses of stone facing alternated with courses of brick facing (Adam 1994: 135–44 for the techniques; Heres 1982: 184 for the occurrences).

In Rome, three main sizes of brick were in use: the *bessalis* (c.20 cm square), the *sesquipedalis* (c.45 cm square), and the *bipedalis* (c.80 cm square). The *bipedales* were cut across the diagonals into four triangular pieces, the longest edge being visible in the facing of the finished wall. In northern Italy, however, much shorter, thicker bricks were used: witness in Ravenna the basilica of S. Giovanni Evangelista, the so-called mausoleum of Galla Placidia, and the Orthodox Baptistery, an exception being S. Vitale, where long thin bricks more typical of Rome and Constantinople were used (Deichmann 1976: 60–3; Krautheimer 1986: 234).

Brick had been extensively used in Roman Greece, the Balkans, and Asia Minor, presumably having been introduced from the West (Dodge 1987), but the metropolitan practice of using brick or stone to face a core of mortared rubble was only occasionally followed (e.g. the baths at Elaeusa-Sebaste) (Ward-Perkins 1958: 82). Generally, the use of brick in the provinces fell into one of two categories: solid brick construction (as in the Harbour Baths at Ephesos, the Kızıl Avlu (Serapaeum) at Pergamon, and the towers of the walls of Nicaea), or banded construction, in which bands of mortared rubble faced with small stone blocks alternated with solid brick bands that passed right through the wall, serving as bonding and levelling courses (as in the aqueduct of Los Milagro at Mérida, the baths at Ankara, and the curtain walls of Nicaea) (Adam 1994: 143, figs. 339–40; Ward-Perkins 1981: 223 with n. 10; 1958: 87, 96). These techniques continued to be used into Late Antiquity: solid brick was used, for instance, in the Constantinian basilica at Trier (Ward-Perkins 1981: pl. 297), the fifth-century walls of Ravenna (Christie and Gibson 1988), and the sixth-century walls of Durrës (Albania) (Gutteridge and others 2001: 394–402); the banded technique was adopted in the substructures of a basilical hall at Diocletian's palace at Split, in the imperial baths at Trier (Ward-Perkins 1981: pl. 301), and in the rotunda, octagon, and fortifications at Thessalonike (Ward-Perkins 1958: 88, pl. 33 C, D, E).

In Constantinople the banded technique was used from the city's foundation (as indicated by the Constantinian remains of the curved end of the Hippodrome) and continued to be employed through the fifth century (the Land Walls, the propylaeum of Theodosios II's Hagia Sophia, the cistern of Aetios, the palace of Antiochos, St John of Stoudios, the cistern of Aspar). In the later fifth century, the church of the Theotokos in the Chalkoprateia displays solid brick masonry, but in the sixth century solid brick with a levelling course of limestone or greenstone blocks after about 20 brick courses became the standard technique (Sts Sergios and Bakchos, Hagia Sophia, Baths of Zeuxippos, North Church at Kalenderhane Camii) (Bardill 2004: 52–3).

Banded construction continued to be used in Constantinople after the so-called Dark Ages until the fourteenth century, with variations in the numbers of brick and stone courses (Vefa Kilise Camii, Christ Pantokrator). These variations are generally not specific to particular periods, but the 'recessed brick' or 'concealed course' technique is largely limited to the late tenth to twelfth centuries. Although the earliest dated example of this technique in Constantinople comes from St George in the Mangana (1042–55), it had presumably developed there sometime before construction of the Destyatinnaya church in Kiev (996) and the Panagia Chalkeon in Thessalonike (1028). In this technique, every other brick course is slightly recessed and concealed behind mortar, with the result that the mortar beds appear extremely thick (Vocotopoulos 1979; Krautheimer 1986: 354, pls. 306, 307; Ousterhout 1999: figs. 136–9, 154).

The bricks in Constantinople commonly measured about 310 mm square × 55 mm. thick under Constantine; 370 mm square × 45 mm thick in the fifth and early sixth centuries; 335 mm square × 40 mm thick in the later sixth century (Bardill 2004: 102–6). In subsequent periods much material was salvaged from ruined monuments. Such reuse complicates attempts to devise dating systems for Constantinopolitan masonry, which have examined brick dimensions, mortar course thicknesses, and the numbers of bands of brick and stone (e.g. Schneider 1936: 13–14; Mitchell, Aran, and Liggett 1982). Nevertheless, such efforts have had some success where there are inscriptions dating various construction phases, as in the Land Walls of Constantinople (Foss 1986). The chronology of brick buildings and the organization of brick production may be studied, in Constantinople and Rome in particular, by examining the inscriptions stamped on the bricks (see above, 1.2.18 Brickstamps).

In the provinces both the solid brickwork and banded brickwork techniques continued to be used into the Byzantine period. Banded brick was used in Basilica B at Philippi in Greece (shortly before 540), whereas solid brickwork was employed in St John at Ephesos (completed by 565) and in the Red Church at Perustica in Bulgaria (early sixth century). Both Basilica B at Philippi and St John at Ephesos used ashlar only for the main load-bearing piers. In Syria, where stone was the usual building material, brick was used occasionally, its occurrences there and in neighbouring Mesopotamia and Palestine having been surveyed by Deichmann (1979: fig. 1). The banded technique was used in the early fifth-century walls at Antioch-on-the-Orontes (Deichmann 1979: 481), in the palace and church at Qasr ibn Wardan of c.564 (where the brick bands alternate with bands of basalt blocks) (Deichmann 1979: 488–93, pls. 161, 163), and in the *Kastron* at nearby Anderin, dated by inscription to 558 (Deichmann 1979: 494–5, pl. 164). In northern Mesopotamia, fired brick occurs in bands alternating with ashlar-faced mortared rubble (Bell 1982: vii, 9, pls. 4, 120, 121, 122). An excellent example of the use of pure brickwork in the region is to be seen in the imposing *Praetorium* at Balis-Barbalissos (Eski Meskene) on the Euphrates (Deichmann 1979: 496–7, pl. 165).

At about the beginning of the eleventh century, in Greece and Macedonia in particular, the *cloisonné* technique was introduced. This involved surrounding the stone blocks used to face a wall with brick (Millet 1916: 224–44). Sometimes the brick *cloisons* dividing the stones were manufactured with decorative mouldings. Around the same time, walls were also adorned with brick friezes, making simple Greek letters or Christograms, complex decorative designs, meanders, and pseudo-Kufic inscriptions (Millet 1916: 252–61). Such ornaments appear to a lesser extent in Constantinople, for example, in the Eski İmaret Camii, Christ Philanthropos, the Lips monastery, and the Tekfur Sarayı (Ousterhout 1999: 194–200).

VAULTING

The main kinds of vaulting used by the Byzantines were as follows: the barrel vault (in essence a protracted arch), the cross-groined vault (two barrel vaults intersecting at a right angle), the dome upon a drum or rotunda, the domical vault or pendentive dome (in which the pendentives merge seamlessly with the cupola), the dome on pendentives, and the dome on squinches (Restle 1995).

A stone-built domical vault (in which the pendentives merge seamlessly with the cupola) is known already in the first century BCE at the baths in Petra (McKenzie 1990: 51, pl. 76b). In the fourth and fifth centuries stone domes on squinches or pendentives are known in Asia Minor (Hill 1996: 46–7), and there is a possibility that the towers of certain stone-built churches in fifth-century Cilicia were crowned by stone domes on squinches or pendentives, although polygonal timber roofs are equally likely (Hill 1996: 45–6, 78–81, 155–60, 213–14). Stone domes of various types are found in the Tur ‘Abdin in northern Mesopotamia (Bell 1982: 21, pls. 140, 142 (on squinches)) and at Binbirkilise in central Anatolia (Ramsay and Bell 1909: 441–6, figs. 42, 205 (on corbels), 87, 339, 342 (on pendentives), 308 (on squinches)); under their influence, several seventh-century churches in Armenia were crowned with a dome on squinches (Mango 1976: 180–1, 184). In Jerusalem, the square bays

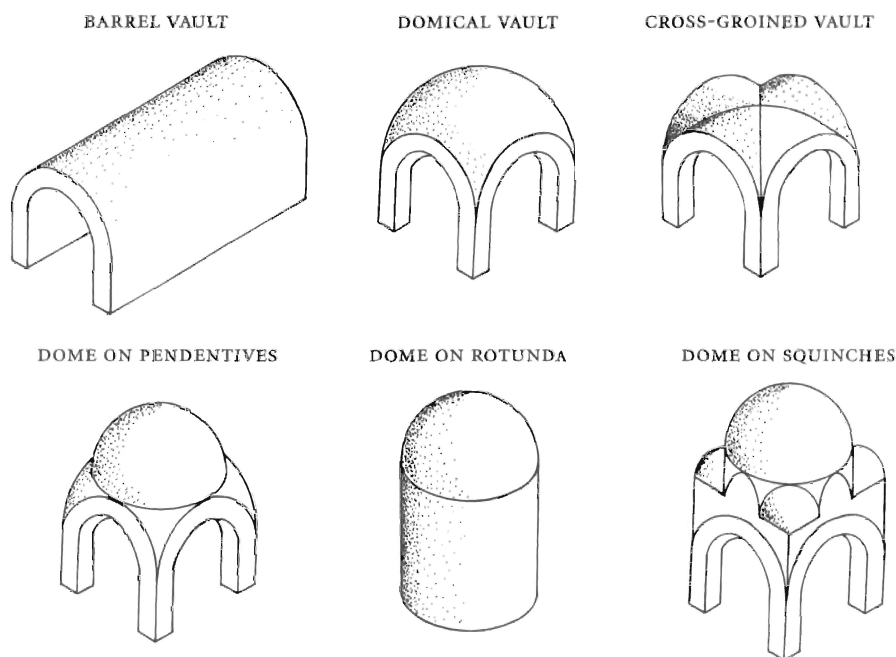


Fig. 1 Byzantine styles of vaulting

of the Golden Gate are roofed with stone domes on pendentives (Mainstone 1975: 121, fig. 7.12). At Ravenna, Theoderic's mausoleum is crowned by a low monolithic dome of Istrian stone, whose weight is estimated at over 230 tonnes, and whose saucer shape may have been calculated to avoid radial cracking (Deichmann 1974: 218–19; Ćurčić 1992: 32–5; Adam 1994: 191).

In Ancient Rome, there had been a long tradition of concrete vaulting (Lancaster 2005), but in Roman Asia Minor, where the volcanic sands that gave the concrete of Rome its strength were generally not available, solid brick vaulting—a tradition inherited from Mesopotamia and Egypt—had been the norm from at least the mid-second century CE. In brick-built vaults, the bricks might be either radially laid or pitched. The pitched brick technique, also adopted from the mud-brick architecture of Egypt and Mesopotamia, is attested as early as the second half of the third century in Asia Minor at Aspendos, and is known in the west in the rotunda at Thessalonike in the fourth (Ward-Perkins 1981: 89–95). It is a regular feature of Byzantine brickwork.

In Constantinople, large brick domes upon a rotunda or polygon must have been used from an early date in structures such as the imperial mausoleum (built either by Constantine or by Constantius), the rotundas at the Myrelaion (Naumann 1966) and the Hippodrome (Naumann 1965; Bardill 1997), the hexagon of Antiochos' palace (Naumann and Belting 1966: figs. 6, 7), the hexagon in Gülhane (Demangel and Mamboury 1939: 81–111), and the martyrium of Sts Karpos and Papylos (Schneider 1936: 1–4). Smaller brick domes survive in the chambers of the polygonal towers of the early fifth-century Land Walls (Meyer-Plath and Schneider 1943: 31–2). A large-scale dome may have covered Constantine's cathedral church of the Golden Octagon at Antioch-on-the-Orontes, which is known to have been a centralized building (Eusebios, VC 3.50); and a dome would certainly have crowned Jerusalem's Anastasis Rotunda, which was erected beside the basilica on Golgotha by 348–50 if not during Constantine's reign (Krautheimer 1986, 462–3 n. 45). Such domes should be seen as paving the way in Constantinople to experimentation with brick domes over polygonal or square bays, culminating in the spectacular dome on pendentives that crowns Hagia Sophia, which is over 31 metres in diameter (Mainstone 1988: 126–7, 209–17; Taylor 1996).

Although brick was rarely used in Syria, on the church at Qasr ibn Wardan there was certainly a brick dome, which is notable in that the pendentives were not between the four main arches but contained within an octagonal drum (Butler 1929: 168–9). A number of other brick vaults in Syria and Mesopotamia are known (Deichmann 1979: fig. 1). Notable among these is the cross-vault in the Praetorium at Zenobia (Halebiye) (Deichmann 1979: 501–2, pl. 167.1), which recalls those in the Constantinopolitan cisterns of the Binbirdirek and Yerebatan Sarayı, the bricks being arranged in concentric squares up to the crown of the vault. Brick domes on squinches and pendentives are also found in northern Mesopotamia (Bell 1982: 5, pls. 206, 225).

The dome on squinches, familiar from stone-built architecture in Armenia (Maranci 2001: 86–97), was constructed in brick in eleventh-century churches in Constantinople (St George in the Mangana) and Greece (the katholikon of the Nea Moni on Chios and the katholikon of Hosios Loukas) (Mango 1973: 130–2; Maranci 2001: 129–31).

As in the earlier Roman concrete vaults of the Circus of Maxentius, the mausoleum of Helena, or the villa of the Gordians (Lancaster 2005: 68–85), hollow jars continued to be incorporated into vaults at their springing. The technique is found from the late fourth to early sixth centuries at Ravenna, for example in the domes of the Orthodox Baptistery, of S. Vitale, and the semi-dome of S. Apollinare Nuovo (Deichmann 1974: 24, figs. 12, 18–21; 131, fig. 83; Deichmann 1976: 64–5, fig. 31; Storz 1984; Wilson 1992: 117). Later examples occur in Constantinople in the substructures of St George in the Mangana, Kalenderhane Camii, Christ Pantokrator, and the south church of the Lips monastery (Ousterhout 1999: 229–30).

In parts of Syria and Jordan, mortared volcanic scoriae were used to create vaults and domes, such as the semi-domes in the exedras of both the cathedral at Bosra and St John's at Jerash (Crowfoot 1941: 96, 98, 105; Deichmann 1979: pl. 159.1), the vault in the south baths at Bosra (Ward-Perkins 1981: 345–6; Crowfoot 1941: 106), and the sugar-loaf dome upon an octagonal drum of the church of St George at Zorah (Butler 1929: 121–5; Ward-Perkins 1981: 344). Further examples are noted by Deichmann at Antioch-on-the-Orontes, Bosra, Dura Europos, Jerash, and Philippopolis (1979: 476–7, 483, fig. 1).

Barrel vaults of either stone-faced mortared rubble or mortared rubble alone were used in the basilicas of Binbirkilise (Ramsay and Bell 1909: 437, figs. 8, 27 (stone-faced), 103 (mortared rubble)) and in early Armenian churches (Maranci 2001: 111–15). In the Tur 'Abdin, one finds barrel vaults either completely in brick (Bell 1982: 45, pls. 164–5) or of several stone courses at the spring with brick over the crown (Bell 1982: 10–11, pls. 242, 244). At Dura, there are fine examples of barrel vaults covering the cisterns, which are up to 25 m long and 4 m wide. These are constructed of mortared rubble alternating with brick bands (Deichmann 1979: 503–4, pl. 169.2).

A huge cross-groined vault, as was familiar from the roofing of the major thermal establishments in imperial Rome and the Basilica of Maxentius in the Roman Forum, was apparently used to crown the square tower of S. Lorenzo in Milan in the second half of the fourth century (Kleinbauer 1976).

The wooden dome of the Dome of the Rock in Jerusalem (Creswell 1969: 92–7) is a clear indicator that there must have been many wooden vaults, but little archaeological and textual evidence survives (Creswell 1969: 116–21). The archaeological evidence indicating that there was a wooden roof spanning the 27-m-wide octagon at Qal'at Si'man suggests that it was polygonal rather than domed. Chorikios suggests that a wooden vault existed in the church of St Sergios at Gaza, but, as is typical in the case of such descriptions, it is disputed as to whether

he speaks of a dome over the nave or a semi-dome over the apse (Mango 1972: 70–1).

The development of pozzolanic mortar for vaulting meant that the Romans did not master the stone cross-vault. In Syria, however, the art of vaulting in stone reached a higher level of development because stone was generally the most easily available building material. It has been suggested that it was perhaps a Syrian architect who was responsible for the tomb of Theoderic in Ravenna, which is the only monument in the Italian peninsula with a stone cross-vault (Deichmann 1974: 215; Adam 1994: 191).

TIMBER

The use of timber is not easy to study because of its poor survival. It was used particularly for roofing (see also ‘Vaulting’ above) and for doors. The roof of Constantine’s basilica of St Peter in Rome (begun 319–22) had trusses spanning a nave 23 m wide, but is known only from representations (Adam 1994: 211). The oldest surviving complete timber roof, on a much smaller scale, is that of the basilica of St Catherine’s monastery on Mt Sinai (548–65) (Mango 1976: pl. 21; Mainstone, 1975: 150, fig. 9.1). Panelled ceilings might be constructed below trussed roofs, and the coffers could be painted or gilded (Bardill 2006). Timber was precious, and more so if highly decorated; thus we hear how in the sixth century bishop Perpetuus of Tours preserved the beautifully made roof of the small shrine of St Martin by using it to roof a new basilica of Sts Peter and Paul (Gregory of Tours, *Historiae* 2.14). The decorated doors of S. Sabina in Rome (422–32) are made of cypress and have 18 surviving carved panels showing scenes from the Old and New Testaments (Jeremias 1980).

Timber was used during the construction process for many purposes, such as scaffolding—which might stand free of the wall or be engaged into putlog holes in the wall (Adam 1994: 81–7; Heres 1982: 47–8; Ousterhout 1999: 184–92)—or shuttering to contain foundation walls of mortared rubble whilst the mortar hardened (witness negative impressions left in the mortar: Ward-Perkins 1958: 61–2, pl. 2 A, B). Timber centring was necessary to support large arches and vaults until the mortar cured. Two types should be distinguished: ground-supported centring, in which the wooden structure was built up from the floor; and flying centring, in which it was supported on cornices projecting from the piers from which the arch was to spring (Adam 1994: 174–7; Mainstone 1975: 171; Wright 2000: 142). The latter technique saved on wood, but required the piers to be firm before construction of the arch began, otherwise the piers would deform. Deformation caused by flying

centring apparently occurred during the construction of the eastern arch of Hagia Sophia in about 535. This resulted in the collapse of that arch and part of the dome in 558 (Theoph. AM 6051; Bardill 2004: 36–7).

Wooden tie-beams might be used to span the space beneath the springing of arches. They were particularly important in arcades, helping the columns move in unison in earthquakes. Since the many small vaults of Constantinople's roofed cisterns were supported on parallel arcades of columns, tie beams were often used to link one column to its four neighbours; all that now remains, however, are the sockets above the capitals or their imposts (Wilcox 1981: 45–9 (somewhat confused regarding the identification of the cisterns); Mango 1976: pls. 17, 135). Such reinforcement was also employed in the arcades of basilicas or between the columns supporting a centralized dome (Sheppard 1965; Wilcox 1981: 49–56; Ousterhout 1999: 210–16; Mango 1976: pls. 80–1). At the White Monastery in Egypt, the capitals support a wooden architrave upon which sits another architrave of small stones (Clarke 1912: 148), and in the Dome of the Rock in Jerusalem a wooden architrave running around the outer (octagonal) colonnade of the structure serves as a tie-beam (Creswell 1969: 86–8).

As a substitute for brick bonding courses, a framework of wooden beams (crib-work) might be used for strengthening foundation walls (Martiny 1947: 3 (Great Palace peristyle); further examples in Ousterhout 1999: 161–2) and standing walls (Winfield 1986: 28, fig. 93; Crow, Bardill, and Bayliss 2008: 32, 55, 65, 70, 131). Beams were also used as string courses in the stone-faced walls of the churches of Qasr Ibrim and the White Monastery (Clarke 1912: 76, 148). Wooden piles were used to reclaim land from the sea shortly after Constantinople's foundation (Mango 2001: 18). Wood was also used as an alternative to iron for making dovetail cramps to join ashlar blocks in levelling courses (Ward-Perkins 1958: 62).

METAL

Sheets of lead might be used to cover roofs of both timber (Constantine's basilica of the Holy Sepulchre: Eusebios, VC 3.36.2) and masonry (Sts Sergios and Bakchos, Hagia Eirene, Hagia Sophia). They could also be used as cushioning at the springing of arches or between columns and their capitals (Paul the Silentiary, *Description of Hagia Sophia* 476–80). Lead was also used to grip and cushion glass panes in the shops at Sardis, and, in Constantinople, at St Polyeuktos, Christ Pantokrator, and Christ in the Chora (von Saldern 1980: 92; Harrison 1986: 204; Megaw 1963: 349, 365; Henderson and Mundell Mango 1995).

Bronze tiles were used to decorate the exterior of the roofs of prestige buildings, such as that of Constantine's burial place (Eusebios, VC 4.58) and the roof of

St Peter's, for which Pope Honorius I (625–38) stripped the tiles from the Temple of Roma (*Lib. Pont.* 1.317 and 323) (an illustration, incidentally, of how the ancient temples were considered a ready source of spolia in the Byzantine period). The Masonry Obelisk set up, probably by Constantine I, in the Hippodrome at Constantinople was sheathed in bronze (Mango 1993: 17–20), as was a tetrapylon apparently erected under Theodosios I (Mango 1972: 44–5). Justinian's masonry column in the Augustaion was covered with bronze plates and hooped with bronze garlands (Prok. *Buildings* 1.2.3–4).

The Byzantines followed Greek and Roman precedents in the use of iron for cramps and tie-bars (Lancaster 2005: 113–29). Iron cramps, either dovetail- or pi-shaped, were used to join together ashlar blocks, and molten lead was poured into the cramp-holes to prevent the iron from corroding (the lead, but not the iron cramps, is referred to by Prok. *Buildings* 1.1.53, writing of the piers of Hagia Sophia; see also 'Walls of solid stone' above). Iron might also be used instead of wood for tie-rods beneath arches in arcades (Wilcox 1981: 49 ff.; Ousterhout 1999: 210–16; Mainstone 1975: 70–1; Tanyeli and Tanyeli 2004: 23–38). It was also employed for ties between adjacent cornice blocks in centralized buildings, thereby creating, it has been argued, tensile chains containing the thrusts of vaulted roofing systems (Butler 1992). Columns might be bound with metal hoops to prevent them spalling or even splitting when under pressure. This was done with Constantine's porphyry column in 416 (*Chron. Pasch.* 1: 573) and with the columns of verd-antique and porphyry in Hagia Sophia, which were given bronze collars at top and bottom, and often at intermediate positions (Mainstone 1988: 42 and pl. 42).

MARBLE

The organization of the quarries and of the trade in marble has received much scholarly attention (Betsch 1977: 290–331; Asgari 1995; Sodini 1989; 2002). Marble was largely used for columns, capitals, entablature blocks, cornices, door-frames, window-frames, church furnishings (such as ambos and chancel screens), and for facing masonry. Architectural elements were often marked by the masons with a numeral (to aid the positioning of blocks), with an abbreviated name (possibly of the mason himself or his overseer), or with an invocation (Deichmann 1976: 206–30; Butler 1989: 136–66; Paribeni 2004; Bardill 2008). Occasionally blocks were inscribed with a reference to the building in which they were to be used (Peschlow 1997: 105, pl. 97).

Capitals have been the subject of much art historical study in an attempt to clarify the chronology of the different styles. They are, therefore, regularly used

as a guide to dating structures, but reuse is often a complicating factor (Kautsch 1936; Betsch 1977; Zollt 1994; Dennert 1997). Marble facing might be in the form of blocks (as in the case of the Golden Gate in Constantinople) (Ward-Perkins 1958: 67–8; Mango 1976: pl. 58) or in the form of thin revetment plaques attached by brackets. Such plaques are usually found on the interior of buildings, where, if the plaques do not survive, their arrangement can sometimes be reconstructed from surviving cramp holes in walls (Naumann and Belting 1966: fig. 8; Deichmann 1976: 128–35); occasionally, however, traces of external revetment survive, as on the west façade of Hagia Sophia (Mango 1976: pl. 22). A further use of marble was for *opus sectile* decoration, either on walls (as above the spandrels of the nave arcades in both St Demetrios at Thessalonike (Mango 1976: pl. 81) and Hagia Sophia in Constantinople (Mainstone 1975: pl. 44; Kleinert 1979)) or floors (St John of Stoudios, Christ Pantokrator) (Megaw 1963: 335–40; see II.7.4 below, Wall-paintings and mosaics).

The quarries exploited in the fourth to sixth centuries are listed in Dodge and Ward-Perkins 1992: 153–9. Although it is difficult to be precise about the dates at which the various quarries closed, it is clear that few of them can be said with any certainty to have been exploited on a large scale after the beginning of the seventh century, and most marble found in later structural contexts is reused.

Reuse of materials was a characteristic of Late Roman and Byzantine architecture, in all types of building; this applies to brick and stone as much as to marble (Sodini 2002: 135–45). Some marble was reused purely because of its value as a structural material, and if extensively reworked cannot be recognized as such. It is often difficult to determine whether such reuse was out of necessity (because there was no supply of new material) or pragmatism (because useful old materials such as columns and capitals were conveniently available close by, either in ruined structures or in depots). In Constantinople, pragmatism probably explains the reused columns and capitals in many cisterns, the marble waterpipes carved from old capitals or old column fragments (Firatlı 1964: 209, pl. 38.1–2), and the recut gravestones from a Late Roman cemetery at Kyzikos reused in the north church of the Lips monastery (Mango and Hawkins 1964: 311–15; 1968: 182). Other marble was reused for its natural beauty or original sculptural decoration. The reuse of marble, whether necessary or pragmatic, might be symbolic: marble for churches might be taken from nearby temples to suggest the victory of Christianity over paganism (Saradi 1997: 401–3).

Although the use of spolia is known in monuments of earlier date, it was under Constantine that the practice became commonplace, as demonstrated by the columns of the Lateran basilica and the variety of friezes, roundels, and relief panels on the Arch of Constantine (Elsner 2000: 153–62; Wohl 2001). In the early period, it seems that wealthier patrons preferred to use new materials if they could get them, but had no hesitation in using carefully chosen spolia if they were suitably attractive or symbolic. In particular, it is typical for reused columns of differently coloured marbles to be prominently displayed, and even carefully arranged

(Ward-Perkins 1984: 211–18). In Justinian's Hagia Sophia, for instance, there are eight porphyry columns in the ground-floor exedras. These must have been reused, since the porphyry quarries had closed in the later fifth century. Porphyry was highly prized, and had strong imperial associations because of its purple colour, hence the decision to claim these columns and to display them so prominently.

At later periods, practically all marble was salvaged rather than newly quarried: in the late twelfth-century Kalenderhane Camii in Constantinople, the convex hidden face of some revetment plaques provides clear evidence that they had been cut from old columns (Striker 1997: 118). Sculptured marble was also reused and prominently displayed. Inside and outside churches, sculpture with explicit pagan scenes might be given a Christian reinterpretation (Mango 1963: 63–4; Saradi 1997: 406–23). In secular contexts, too, such as the outer Golden Gate and the Maritime Gate in Constantinople, sculptured marble was displayed with an awareness of its antiquity, although it is difficult to discern any deeper meaning in the arrangements (Mango 1995; 2000).

Marble was also broken up and used for building walls, or burned to make lime for mortar. In Rome of the fourth to sixth centuries, the lime-kilns were watched over to ensure that statues from empty houses and palaces were not being looted and burned (Heres 1982: 77–8).

STUCCO, GLASS, GLAZED TILES

Stucco is found, for instance, in cornices at Hagia Sophia in Constantinople (Hawkins 1964) and in the vaults and arcade soffits of S. Vitale in Ravenna (Deichmann 1969: 234, figs. 219–23; 1976: 135–9, figs. 67–8, 70–5), but a more ornate use is a series of aediculae containing figures of saints in the Orthodox Baptistry (Deichmann 1974: 43–6).

Until the seventh century and probably later, raw glass, in the form of blocks or slabs, was manufactured in the Levant at temporary sites where the necessary sand and fuel was available. It was then exported widely around the Mediterranean to the places where it was needed and where it would be worked as required (James 2006: 33–8). Glass, with coloured marble, was used in inlaid piers of marble (Mathews 1971: 54–5, 56, 62–3) and for other decorative inlays along with semi-precious stones, such as agate and mother-of-pearl (Harrison 1986: 168–75). It was also used to manufacture decorative mosaic tesserae (James 2006; II. 7.4 below, Wall-paintings and mosaics). Rectangular panes of cast or blown window glass have been found at many early Byzantine sites in the eastern empire, including Constantinople. For instance, in the shops at Sardis, in an early fifth- to early seventh-century context, many panes of aquamarine and green window glass (originally measuring up to

30 × 40 cm) were discovered, and these would have been set into wooden or marble frames (von Saldern 1980: 91–2). This glazing system continued to be used in the West into the ninth century (Deichmann 1976: 139–41, 239–40; Dell’Acqua and James 2001); but in the East, crown-blown bull’s-eye discs of glass were developed, which were set into plaster screens containing circular holes. Good examples, dating between the mid-ninth and mid-tenth century, have been discovered at the Lower City Church in Amorion (Lightfoot and Iverson 1997: 296, fig. C; Dell’Acqua 2005: 200–1). In Constantinople, two groups of twelfth-century stained glass are known from Christ in the Chora and Christ Pantokrator (Megaw 1963: 349–67; Henderson and Mundell Mango 1995; Dell’Acqua 2004).

Glazed tiles were commonly used as decorative borders and frames between c.850 and c.1100, the medium together with the decorative motifs possibly having been inspired by contacts with the Muslim world (Gerstel and Lauffenburger 2001).

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Further Reading

The fundamental study of Early Byzantine building techniques is Ward-Perkins 1958. A brief, general overview of the early period is provided by Wright 2000: 129–45; for the later periods, see Ousterhout 1999. Further bibliography may be obtained from the extensive footnotes in Krautheimer 1986 and from W. E. Kleinbauer, *Early Christian and Byzantine Architecture: An Annotated Bibliography and Historiography* (Boston, Mass. 1991), especially 442–52.

CHAPTER II.7.2

CHURCHES AND MONASTERIES

ROBERT OUSTERHOUT

INTRODUCTION

THE study of Byzantine architecture has been primarily devoted to religious architecture, as churches and related buildings constitute the most significant surviving remains. In the English language, there are only two major handbooks on the subject: Krautheimer (1986), which presents a more formal and typological approach to church construction, better for its coverage of the early centuries; and Mango (1976*a*), which favours a historical approach and is more useful for the later periods and for areas under Byzantine influence. Both are now several decades out of date but may be supplemented by recent monographs, regional surveys, and thematic studies. Kleinbauer's annotated bibliography (1991) provides an accessible, thematic organization and includes an indispensable historiographic introduction. A recent assessment of the scholarship on Byzantine architecture is also provided by Mango (1991), who identifies four approaches prevalent in the twentieth century: typological, symbolic or ideological, functional, and social or economic; the trend in recent scholarship, he notes, is towards detailed and well-documented analyses of individual monuments. Mathews has made important steps in understanding the role of liturgy in church design (1962, 1971, 1982). More recently, Ousterhout attempts to interpret church architecture from the perspective of the builders (1999). Certainly much more work is necessary in terms of the basic documentation of churches, as well as regional surveys. Moreover, church architecture is often

studied out of context, without consideration for either its setting or its interior decoration.

HISTORICAL OUTLINE

Pre-Constantinian (c.200–312)

Little remains before the time of Constantine and the creation of an ‘official’ church architecture. By necessity scholarship combines archaeology and texts to understand the emergence of the Christian cult and the transformation of existing buildings for their use (White 1990: 11–25). The *domus ecclesiae*, or house-church, most often represented an adaptation of an existing late antique residence, to include a meeting hall and perhaps a baptistery. With the exception of the Christian House at Dura Europos, built c.200 and modified c.230, which included a baptistery, most examples are known from texts; in Rome, later rebuildings have destroyed much of the physical evidence; synagogues and mithraea (for the Mithras cult) from the period are better preserved. Although the *domus ecclesiae* disappeared as Christianity became an official public religion, private devotion in the home continued, as evidenced by the incorporation of private chapels in domestic complexes (Bowes 2005).

Better evidence survives for burial customs. In addition to *areae* (above-ground cemeteries) and *catacombs* (underground cemeteries), Christians required settings for commemorative banquets (Spera 2003). The development of a cult of martyrs within the early Church led to the development of commemorative structures, usually called *martyria*, but also referred to in texts as *tropaia* and *heroa*.

By the end of the third century, Christian architecture had become more visible and more public, but without the scale and lavishness of its official successor. Nevertheless, it laid the groundwork for later developments, addressing the basic functions that would be of prime concern in later centuries: communal worship, initiation into the cult, burial, and the commemoration of the dead.

Constantinian (312–37)

With Constantine’s acceptance of Christianity as an official religion of the Roman Empire in 312–13, the emperor committed himself to the patronage of buildings meant to compete visually with their pagan counterparts. In major centres like Rome, this meant the construction of huge basilicas, capable of holding congregations numbering into the thousands. Although the symbolic associations of the

Christian basilica with its Roman predecessors have been debated, it thematized power and opulence in ways comparable to (but not exclusive to) imperial buildings (Kinney 2001; Brandenburg 2005). The Lateran basilica, originally dedicated to Christ, was begun c.313 to serve as Rome's cathedral, built on the grounds of an imperial palace donated to be the residence of the bishop. The basilica's tall nave was illuminated by clerestory windows, which rose above coupled side aisles along the flanks. It was terminated by an apse in the west, which held seats for the clergy. Before it, the altar was surrounded by a silver enclosure, decorated with statues of Christ and the Apostles (de Blaauw 1994).

In addition to congregational churches, among which the Lateran stands at the forefront, a second type of basilica appeared in Rome at the same time, associated with the cemeteries outside the city walls, normally connected to the venerated graves of martyrs. According to Krautheimer (1960), these were cemetery basilicas, as that of S. Lorenzo, c.324, essentially covered cemeteries, with graves in the floor and adjoining mausolea, which provided a setting for commemorative funeral banquets—an interpretation contested by Deichmann (1970). In plan they were three-aisled, with an ambulatory surrounding the apse at the west end.

Constantine also supported the construction of monumental martyria. Most important in the West was St Peter's in Rome, begun c.324, originally to serve as a combination of cemetery basilica (the five-aisled nave) and martyrium (the transept). In the Holy Land, major shrines similarly juxtaposed congregational basilicas with centrally planned commemorative structures housing the venerated site, as at Bethlehem and Jerusalem, although many martyria are considerably simpler. Pilgrims' accounts provide a fascinating view of the life at the shrines (Wilkinson 1977 and 1981). Important for the development of the cult of relics, these great buildings were, however, perhaps less important for the development of Byzantine architecture than was once believed. Grabar's influential thesis, which associated typology and function, needs re-evaluation (Grabar 1946; Ousterhout 1990: 50–1).

Early Christian (Mid-Fourth–Fifth Centuries)

After the time of Constantine, a standardized architecture emerged, with the basilica for congregational worship dominating construction, but with numerous regional variations. In Rome and the West, for example, basilicas tended to be elongated without galleries, while in the East the buildings were more compact and galleries were more common. By the fifth century, the liturgy had become standardized, but, again, with some regional variations, evident in the planning and furnishing of basilicas (Mathews 1962 and 1971). The liturgy probably had less effect on the creation of new architectural designs than on the increasing symbolism and sanctification of the church building. Some new building types

emerge, such as the cruciform church, the tetraconch, octagons, and a variety of centrally planned structures. These innovative forms may have had symbolic overtones; for example, the cruciform plan may be either a reflection of the church of the Holy Apostles in Constantinople or associated with the life-giving cross, as at S. Croce in Ravenna or SS. Apostoli in Milan (Krautheimer 1942; Kinney 2001). Other innovative designs may have had their origins in architectural geometry, such as the enigmatic S. Stefano Rotondo (468–83) in Rome (Krautheimer 1980; Brandenburg 2005). Churches in the form of the aisled tetraconch, as at Seleukeia Pieria-Antioch, from the late fifth century, which was once thought to be a form associated with martyria, are most likely cathedrals or metropolitan churches (Kleinbauer 1973).

Baptisteries also appear as prominent buildings throughout the empire, necessary for the elaborate ceremonies addressed to adult converts and catechumens. Most common was a symbolically resonant, octagonal building housing the font and attached to the cathedral, as at Ravenna, *c.*400–50 (Krautheimer 1942; Khatchatrian 1982: 53–68). With the change to infant baptism and a simplified ceremony, however, monumental baptisteries cease to be constructed in the sixth century.

The Church gradually eliminated the great funeral banquets at the graves of martyrs, but the cult of martyrs was manifest in other ways, notably the importance of pilgrimage and the dissemination of relics. In spite of this, there was not a standard architectural form for the martyria, which instead seem to depend on site-specific conditions or regional developments. In Rome, for example, S. Paolo fuori le mura, begun 384, follows the model of St Peter's in adding a transept to a huge five-aisled basilica. At Thessalonike, the basilica of St Demetrios (late fifth century) incorporated the remains of a crypt and other structures associated with the Roman bath where Demetrios was martyred. At rural locations, large complexes emerged, as at Qal'at Sam'an, built *c.*480–90 in Syria, which had four basilicas radiating from an octagonal core, where the saint's column stood.

The desire for privileged burial perpetuated the tradition of late antique mausolea, which were often octagonal or centrally planned. In Rome the fourth-century mausolea of Helena and Constantina were attached to cemetery basilicas. Cruciform chapels seem to be a new creation, with a shape that derived its meaning from the life-giving Cross, a relationship emphasized in the well-preserved Mausoleum of Galla Placidia, built *c.*425, in Ravenna, which was originally attached to a cruciform church dedicated to S. Croce.

Monasticism began to play an increasingly important role in society, but from the perspective of architecture, early monasteries lacked systematic planning and were dependent on site-specific conditions. The coenobitical system demanded living quarters, with cells for the monks, as well as a refectory for common dining and a church or chapel for common worship. Evidence is preserved in the desert communities of Egypt and Palestine (Meinardus 1989; Hirschfeld 1992; Grossmann 2002).

Sixth Century

Although standardized basilicas continued to be constructed, by the end of the fifth century two important trends emerge in church architecture: the centralized plan, into which a longitudinal axis is introduced, and the longitudinal plan, into which a centralizing element is introduced. The first type may be represented by the church of the Theotokos on Mt Garizim, *c.*484, which has a developed sanctuary bay projecting beyond an aisled octagon with radiating chapels; the second by the so-called Domed Basilica at Meriamlik, *c.*471–94, which superimposed a dome on a standard basilican nave. Both may be attributed to the patronage of Zeno.

Both trends are further developed during the reign of Justinian. Sts Sergios and Bakchos in Constantinople, completed before 536, and in S. Vitale in Ravenna, completed *c.*546–8, for example, are double-shelled octagons of increasing geometric sophistication, with masonry domes covering their central spaces, perhaps originally combined with wooden roofs for the side aisles and galleries. Several monumental basilicas of the period included domes and vaulting throughout the building, as at Hagia Sophia, built 532–7, and Hagia Eirene, begun 532, in Constantinople, and Basilica 'B' in Philippi, built before 540, each with distinctive elements to its design. The common feature was a dome on pendentives raised above an elongated nave, which suffered structurally from the lack of bilateral symmetrical buttressing. All suffered partial or complete collapse in subsequent earthquakes. At Hagia Sophia, textual accounts suggest that the first dome, which collapsed in 557, was a structurally daring, shallow pendentive dome, although this is debated. St Polyeuktos, built in Constantinople by Justinian's rival Juliana Anicia, is normally reconstructed as a domed basilica and thus suggested to be the forerunner of Hagia Sophia (Harrison 1989). It was certainly its predecessor in lavishness, but was unlikely to have been domed. Recent studies have concentrated on the structural properties of large domed constructions (Mainstone 1988; Mark and Çakmak 1992), although the role of geometry and measure in building design might deserve further investigation (Underwood 1948).

The dome on pendentives could also be used as a modular unit, as apparently at Justinian's rebuilding of the church of the Holy Apostles in Constantinople, where the cruciform plan was covered by five domes. A similar design was employed in the rebuilding of St John's basilica at Ephesos, completed before 565, which because of its elongated nave took on a six-domed design. The late eleventh-century S. Marco in Venice follows this sixth-century scheme.

In spite of design innovations, traditional architecture continued in the sixth century with the wooden-roofed basilica continuing as the standard church type. At St Catherine's on Mt Sinai, built *c.*540, the church preserves its wooden roof and much of its decoration. The three-aisled plan incorporated numerous subsidiary chapels flanking the aisles. At the sixth-century Cathedral of Caricin Grad, the three-aisled basilica included a vaulted sanctuary area, with the earliest securely

dated example of pastophoria, with apsed chapels flanking the bema to form a tripartite sanctuary.

Transitional Period (Seventh–Ninth Centuries)

The architecture of the period roughly corresponding to Iconoclasm is poorly documented, although dendrochronology has recently helped to secure the dates of several key buildings (Ousterhout 2001; Kuniholm 2008). In general, the decrease in the scale of church construction led to the development of new, simpler designs. Economic factors and changes in patronage also played a role. Church types of the period tend to follow in simplified form the grand developments of the age of Justinian. Hagia Sophia in Thessalonike, for example, built less than a century later than its namesake, is both considerably smaller and heavier. At the same time, it corrects the basic problems in the structural design by including broad arches to brace the dome on all four sides. The same system was introduced into Constantine V's reconstruction of Hagia Eirene in Constantinople (now dated by dendrochronology after 753), usually referred to as a cross-domed unit. This bilaterally symmetrical system appears at the core of a variety of smaller buildings of the period with cruciform plans, such as at the church now known as the Atik Mustafa Pasa Camii in Istanbul, probably constructed in the ninth century. The cross-in-square church type seems to have been developed in this period with the reduction in scale and simplification of the structural system, as is well preserved in the early ninth-century Fatih Camii (Hagios Stephanos?) in Trilye. Although an earlier generation of scholars wanted to track a linear evolution in the architecture of the period, and to credit Basil I with the construction of the key monuments, neither idea has held up against close scrutiny. Monasticism was on the rise during this period, notably in Bithynia, but without significant surviving remains (Ruggieri 1991).

Both Georgia and Armenia witness a flourishing of architecture in the seventh century, with numerous distinctive centrally planned, domed buildings, constructed of rubble faced with a fine ashlar. After a hiatus brought about by the Arab invasions, architecture in the Caucasus reappears with vigour in the Middle Byzantine period. Perhaps best understood as a regional phenomenon, the nature of their relationship with Byzantine architectural developments remains to be clarified.

Middle Byzantine (c.843–1204)

The end of Iconoclasm and the development of a theology of images had profound effects on church design, in terms of the development of a standardized programme

of decoration and a concomitant standardized building design, both of which reflected the hierarchy of Orthodox belief (Demus 1948). The standard church type, if it may be called that, was small and domed, with its centralized dome usually rising above four free-standing columns, called the cross-in-square church, for which the palace chapel of the Myrelaion in Constantinople, built c.920, stands as a good example, with a balance achieved between the articulation of the structural system and the coordination of the interior spaces. The tripartite sanctuary was closed off by an open screen or templon (Epstein 1981). The cross-in-square type is widespread, first appearing in Greece in the late tenth century at the Panagia church at Hosios Loukas monastery. The same building type appeared in central Anatolia, southern Italy, the Balkans, and Russia, with slight variations, and serving a variety of functions, as palatial, domestic, monastic, parish, or funerary churches. The common denominator in all was the small scale appropriate to small groups of worshippers or private use.

Variations in church design abound: basilicas and domed basilicas continued to appear, notably when larger interior spaces were required, but in some regions, such as northern Greece, small basilicas persist. Cross-domed churches could provide a more stable structural system and a more unified interior space, while allowing for a larger dome (Ousterhout 1985). Ambulatory-planned churches, such as the twelfth-century Pammakaristos in Constantinople, may have been intended to provide additional spaces for burial in close proximity to the naos. The several variations of the octagon-domed church provided more elaborated interior designs and complex surfaces for decoration, perhaps derived from Arab or Caucasian models; the eleventh-century *katholika* of Hosios Loukas monastery, of Nea Moni on Chios, and of St George of Mangana in Constantinople suggest the degree of variations possible (Mango 1976*b*: 364; Bouras 1982: 133–9). Triconch churches appear in the monastic environment of Mt Athos, with the addition of lateral apses to a standard cross-in-square plan. It is unclear if the new church type emerged by means of later additions or modifications. These *choroi* were occupied by the choirs of monks singing the services (Mylonas 1984).

Annexed chapels and more complex plans appear regularly in the Middle Byzantine period. The monastic church of the Theotokos of Lips in Constantinople, built c.907, included six chapels in its original design, with two flanking the bema and four tiny, possibly domed chapels on the gallery level. The *Katholikon* of Hosios Loukas monastery, from the early eleventh century, has eight chapels, organized on two levels. These subsidiary spaces have been interpreted as settings for private devotions, or possibly private liturgies, or as primarily commemorative spaces (Mathews 1982; Babić 1969), but they are clearly integrated into the overall design of the building (Ćurčić 1977). Often a single chapel is set to one side of the building, as at Çanlı Kilise in Cappadocia or St Nicholas at Kursumlija.

Churches in Constantinople from this period exhibit a balance between their various components: normally, in the plan, the tripartite sanctuary is balanced

by the narthex, and the structural divisions are emphasized by pilasters on the exterior. Some surface ornament occurs but it is usually limited, and in many instances exterior surfaces may have been plastered. On the interior, groin vaults and ribbed or pumpkin domes created undulating surfaces for mosaic decoration. In the eleventh and twelfth centuries, large imperially sponsored monastic complexes developed, in part as new settings for imperial and dynastic burials, as for example at the Pantokrator, built as three adjoining churches, 1118–36 (Ousterhout 2000).

In mainland Greece, vault forms were often simpler, but exterior surfaces more lavishly decorated, with cloisonné masonry and pseudo-kufic decorations, made of brick. The unusual Greek-cross-octagon plan, best known in the Katholikon of Hosios Loukas, may have appeared slightly earlier in the Panagia Lykodemou, and inspired a number of regional examples.

Architecture flourished in central Anatolia until the Seljuk conquest of the 1070s. Distinctive masonry churches are preserved in Cappadocia and Lycaonia, but they have been overshadowed in the scholarship by the hundreds of well-preserved rock-cut churches. Most of these follow standardized designs, as developed in masonry architecture, but with some inventiveness evident in the detailing. Well-preserved painted programmes and sanctuary furnishings have led to a virtual cottage industry of liturgical studies, although many issues remain unresolved (Epstein 1981; Mathews 1982; Epstein 1986; Teteriatnikov 1996; Asutay-Fleissig 1996; Asutay 1998).

In general, the church architecture of Serbia and Bulgaria in this period betrays close associations with Greece and Constantinople. The five-domed church of St Panteleimon at Nerezi, built 1164, for example, is certainly inspired by the architecture of the capital. Several large and distinctive basilicas were constructed to meet the demands of congregational worship, as at St Sofia in Ohrid, constructed c.1000. After the Russian state was Christianized in 987, it similarly required large congregational churches for the recently converted population. At St Sophia in Kiev, begun 1037, and elsewhere, imported Byzantine masons familiar with the structural systems of the small, vaulted churches, elaborated a basic Middle Byzantine scheme, enveloping the tall domed core of the building with a series of ambulatories and galleries (Schäfer 1973–4). These increased the interior space from what would have provided ample room for the private devotions of a few individuals to what was necessary for a large congregation. Following the initial impetus from Byzantium, however, as the centre of power shifts northward, Russia looked to the Romanesque architecture of northern Europe for inspiration, while maintaining the attenuated cross-in-square church as the standard type, as occurs at several twelfth-century churches in and around Vladimir.

Monasteries of the Middle and Late periods commonly had the church as the central element, a free-standing element within a walled enclosure lined with the monastic cells and other buildings. Often the refectory was set in relationship to the church building, either opposite or parallel to it. With most surviving examples,

the original church building is preserved, but the other buildings have undergone numerous reconstructions, as at Hosios Meletios, Hosios Loukas, and the monasteries on Mt Athos. Because of the site specificity and long construction history, it remains difficult to determine a 'standard' Middle Byzantine monastery type. There are numerous well-preserved examples in Cappadocia, with rock-cut refectories, although there may be some general confusion in distinguishing between monastic and domestic ensembles (Rodley 1985; Mathews and Daskalakis-Mathews 1997; Ousterhout 1998). Planning in these examples, however, was by necessity site-specific. Documentation of Serbian monasteries, new excavations, and the recent publication of translated and annotated *typika* should encourage further study of Byzantine monasticism of the Middle and Late periods (Zikos 1989; Popović 1994, 1998; Thomas and Hero (eds.) 2000).

Late Byzantine (c.1204–1453)

With the fragmentation of the Byzantine state came a concomitant fragmentation of the architecture, which became dominated by regional developments. In general terms, the design of the naos followed planning types established in the Middle Byzantine period, while architectural forms increase in complexity, both visually and in plan, with the addition of porticoes, ambulatories, galleries, annexed chapels, and belfries. A general loosening of architectural rigour is evident in the lack of relationship between interior spaces and exterior articulation (Ćurčić 1978; Ousterhout 1987).

The lacuna created by the Latin Occupation is difficult to fill, although the developments in Laskarid Asia Minor may help to bridge the gap. Churches surviving in Nicaea, Latmos, and on Chios may belong to this period. Unfortunately most examples cannot be securely identified, and the chronology is equally problematic: the dating of Panagia Krina on Chios to the end of the twelfth century, for example, throws Buchwald's relative dating into question (Buchwald 1979; Pennas 1991). In Greece, it now seems that local workshops continued under Latin patronage, requiring older chronologies to be reconsidered; Merbaka, once the linchpin in Megaw's chronology from Middle Byzantine churches of the Argolid, is now generally believed to date well into the thirteenth century (Megaw 1931–4; Coulson 2002; Bouras 2001).

At Trebizond, the church of Hagia Sophia (c.1238–63) betrays its mixed origins, with details from both Caucasian and Seljuk architecture. The origin of its distinctive lateral porches remains unclear.

In Constantinople, church architecture was revived after the reconquest of the city in 1261. Most constructions represent additions to existing monastic churches, as at the Lips, Chora, and Pammakaristos. Probably following the model of the triple church at the Pantokrator monastery, there is little attempt at visual

integration. These examples add an impressive funeral chapel along with additional narthexes or ambulatories, often equipped for burials. The building complexes are distinguished by an irregular row of apses along the east façade and topped by an asymmetrical array of domes. The parts read individually, with a marked contrast between the Middle and Late Byzantine forms. In all of the Palaiologan complexes, the new portions may be understood as a response to history, an attempt to establish a symbolic relationship with the past (Ousterhout 2000: 244–7). By 1330, however, the short-lived ‘Palaiologan renaissance’ had ended in the capital, at least in terms of major church construction.

Thessalonike also saw the construction of numerous churches in the Late Byzantine period. At Hagios Panteleimon, Hagia Aikaterine, and Hagioi Apostoloi, an attenuated cross-in-square core was enveloped by a domed, porticoed ambulatory. Although their counterparts in Constantinople clearly served a funerary function, the function of the ambulatory spaces in Thessalonike is less evident. Several simpler, unvaulted churches survive from the same period. The Profitis Elias, built c.1360 on an Athonite plan, demonstrates the enduring vitality of architecture in the city.

A number of churches are preserved from the same period in Epiros which exhibit some similarities in terms of the decorative treatment of surfaces, but without consistency in planning. The most complex, the Paregoritissa at Arta, built 1282–9, curiously merges a domed-octagon core with a two-storeyed, domed ambulatory. At Mistra, several churches combine a basilican ground plan with a cross-in-square, five-domed gallery, the whole enveloped by porticoes and additional subsidiary spaces. The Aphantiko at the Brontochion monastery, built c.1310–22, betrays evidence of an *ad hoc* creation, but the type is repeated as late as 1428 in the church of the Pantanassa monastery (Hallensleben 1969).

Perhaps most significant in this period is the emergence of neighbouring powers as creative centres of architecture. Bulgaria remained closest to Byzantium in its architectural developments. Although perhaps more robust in terms of their surface decoration, the late churches of Nesebar, for example, would not seem out of place in Constantinople. Medieval Serbia experienced some western European influence from the Dalmatian coast in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, but as close ties and political rivalry develop in the fourteenth century, Serbian architecture generally follows Byzantine developments, importing both ideas and masons. In many ways, King Milutin’s church at Gracanica, built before 1321, represents the culmination of Late Byzantine architectural design (Ćurčić 1979). Later architecture in Serbia is smaller in scale and more decorative, often utilizing the so-called Athonite plan, as at Ravanica (1375–7).

Romania represents a latecomer to the scene. Wallachia, liberated from Hungary in 1330, came under the influence of Serbian architecture, while Moldavia, liberated in 1365, shows a greater originality; fifteenth-century churches like that at Voronet, built c.1488, have steeply pitched, heavy overhanging roofs and a diminished dome

above a triconch plan, the walls entirely frescoed on the exterior. The origin of this distinctive architecture is unclear.

As Russia recovered from the Mongol invasions, Moscow emerged as the most important centre, and following the fall of Constantinople in 1453, it assumed the role of spiritual leader of the Orthodox world. In the late fifteenth century, a new architectural impetus arrived from Italy, in the form of imported Italian architects. The Cathedral of the Dormition in the Kremlin, constructed 1475–9, combined details derived from the Cathedral of Vladimir with an Italian Renaissance modular plan.

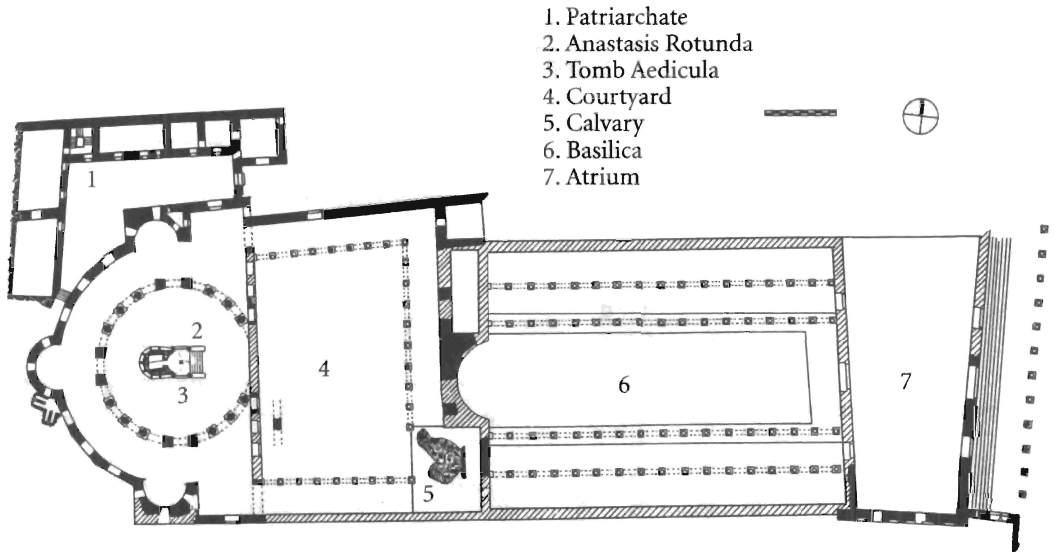


Fig. 1 Jerusalem, Holy Sepulchre, redrawn after Corbo

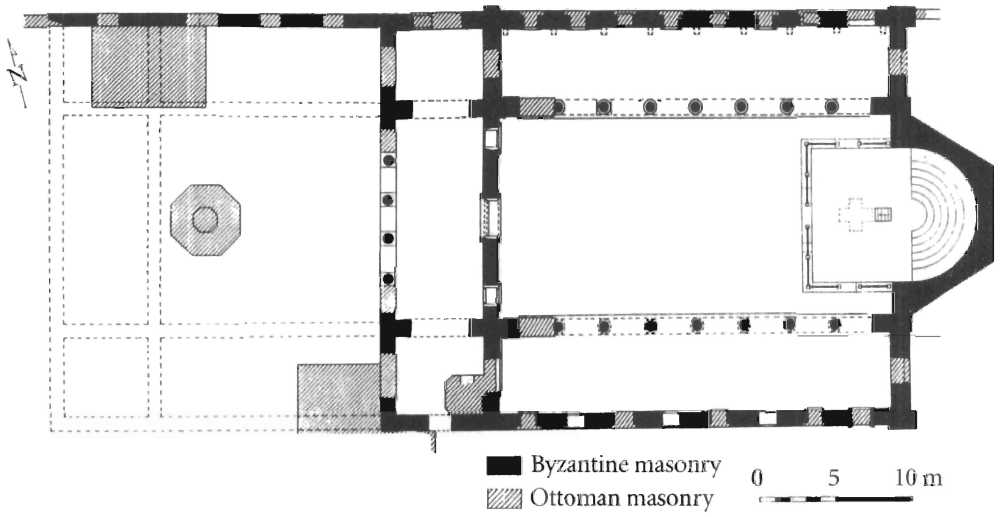


Fig. 2 Constantinople, St John Studios, redrawn after Mathews

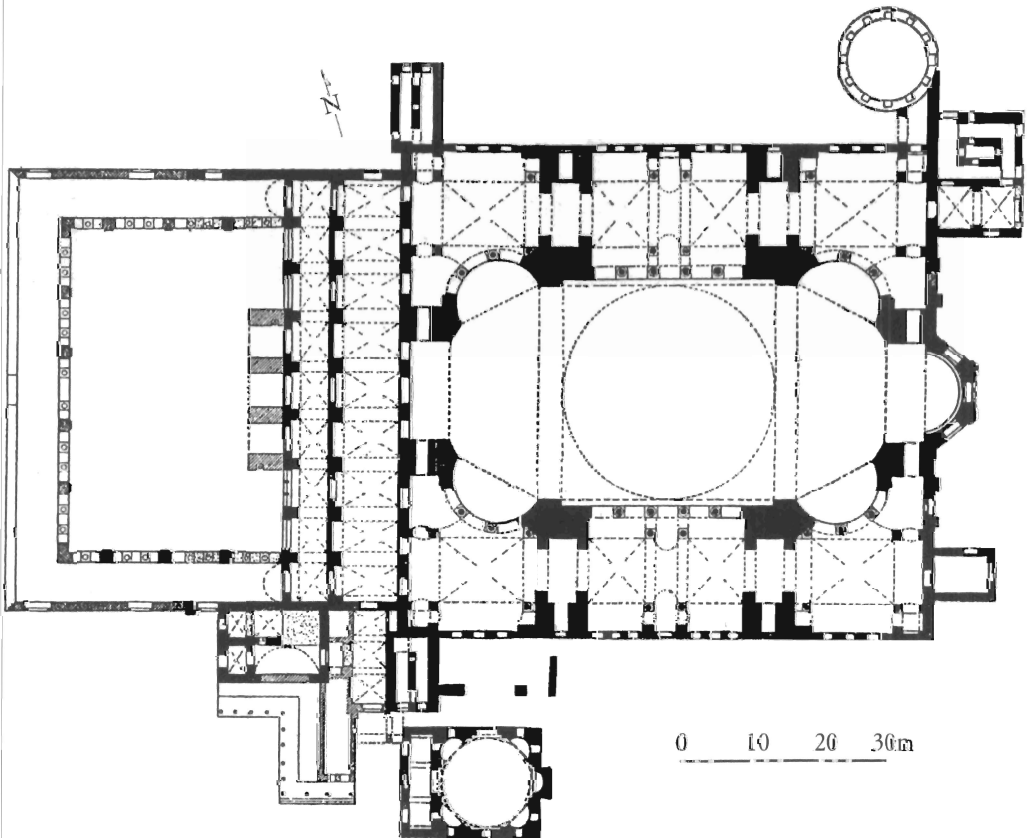


Fig. 3 Constantinople, Hagia Sophia, redrawn after Van Nice

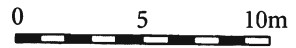
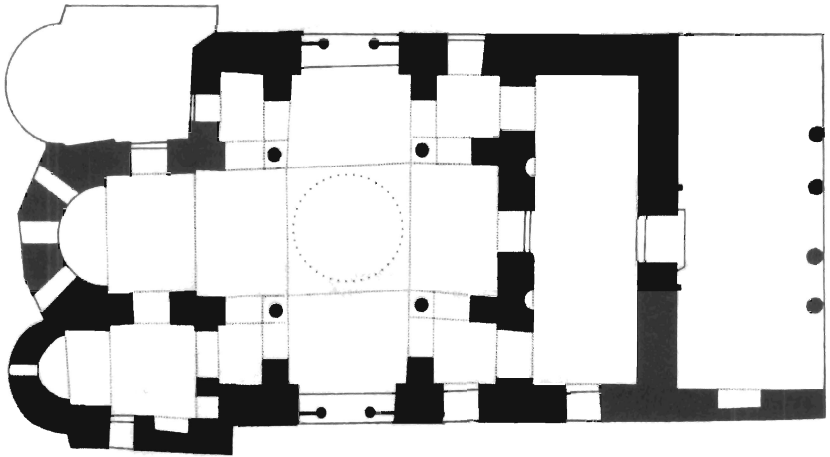
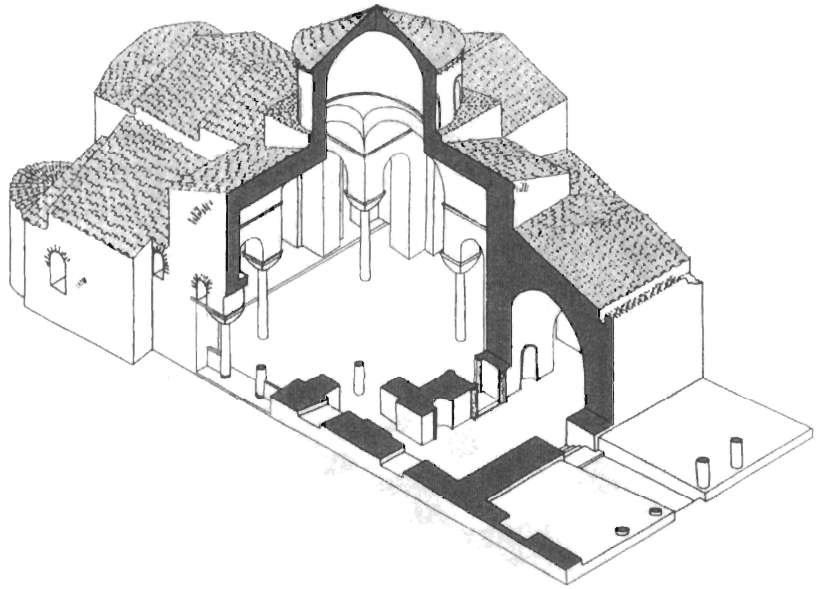


Fig. 4 Trilye, St Stephen(?), redrawn after Pekak

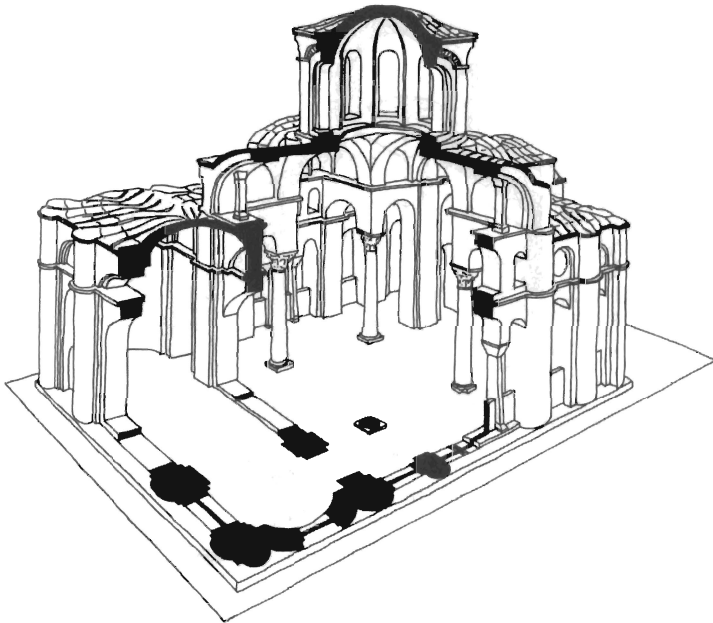


Fig. 5 Constantinople, Myrelaion, now Bodrum Camii, redrawn after Striker

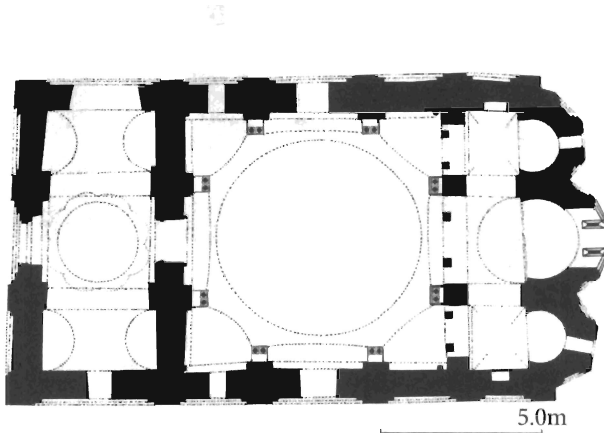


Fig. 6 Chios, Nea Moni, redrawn after Bouras

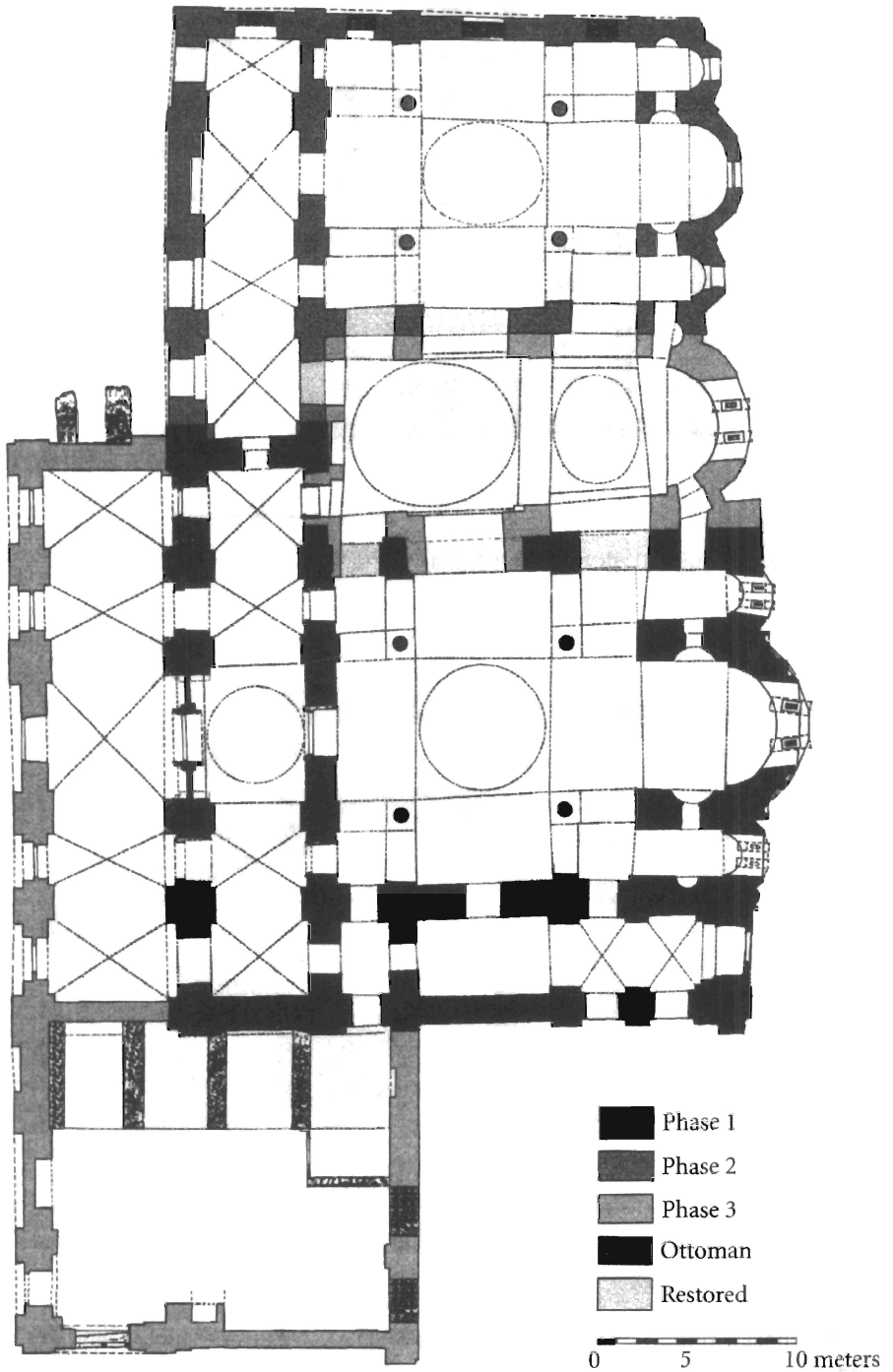


Fig. 7 Constantinople, Christ Pantokrator, now Zeyrek Camii, redrawn after Megaw

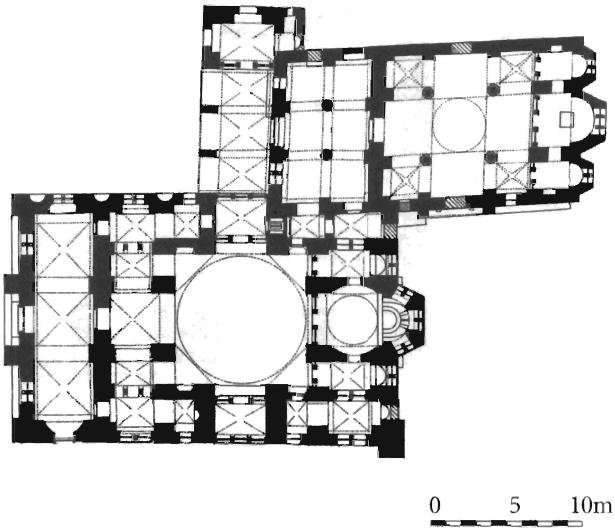


Fig. 8 Hosios Loukas, redrawn after Stikas

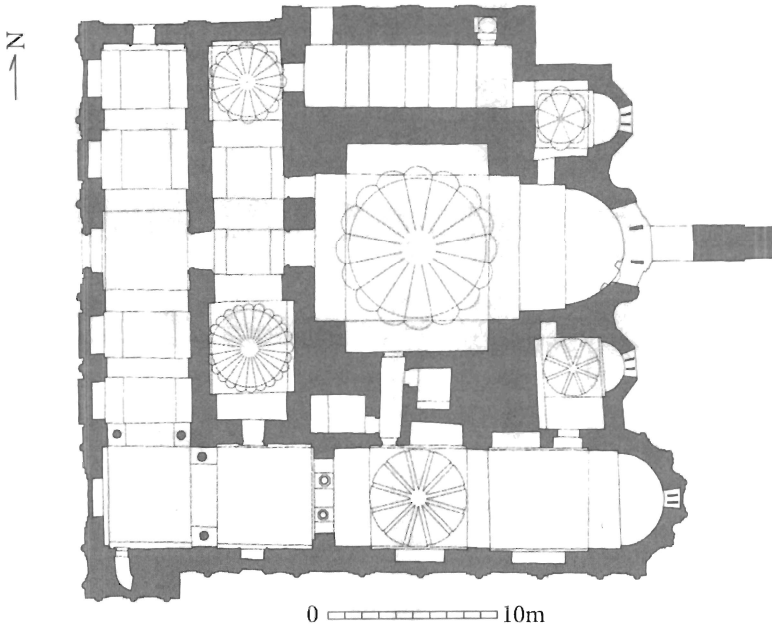


Fig. 9 Constantinople, Christ of the Chora, now Kariye Camii, redrawn after Underwood

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CHAPTER II.7.3

SECULAR AND MILITARY BUILDINGS

CHARALAMBOS BAKIRTZIS

SECULAR BUILDINGS

SECULAR buildings served the needs of private and public life without having a religious character or an ecclesiastical use, although religion of course permeated every aspect of life in Byzantium. Being directly related to family and social activities, secular buildings may be understood only within the context of cities to which they functionally belong.

The early Byzantine city, from Constantine I (324) to the end of the reign of Justinian I (565), represents the last phase of the Graeco-Roman city and together with its orthogonal grid kept in use and maintained large monumental secular buildings of public life. With the advent of Christianity the foundation and function of large churches with numerous annexe structures and a predefined orientation led not only to the gradual transformation of the orthogonal grid but also to changes in the function and aspect of public buildings and spaces (see also II.6.1. Towns and cities). The secular buildings put up in early Byzantine times maintained the architectural variety known from the Hellenistic and Roman periods and inherited their construction techniques from the Romans, but they gradually turned towards contraction, simplification, and practicality.

Considering that in early Byzantine times too the use for which a building was intended imposed its own architectural form, layout, and structure, public buildings of this period may be classified as follows: administrative and public buildings: markets, palaces, episcopal residences (*episkopeia*); private family residences: dwellings and their annexes; industrial buildings: shops, artisans' workshops, warehouses; infrastructure projects: roads, bridges, aqueducts, cisterns; buildings for health care and entertainment: hostels, hospitals, baths, theatres, hippodromes.

Administrative Buildings

The *market-places (agorai)* built in the early Byzantine period follow Roman models (e.g. the oval Forum erected by Constantine I in Constantinople, the circular agora of Justiniana Prima built by Justinian I), so much so that the Forum Tauri in Constantinople was laid out by Theodosios I in imitation of Trajan's Forum in Rome. The buildings and porticoes of those Roman agoras which continued in use during the early Byzantine period were constantly repaired, altered, and strengthened (e.g. at Philippi), since the construction of new buildings in them was prohibited (in 383; *Cod. Theod.* XV. 1.22). When, towards the end of the early Byzantine period, these structures collapsed, primarily as a result of earthquakes, they were not rebuilt in their previous monumental form; instead, the area was kept free, parts of it were put to other uses, and the marble architectural elements from their colonnades were either used in the repair of fortification walls and other structures, or were sold off as building material (as happened in Thessalonike).

Palaces served not only as imperial residences but also as administrative centres. They were placed prominently in the centre of cities and surpassed all other public buildings in scale and ostentation. The Great Palace at Constantinople (4th–6th cent.) is an example of the palace architecture that evolved in the capitals of the Tetrarchy (Trier, Milan, Antioch), following Roman models. The palace built by Galerius in Thessalonike in the early fourth century continued in use throughout the early Byzantine period as the seat of the prefecture.

When the autonomy of cities was destroyed, the urban duties of the *curiales* were transferred to the local bishop, who by the early fifth century actively intervened in urban life, undertaking obligations of a purely secular character among which was included the foundation of public buildings. The seat of a bishop was the *episkopeion*, which was transformed from an episcopal residence to an administrative building during the early Byzantine period. No particular architectural type was created for this purpose: an *episkopeion* resembled a large urban house, being less monumental than a palace. It was situated either in the city centre, next to the metropolitan church (Constantinople, Miletos) or at its edge (Stobi).

Episkopeia were provided with a large apsidal hall (Side) or a triconch (Aphrodisias) used for gatherings of clergy or laity, auxiliary rooms for staff (Philippi), and an upper floor with the bishop's quarters. Some had a monumental entrance, an atrium/colonnade, and wine and olive press installations (Pallas 1971; Müller-Wiener 1983; Avramea 1987).

Private Residences

Early Byzantine *houses* were no different from those of the Roman and Hellenistic periods. Some were occupied uninterruptedly from Roman times to the end of the early Byzantine period, were continuously altered, and had their rooms subdivided into smaller spaces (Ephesos, Thessalonike, Philippi). They may be divided in two categories:

(a) Houses with rooms around an inner courtyard, with or without porticoes. This is the large one- or two-storey house (*domus*) common in the cities of the Graeco-Roman world. Its largest and most ostentatious apsidal room (*triclinium*) served as a reception hall. Between the rooms there was sometimes a small bath (Agora of Athens) or a private Christian prayer room (Dura Europos, Apollonia in Libya).

(b) One-, two-, or multi-storey houses (*insulae*) with several rooms and no inner courtyard. The ground floor was usually occupied by storerooms and workshops. The layout of rooms on the upper floors remains unknown.

(See Bouras 1982–3; Ćurčić 2002.)

Industrial Buildings

Shops lined the main thoroughfares and market-places of cities where they were grouped according to their speciality (the workshops/retail shops of the furriers of Constantinople stood in the Forum of Constantine, the Forum of Theodosios, and along the *Mese*). Shops were four-sided rooms on the ground floor, of equal size to each other according to the initial plans, located on one side of the market-place facing the main street (Thessalonike, Philippi). There were isolated shops in other parts of the cities, occupying the ground floor of houses and functioning on a private or family basis (Crawood 1990). Polluting workshops such as those of potters, brick-makers, and those containing lime-kilns, all of which required space for their installations, were located outside the city walls, near their source of raw material, near harbours or main roads (Thessalonike, Platamon in Pieria). Workshops of the same kind located outside the cities constituted industrial settlements and as a result

their production was standardized and trade was facilitated (ceramic workshops at Diorios in Cyprus) (Sodini 1979).

Storage was a necessity in both private and public spheres of activity. Nevertheless, it does not appear to have generated a particular architectural type of warehouse, with the exception of storerooms for specific purposes. The architecture of the *granaries* of Tenedos belonged to a specific type and resembled that of shipyards (*neoria*). They were built by Justinian I to keep the Egyptian *annona* when weather conditions prevented ships from sailing up the Dardanelles to reach Constantinople, where, as in other cities (Thessalonike), there were large public granaries.

Infrastructure

Streets belonged to various categories according to their importance: public thoroughfares, local and private streets. They were paved in marble or stone, or were left unpaved. Within cities the main road was called *Mese* (Constantinople) or *Leophoros* (Thessalonike) and was lined with monumental porticoes (*embolos*), as were other important streets.

The efficiency of the public road system for the shortening of distances between cities depended on the existence of *bridges* which are systematically marked on maps such as the *Tabula Peutingeriana*. Their construction technique employing arches resting on piers was inherited from the Romans. Some bridges were works of outstanding technical sophistication, like for example that which Constantine built over the Danube. Among the bridges mentioned by Prokopios that which crossed the Sangarios in Bithynia has survived: It was built using ashlar for the facing and rubble with a strong mortar for the core. (See also II.4 Communications.)

Aqueducts, often with multiple rows of arches, display similar construction techniques. The network of aqueducts which by the end of the fourth century surpassed 100 km in length, in addition to the already existing aqueduct of Hadrian which was restored by Valens, testifies to the growth of Constantinople. The early Byzantine period witnessed the construction of new and the repair of older aqueducts (Bithynia, Cilicia, Cyprus). Because of their vulnerability to enemy attacks and the ravages of time most were destroyed during the seventh century.

Water from aqueducts was stored within cities for security reasons, in large public half-buried open-air or covered *cisterns*. The open-air cistern of Aetios in Constantinople (421) had a capacity of up to 300,000 cubic m. The covered cistern of Philoxenos in Constantinople (Binbirdirek) holds 40,000 cubic m. Its brick vaults rest on brick arches over 16 rows of 14 marble columns each. The Basilike (Yerebatan Sarayı) was even larger. The open-air cistern at Amphipolis, with a capacity of over

6,000 cubic m, contained three smaller covered cisterns. It was fed by an aqueduct coming from Mt Pangaion, and was surrounded by a system for the collection of rainwater. Its water was used not only for irrigation but also for power. The water storage capacity of Thessalonike was increased at the time of the Slavic attacks in the second half of the sixth century with the transformation of the *cryptoporticus* of the Roman forum into a cistern. Smaller cisterns were built for public secular, ecclesiastical, and private buildings.

Buildings for Health Care and Entertainment

The distinction between *hostels* and *hospitals* in early Byzantine times remains unclear. Justinian I and Theodora founded in Constantinople a hostel for visitors, while evidence in the *Miracles of Saint Demetrios* suggests that a hospital for all types of diseases functioned in an annexe of the basilica which was associated with the tomb of Saint Demetrios and that a hostel for long-term accommodation was also operating (see also III.11.6 Charitable institutions).

Bathing was particularly popular and Roman *baths* continued to function in the capital and in provincial cities, although their number was on the decrease and their place was being taken by newly built ecclesiastical complexes (Thessalonike). Early Byzantine baths were large public compounds following the architecture and technology of Roman *thermae*, and their interior was decorated with statues and mythological scenes. The Constantinianai (345–427) were the largest and those of Zeuxippos (or Severos) the most famous among the *thermae* of Constantinople, where in the fifth century there were nine public and 153 private baths. Private baths were smaller (House of Eustolios at Kourion, Cyprus). Among private baths one may include those belonging to churches (Hagios Georgios at Pegia, Cyprus) which admitted members of the clergy, despite strong opposition from the Church. After the sixth century public baths, considered inconsistent with the Christian way of life, gradually fell into disuse (Berger 1982).

For the same reason the ancient *theatres* of cities ceased functioning after their transformation into arenas in late Roman times. The *Miracles of Saint Demetrios* describe one of the last performances at the theatre of Thessalonike, where a play (*komeidyllion*) was performed in the presence of the metropolitan of the city (Lemerle 1979: 146).

The *Hippodrome* of Constantinople, a characteristic Roman building with a capacity of 100,000 spectators, was turned by Constantine I into the nerve centre of political life in the empire. The sources mention hippodromes in many other cities too. After the sixth to seventh centuries, however, they ceased functioning and some were abandoned or turned into rubbish dumps or cemeteries (Carthage, Dyrachion) (see also III.13.5 Entertainments, theatre, and hippodrome).

CITY LAYOUT

The abandonment or contraction of many cities, the judicious foundation of new settlements (*kastra*) in more secure sites, and the movement of populations into the large urban centres in the course of the seventh and eighth centuries had dramatic consequences. After the mid-ninth century the appearance of cities changes. The regular grid of the early Byzantine city, by now transformed into a *kastron*, was maintained only at its most basic level. Only streets leading to the gates in the city wall continued functioning but even they were now often narrower, with changes in direction, alterations to the street level, while new water supply and sewage systems were constructed using brick or ceramic ducts. Urban blocks containing a small number of houses were turned into districts with many small dwellings, courtyards, meandering passages, and blind alleys. An equally complex organic urban layout developed in the new *kastra*. Buildings, both ecclesiastical and secular, were now smaller in the spirit of microcosm which prevailed. (See II.6.1 Towns and cities.)

Our knowledge of secular buildings in Byzantium, in particular after the ninth century, is limited, for various reasons: Scholarship, and especially archaeology, has been attracted to the secular character of Byzantium only in recent decades; as a result, known excavated or surviving examples are few, and even in these cases the picture remains unclear. Evidence from archaeology and the written record suggests that older structures were repaired and transformed in order to acquire a new function, parts were incorporated into more recent buildings, in what could be termed a 'structural patchwork' which hinders all but very basic conclusions as to building types. As a result, it is almost impossible to attribute a specific function to excavated secular buildings after the ninth century. Private buildings were small and simple, according to the needs imposed by the medieval microcosm, built out of poor materials without any concern about their durability. Public buildings and those destined for public welfare use were better built but the examples are too few to allow their satisfactory understanding. The variety of forms and monumentality of early Byzantine public architecture were replaced by practical considerations. According to the latter, the services usually provided by the city, if not taken over by the local church and monasteries, could be accommodated in any building appropriate for the purpose without this having to belong to a particular architectural form. In Sparta, for example, the members of the local aristocracy gathered in the church of St Barbara to debate issues concerning their city. In the fourteenth century John Apokaukos conducted his administrative duties at Thessalonike from his own house, although there was an imperial palace in the city (*basileia*, where the emperors resided). The only specialized secular building activity was that concerning fortifications, because the latter constantly served the defence needs of the Christian population. Our picture of secular buildings in Byzantium is supplemented by information from the sources whose aim is of course not to

describe architecture or the building industry; thus, the latter are dealt with in the wider context of the representation of the everyday life of the Byzantines in both cities and countryside.

The transformation of the city into a fortified citadel (*kastron*) gave the acropolis a marked defensive character as the second or third line of defence; as a result, the seat of the local governor and his administration was moved there, and in the late Byzantine period was turned into his personal refuge. The concept of a fortified palace appears after the decline of cities (7th–8th cents.). The palaces at Mangana (11th cent.) and Blachernai (12th cent.) in Constantinople are far from the city centre, in the periphery near the walls. This concept continues and palaces built for the new states founded after the Latin conquest, during the Frankokratia, are situated within the acropolis (Trebizond). During the thirteenth to fourteenth centuries palace architecture was even more closely linked to that of fortifications and palaces, following the western model, were isolated from the city (Tekfur Sarayı) for protection against both internal and external attacks. The great majority of fortified palaces of the late medieval period were destroyed during the Ottoman conquest (Kastellion of Chryseia at Constantinople, Heptapyrgion at Thessalonike) (Ćurčić 1993, 2000).

The contraction of urban space, combined with the movement of population from the countryside, resulted in the vertical rather than horizontal expansion of private dwellings (Constantinople, Thessalonike, Corinth). Both written sources and depictions of houses in art, which supplement the meagre archaeological record, testify to the existence of multi-storey houses. John Tzetzes (12th cent.) lived on the second floor of a three-storey block in Constantinople devoid of regulations and without provision for sewage disposal. Such buildings were extended with additions, like the house of the historian Attaleiates (1077), and occupied entire city blocks. Zonaras compares such large houses to imperial palaces while Anna Komnene calls them cities within the city, not only because of their scale and ostentation, but also because of their self-sufficiency, following the monastic model, as is abundantly clear in the case of the house of Botaneiates (1203), which had several entrances, gatehouses, two chapels, courtyards, reception rooms, dining halls, dwellings, terraces, kiosks, stables, a granary, vaulted structures, fountains, a bath, and rental space.

Mansions belonging to wealthy owners are to be found in provincial cities too (Corinth, Mistra, Pergamon type A). These were two-storey structures, often with a raised tower, provided with facilities (fire-places, built staircases, latrines) and a large hall (*triklinarion*) imitating imperial palaces. Leon Sikoundenos in twelfth-century Thessalonike owned a luxurious house adorned with Old Testament scenes, personifications, and a portrait of the emperor. The dwelling of Digenes Akrites on the Euphrates resembled a palace: the three-storey stone-built house had a garden and courtyard with a private chapel, and the ceilings of the house itself were decorated with mosaic scenes from the Old Testament, the *Iliad*, the *Odyssey*, and the life of Alexander the Great.

As in early Byzantine times, rooms were laid around an atrium, while ground-floor houses with one or two rooms accommodating a family shared a communal courtyard which was reached from the main street through a maze of passages and blind alleys (Corinth, Thessalonike, Cherson, Pergamon type D). These houses were built using spolia and incorporating walls and sections of earlier houses. Provided that space was available, a faithful imitation of the early Byzantine house (*domus*) could be achieved (house outside the walls of Thebes, Pergamon types B and C). In Cappadocia the layout with rock-cut chambers carved around an atrium was maintained, with a certain complexity in plan resulting from the fact that several families shared the same compound.

Houses in the countryside and in *kastra* were single-storey with two to three rooms (Armatova in Eleia), or two-storey because of the sloping ground (Mouchli in the Peloponnesos) and imitated the houses of larger urban centres. Nicholas Mesarites (1200) describes village houses built in reeds coated with mud and covered with thatched roofs.

The contraction of the inhabited area of Byzantine cities led to the foundation or the transfer within their walls of monasteries which engaged in secular activities. These activities were housed in buildings of no specific architectural type erected within or without the monastery's walls, and included handicraft workshops, libraries, *scriptoria*, and institutions of a philanthropic character such as hospitals (Pantokrator, Constantinople) and orphanages (St Nicholas Orphanos, Thessalonike). The monastery of Pantokrator at Constantinople was entrusted by John II with the management of the water from the great cistern in the acropolis of Thessalonike. The surviving covered cistern built according to early Byzantine models in the courtyard of the monastery of the Virgin in Thessalonike (now the church of the Holy Apostles) has a capacity which exceeds the needs of a monastic community. Other types of secular buildings such as hostels were built in pilgrimage centres. Their architecture, however, remains unknown because of a lack of archaeological evidence.

The open space of earlier monumental agoras was now taken over by market stalls for fairs, inns, workshops, and even burials. After the early Byzantine period workshops were moved from the outskirts into the city for security reasons, but they cannot be easily identified in the archaeological record. The ground floor of houses was often occupied by workshops. Those with specialized installations are easier to identify (pottery kilns, glass furnaces). Artisanal and industrial units were accommodated either within cities, such as the carpet and textile-weaving workshops of Danielis in ninth-century Patras, or in compounds in their outskirts, such as the thirteenth-century pottery workshops at Mikro Pisto in western Thrace.

In Byzantine times old *aqueducts* were not maintained and new ones were difficult to build, mainly for security reasons. Byzantine aqueducts have been excavated at Argos and Thebes. The aqueduct at Christoupolis (Kavala) replaced in the sixteenth century a pre-existing barrier wall of the early fourteenth century which

had also been used as an aqueduct and provides an example of such works. Water supply in the Byzantine period was based mainly on wells and public, monastic, or private cisterns which collected rainwater. These structures display no particular architectural traits. They were often incorporated in the lower parts of towers so as to maintain a constant cool temperature, had a hydraulic cement coating, and were provided with access points for frequent cleaning.

The operation of *baths* relied on the abundant supply of water, although Ptochoprodromos, despite his appreciation of a comfortable life, considers a weekly bath as satisfactory. Social life in Byzantine times was not centred on the bathhouse and for this reason the best known among them were private, such as that of Basil I in the Great Palace or that of the father-in-law of Leo VI. Baths associated with healing were available in monasteries (Kaisariane, Vodoca) or larger monastic communities (Mt Papikion). An entire Byzantine bath which functioned for many centuries is preserved at Thessalonike, while ruined examples survive in Sparta and Paramythia. Byzantine baths are small and cater for a restricted number of users. They are provided with hypocausts, they maintain the division between cold, warm, and hot compartments and either had separate facilities for men and women or different times for visits by each sex. They continue the tradition of small bathhouses of the early Byzantine period.

Following the abandonment of ancient theatres and the occupation of their sites by houses (Aphrodisias) liturgical dramas were performed in the courtyards and inside churches. Chariot races were still organized in the Hippodrome of Constantinople into the ninth century, albeit less frequently, and continued on special occasions until the Hippodrome's abandonment during the Latin period when the site was used as an open ground for tournaments. Similar spectacles in provincial cities took place in open fields devoid of any particular architectural features, like the *tzykanesterion* of Sparta and Trebizond.

MILITARY BUILDINGS

The construction, maintenance, and repair of fortifications were matters of constant concern to the Byzantine authorities, and aimed at the protection of the Christian population and of the empire's territory (Lawrence 1983; Foss and Winfield 1986). Byzantium adopted the principles of Roman military architecture, and effectiveness was achieved through the expedient planning and construction of defences: for example, the crosses and inscriptions put up on fortifications were not decorative but served primarily as reminders to the foe of the forces facing them. Defences may be classified as follows, according to their function:

A. Defences of settlements:

1. Fortifications around large cities which, because of their location and size, maintained their administrative and economic role without diminishing their area after the end of antiquity (Constantinople, Thessalonike, Nicaea). In the case of Constantinople, the urban area defined by the land walls of Constantine I was enlarged under Theodosios II by 1.5 km with a new wall extending from the Sea of Marmara to the Golden Horn. The Long Walls were built 65 km from Constantinople and functioned as an advance defence line against the enemy. Although the line of walls at Thessalonike and Nicaea remained unchanged after the third century, the fortifications underwent many additions, alterations, and repairs. Land walls around large cities consisted of an inner rampart with towers and gates, and on flat ground a lower outer wall with towers and a moat. Sea walls consisted of a single line of fortifications with towers. The acropolis was a special type of fortification.

2. Fortifications around cities and *kastra*. These include cities fortified in the early Byzantine period (Prokopios provides a long list of urban fortifications under Justinian I), cities which, having contracted after the end of Antiquity, acquired a new fortified perimeter (Maroneia, Abdera), and *kastra* founded and fortified after the early Byzantine period on naturally protected sites (Kastoria, Monemvasia, Servia). These defences imitate those of large cities but remain simpler. The natural situation of a fortress was fully exploited and the advantages it offered were incorporated within its system of defences. The fortifications of cities and *kastra* sometimes comprised internal ramparts which served as successive lines of defence (Serres).

3. Fortifications around monasteries. Monasteries may be compared to cities because of their operational autonomy. Their fortifications with towers and gates imitate those of cities (Great Lavra). The role of the acropolis was taken over by the main tower. Monastic defences marked the self-sufficiency of the community they are protecting and provided a place of refuge for dependent populations (Sinai); for this reason some Byzantine monasteries developed into lay settlements (Bera in Thrace).

B. Isolated fortifications:

1. Forts and towers. These controlled sites of strategic importance, passes, and road junctions. They were used for various purposes: for military control, for the storage of agricultural produce, as accommodation for the local ruler, and as a place of refuge for the population of the area. Their strength lies in the relationship between rampart and tower. In a fort or an acropolis/citadel the rampart plays a crucial role (forts of Justinian I in Africa, fort of John VI Kantakouzenos at Pythion, Thrace) whereas in the case of towers the primary or indeed only important element is the tower itself (Tower of Phonias in Samothrake).

2. Barrier walls. These are linear fortifications with towers and gates, designed to control movements or thwart the enemy at important junctions, mountain passes, or narrow straits (Hexamilion, Kassandra). Barrier walls often carried an aqueduct (Anastasioupolis, Christoupolis).

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CHAPTER II.7.4

WALL-PAINTINGS AND MOSAICS

ROBIN CORMACK

MOST of our direct knowledge about the embellishment of buildings comes from monumental church decoration, although excavated houses at Ephesos and other sites witness to interior decoration in domestic settings. The Palatine Anthology mentions pictures of charioteers in the Hippodrome (Mango 1972: 49–50) and the sixth-century verses of Agathias also refer to portraits of magistrates, a professor, and a prostitute in secular settings (Mango 1972: 119). In churches, pride of place in the early period was given to the sanctuary decoration, but by the late Byzantine period both walls and vaults contained virtually encyclopaedic visual compendia of church history and saints. The eighth-century commentary on the liturgy by Germanos, Patriarch of Constantinople from 715 to 733, the *Historia Ecclesiastica*, reveals that particular parts of the church were seen in terms of evocative moments in the life of Christ, and so the apse was regarded as the cave of the nativity and the altar table as the place where Christ was laid in the tomb (Meyendorff 1984). This topographical symbolism was the conceptual basis for choosing to represent the Virgin and child in the apse and Christ in the dome, which was understood as a symbol of heaven (Gerstel 1999). Another principle was to link the choice of decoration with the function of a particular church space, and this is to be seen in the choice of the Baptism and the Last Judgement for the narthex, where baptism and commemoration of the dead took place. But such pictorial connections acted as loose principles rather than as a fully worked out or imposed 'ideal' image system (Demus 1948: 14 ff.). By the eighteenth century, Dionysius of Fournà (Hetherington 1974: 84–7, translating the Greek text of

Papadopoulos-Kerameus 1909) had, however, formalized Orthodox practice and was prepared to prescribe the decoration of the 'normal' church architecture.

Mosaic was more expensive than wall-painting, because it involved all the same processes of organization and preparation, but in addition required the manufacture and setting of hundreds of stone and glass tesserae in the plaster. For this reason it has been often assumed that mosaic was an imperial monopoly. This was certainly not the case in the pre-iconoclastic period, where for example several churches on Cyprus had mosaic decorations which have no patronal connection with the emperor, such as the apses of the churches at Kiti and Livadhia and at the Panagia Kanakaria (James 2006: 32). Even S. Vitale at Ravenna despite the inclusion of two imperial portrait panels was sponsored by the local Julius Argentarius rather than Justinian (Mango 1972: 104–5). Nor is Justinian's patronage mentioned on the mosaic apse inscriptions at St Catherine's at Sinai, though his name appears on the wooden roof beams (datable between 548 and 565). However, after iconoclasm a number of mosaic decorations are more specifically connected with emperors—such as the mosaics of Hagia Sophia, and those of the Nea Moni on Chios which are connected with Constantine Monomachos (Mouriki 1985: 21–9). The last major mosaics set up in Constantinople, those of the Kariye Camii (the Chora Monastery), were financed by the Grand Logothete Theodore Metochites and not the emperor himself. Wall-painting is much more common than mosaic, and the walls and vaults of every Byzantine church would have received some sort of embellishment, even if only a decoration of crosses and ornament, as in the case of Justinian's Hagia Sophia (in mosaic) and of several of the rock-cut churches of Cappadocia.

MAKING A WALL-PAINTING

Knowledge of the painting practices of monumental artists is derived from direct observations in buildings that have been expertly conserved, combined with information recorded in a number of medieval and Renaissance and later texts written by practising artists (first collected by Merrifield 1849). The key descriptive archaeological texts are those of Underwood (1967) and Winfield (1968), and are based on work carried out under the auspices of Dumbarton Oaks in the monuments of Constantinople and Cyprus.

The artist faced with the bare masonry walls of the completed church would erect a wooden scaffolding and work from the top downwards in order not to spoil completed sections from paint drips. The work would be carried out in a series of horizontal registers of a convenient height. It seems likely that the lime plaster was laid in horizontal courses (in Italian, *pontate*) which roughly corresponded with

the levels of the floors of the scaffolding; and so the joins of the *pontate* may well pass through the figures (the joins can be detected by looking for the overlapping plaster layers). There is no clear evidence that the plaster was laid in small patches corresponding to a day's work (*giornate*), although maybe certain segments were plastered and painted in a planned sequence. In this respect Byzantine fresco-painting differs from the 'true fresco' of the Italian Renaissance where *giornate* can generally be easily identified through the close examination of the surface of the fresco and which can be taken to indicate that all work was done in small sections while the plaster was still wet. Likewise there is no evidence of the use of cartoons made in advance of the painting with the design imprinted onto the plaster surface by dusting charcoal powder through perforations in the drawing, as happened in Italy from the fifteenth century (Borsook 1981). Byzantine artists planned the compositions, sometimes with preliminary drawings on the masonry but more generally with an under-drawing on the plaster, known as the *sinopia* and formed of a red earth pigment.

The work began with the spreading of a rough layer of plaster on the wall (the *arriccio* or base plaster). This was then covered by a second and thinner layer of plaster (the *intonaco* or surface plaster) on which the final painting was done. The main ingredient of the plaster was lime and into this was mixed a filler, which could be sand or marble dust or broken-up brick or pottery. Both layers of plaster were made with coats of lime mixed with straw chopped into pieces of up to 3 cm in length. The purpose of the straw was to bind the plaster and reduce its shrinkage and cracking as well as to slow down the drying process. The two coats together generally measure between 2 and 3 cm in thickness. The painting was started on the *intonaco* while the plaster was still wet, but the final work may have been done on virtually dry plaster. When the second layer of plaster was laid and smoothed out or even polished, the artist did the rapid sketch, the *sinopia*, and then speedily covered it with the brush strokes of the final composition. Haloes were drawn with the help of a compass and the guidelines for the drapery were frequently incised so that the artist could still track them despite the fact that the *sinopia* was progressively obscured as the final painting advanced. In painting drapery, the usual procedure was to start with one of the darker values of the colour (this initial layer is known as the *proplasmos*), and to work successively with lighter values, ending with the white highlights. The faces and flesh parts of the figures were done last and were often painted *al secco* as the plaster had dried by this point.

The pigments used for wall-paintings were mostly natural materials and usually minerals. For whites, lime (*calcium hydroxide*) was used and for black, charcoal. The colours used in wall-painting are blue, yellow, red, green, violet, and brown. Azurite is used for blues and very occasionally the more expensive pigment lapis lazuli. Yellows and reds are earth colours (ochres). The greens are terre-verte or malachite. The reddish-browns are umber. The reddish violets (reddish or deep blue) are probably iron oxides. Some wall-paintings are enhanced with gilding,

notably for example for haloes. It is assumed by most observers that the pigments are mixed with lime as the medium for application, but it may be that certain pigments were mixed with other binding media as suggested in the medieval and Renaissance manuals, such as the fifteenth-century *Book of the Art of Cennino Cennini* (Herringham 1899).

The main danger to the longevity of Byzantine wall-paintings lay in rising damp or water damage from leaking roofs or fissures in the masonry or general humidity, all of which can produce a hard calcareous deposit over the paintings (as happened in the Kariye Camii), or cause mould and deterioration. Wall-paintings could be renewed by later patrons by adding a new layer of plaster and repainting the decoration—as happened several times in the wall-paintings of S. Maria Antiqua in Rome. They can also be painted over in whitewash, as happened to many churches converted into mosques in the Ottoman period. In both eventualities, the surface of the previous painting is often pitted with holes to give better adherence to the wall of the later layer. These tell-tale signs of later alterations can be seen in many painted churches, particularly in the Balkans. They can be concealed by the modern restorer through neutral toning-in to prevent the appearance of a ‘snow storm’ over the original decorations.

MAKING A MOSAIC

The processes of mosaic production involve all the same stages as wall-paintings and some extra ones. Mosaicists no doubt worked in both media, and this is made clear from the stylistic similarities of the wall-paintings and the mosaics of the Kariye Camii produced between 1315 and 1321 when the church was completed (Underwood 1967: 172). Very likely the same artists also produced some of the icons in the churches they had decorated.

Until observations were made, in particular by the restorer Ernest Hawkins, during the restorations of the mosaics of Hagia Sophia at Constantinople which started in 1932 (Cormack 1981), the predominant view in the literature was that Byzantine and Italian mosaics were made in the studio, while reversed and attached to cartoons, and were then carried to the church and set in position on the walls (Underwood 1967, vol. 1: 172–3, 179). What disproved this was the observation that tesserae were individually set *in situ* on the walls to catch the light or to adjust to individual structural features in the building. One clear case of pragmatic mosaic work is in the figure of St John the Baptist in the fourteenth-century bema mosaic at the Fetiye Camii. This figure is in the south lunette and the artist has not filled in the flesh of the hands or the feet with tesserae but only with painted fresco (Underwood

1967, vol. 1: 179; Belting and others 1978: fig 24a). Not only were these flesh parts set last but the artist has economized in the use of tesserae in a position which would have been very hard for the Byzantine viewer ever to see, as the bright light from the south window would have made these *ad hoc* economies features virtually invisible to the human eye. The same shortcut of using fresco instead of mosaic was made in this church in the saints in the prothesis and diakonikon where some other figures were equally difficult for the viewer to see (St Clement, St Cyril, and St Athanasios).

The mosaicist generally covered the bare walls of the church with not two but three plaster layers, although some cases of two layers only have been claimed in the modern literature. The surface of the first two layers was treated similarly with a series of impressed indentations. The purpose was to ensure that the final layer adhered firmly to the wall or the vault. However, in order to give extra adhesion of the plaster to the vaults, it was normal to hammer iron nails with large flat heads into the masonry, and the plaster was set around these nails. This was unfortunately only a short-term solution and over time the nails were liable to rust and gradually to expand through corrosion, causing the plaster to splinter and crumble and the tesserae to fall. The third and final layer, the setting bed, consisted of lime and a filler, usually marble dust, and the straw was omitted. This procedure meant that the combined thickness of the three plaster layers normally measured from 4 to 5 cm.

Where tesserae have fallen from the setting bed, it is possible to see the nature of the preliminary work carried out during production. Hence it is clear that it was the practice to apply a full painted composition to the wet setting bed before the tesserae were inserted one by one. This under-painting was to act as a guide both to the placing and forms of the figures and backgrounds and also to the colours to be used. As for the gold background to be found in many mosaics, this was indicated usually with an earth red ground, although sometimes yellow ochre was used instead. These coloured grounds meant that an extra depth was given to the values of the gold grounds of mosaics as these painted colours may have been visible through the interstices of the tesserae and would have enhanced the gold. In cases where the gold tesserae were tilted to reflect more light and at the same time fewer were used for reasons of economy, the coloured setting bed compensated for the lack of tesserae (as in the case of the narthex mosaic in Hagia Sophia at Constantinople).

As in the case of wall-paintings, it is hard to unravel from observation of the surface of the mosaic, or even of exposed setting beds, how much work was achievable in the course of one day's work. In the Kariye Camii in the Presentation of the Virgin in the Temple, a scene which included fourteen figures as well as architectural elements and trees and which covers the whole of the vault of the third bay of the inner narthex, one easily visible joint in the gold background runs across the centre of the composition. This was taken to indicate that the scene was executed in two major sections (Underwood 1967: vol. 1: 178; vol. 2: fig. 119). But it is unclear whether in fact each of these sectors was divided into smaller sections, with, for

example, each figure representing a separate piece of work and with the suture in the gold background representing no more than the final operation in the mosaic when the gold tesserae were set between all the figures and the architecture. The interpretation is important, as it might be an indicator of the number of people involved in setting the mosaics—either one man and a few assistants or a large workshop operation. Both views are to be found in the art historical literature. It is the case that ornamental borders around scenes are done in separate operations after the scene is finished (Underwood 1967: vol. 1: 178).

The size of the tesserae differs, depending on their position—those for the face and hair are usually the smallest and those for the gold background usually the largest. The materials for tesserae are various, but the predominant materials are glass and stone or marble. In addition brick, glazed pottery, and mother of pearl have been recorded. Manufacture of the glass tesserae was done by producing plates, which were cut into individual cubes. The basic colours were blue, green, violet, red, yellow, and black. In the areas of gold ground, sometimes there is an admixture of silver tesserae to change the appearance of the gold and sometimes a few tesserae are reversed and also act to change the appearance of the surface.

While the use of mosaic as a rich and glimmering cover for the walls and vaults of churches was perfected in Byzantium, the medium itself has a long history in Antiquity as does the manufacture of glass. By the period of the Roman Empire, both floor and wall mosaics had been developed as a popular medium. Although stone was the normal substance used in Roman floors, at both Pompeii and Herculaneum other materials are found in wall mosaics, particularly in those which embellished fountains and water features, where glass and shells are to be found. During the Roman period, there were numerous glass factories, especially in the Levant, Egypt, and Italy (James 2006: 34). These produced and exported either raw glass or finished glass objects. It may be that the raw glass for Byzantine mosaics was primarily made in the Levant and imported to Constantinople in raw form. Small-scale workshops with a simple furnace using imported raw glass may have been the pattern of glass-working in Constantinople and throughout the empire (James 2006: 38). Byzantine glass, at least from the ninth century, was of the soda-lime-silica variety with high levels of magnesium. This distinguishes it from Roman glass, which had little potassium and magnesium.

For the production of tesserae the glass had to be coloured, and this implies a specialist process for manufacturing batches in different colours as well as tesserae with an inserted layer of gold or silver leaf below a thin wafer of glass. This work may perhaps have been done in furnaces on the site of the church being decorated, although the reference to the mosaicists of the churches of Kiev in the eleventh century bringing tesserae from Constantinople implies that at least some tesserae might have been transported with itinerant artists (Mango 1972: 221–2). To make the tesserae on site implies an expertise on the part of the mosaicists in the making of coloured glass, for example knowing how to add copper for blues and greens, cobalt

for dark blues and how to control the oxygen content of the glass melt for dark reds. The four colouring elements, iron, copper, manganese, and cobalt and their combinations in different proportions and the addition of opacifying agents such as antimony and tin allowed for the production of most colours (James 2006: 39–42). But some particular colours, such as vermilion, seemed to have caused problems of mass production and were in short supply. In Carolingian Rome there is evidence of the collection and reuse of old Roman tesserae, and such tesserae were also used in Byzantine enamels. But so far scientific analysis of Byzantine tesserae suggests that the tesserae were newly made for each operation.

When the tesserae had been laid, a final procedure was to stand back and to assess the appearance of the mosaic. At this stage, the master mosaicist used pigments and a brush to touch up the appearance of any figures that did not ‘look right’. This explains the reason for painting over the tesserae to enhance the red lips of the Virgin (as in the apse mosaic of Hagia Sophia at Constantinople) and to paint in the red vermilion on the white buskins of the emperor in the narthex mosaic of the same church as well as on the cushion of Christ’s throne. In the case of the Kariye Camii and Fethiye Camii mosaics significant areas of figures and other elements were enhanced with paint (Underwood 1967: 182–3).

According to Giorgio Vasari, the fifteenth-century artist Domenico Ghirlandaio used to say ‘the true painting for eternity was mosaic’, but in reality most mosaics which have survived have gone through many restoration processes, and some, particularly in Italy, have been removed from the wall and reset in modern times. In the Byzantine period, too, some mosaics were subjected to change and reworking. The clearest case is in the sanctuary mosaics of the church of the Koimesis at Nicaea, now known only through photographs and drawings made before their destruction in 1922 (Underwood 1959). It is clear here that a mosaic could be changed by two procedures: one was to cut out tesserae one by one and replace them in the different colours. For example, a cross or an inscription could be eliminated by replacing the tesserae with new ones of the same colour as the background. The feature then disappears, although a ghostly trace of the original may remain, as do the two horizontal arms of a cross inserted in the Nicaea apse by some iconoclasts which were later removed tesserae by tesserae by iconophiles. The other procedure was to cut out a patch of the mosaic and then to fill in the empty space with a new setting bed and new tesserae. This happened twice at Nicaea: the iconoclasts removed the original standing Virgin (dating perhaps around 700) and inserted a cross in the apse. This cross was removed in the ninth century after the end of iconoclasm, in part by replacing the tesserae of the horizontal arms but at the same time the vertical post of the cross was cut out and a standing Virgin and Child was inserted on a new setting bed. The evidence of these alterations and so of the three phases of work in these mosaics was still visible on the early twentieth-century photographs. Knowledge of these procedures makes it still possible to see that the current Virgin and Child in the apse of Hagia Sophia at Thessalonike replaced an



Fig. 1 The apse of the Church of the Koimesis, Nicaea

original decoration of a cross and that in the room over the south-west ramp of Hagia Sophia at Constantinople the iconoclasts removed a sixth-century cycle of saints in medallions and replaced them with crosses in the 768/9 recorded alterations (Cormack 1981). The more puzzling example of alterations is the replacement of the faces of Christ and Zoe as well as Constantine XI Monomachos when the imperial panel in the south gallery of Hagia Sophia was updated to record a new donation to the church by the third husband of Zoe between 1042 and 1055.

Although the vast majority of mosaic decorations were executed in Constantinople, elsewhere in the Mediterranean artists travelled to carry out major programmes of work—as for example in Italy at Venice, Rome, and Sicily, and in Spain in the Great Mosque at Cordova, and also in the Middle East in Georgia and at Damascus and Jerusalem. Kiev has already been mentioned. The obvious questions to ask are how many artists travelled as a group and what they took with them. At present we have no evidence to pronounce on the size of wall-painting or mosaic workshops and this is, as already mentioned, a controversial issue. As for equipment, they needed to acquire the necessary lime, pigments, and glass and stone tesserae at each church. In addition to their working tools, recent literature has given much emphasis to the use of the compass, both for making haloes and for helping to decide the proportions of figures, perhaps based on the module of the nose (Torp 1984; Winfield and Winfield 2003). Another question is how far artists relied on model books as reference records for their figures and compositions or on memory. Deciding between these is highly controversial. It is doubtful, for example, whether before the wider use of paper in the Late Byzantine period model books could have existed in any numbers. But it is a question of some significance for on it hangs the issue of how far the Church might have controlled the contents of monumental art and how far artists controlled the styles and means of expression. What is clear is that for most of the history of Byzantine church decoration the subjects were relatively limited, with particular emphasis given to the main festival scenes of the liturgical year and representations of Christ, the Virgin, and the saints, but with some interest in giving emphasis to the local saints of the region in which the church was located. By the Late Byzantine period, cycles were expanded with new scenes in the life of the Virgin and saints and the development of the iconography of Christ himself.

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Suggested Reading

The church of the centre of Byzantium which was decorated with mosaics from the sixth century onwards and presumably seen by more people than any other monument is Hagia Sophia at Constantinople, and the bibliography on its decoration sets out all the key issues

for study (see Cormack 1981 for references). An exemplary coverage of the mosaic materials recorded in the church is given by Mango 1962. Equally important for late Byzantium is the decoration of the Kariye Camii, and this is well covered by Underwood 1967, 1975. For a clarification of the nature of mosaic styles and treatment of iconography Demus 1950 remains a classic, but while his interpretative book of 1948 about the planning and evolution of church programmes is insightful and provocative, it is a very problematic account. There are many good studies of individual churches and their decoration, and interest has shifted recently to patterns of decoration and how far these are specific to the dedication and site of the church and how far to generic principles of planning (see Safran 1998 and Gerstel 1999).

II.8. PRODUCTION, MANUFACTURE, AND TECHNOLOGY

CHAPTER II.8.1

AGRICULTURE AND AGRICULTURAL TECHNOLOGY

MICHAEL DECKER

THE Byzantines have been criticized, somewhat unfairly, for a lack of technical progress in their mode of agricultural exploitation. In fact, the stability of the empire and the relative abundance and variety of foodstuffs cited by medieval western travellers to Constantinople are two important barometers whereby we can measure the effectiveness of the Byzantine farmer in sustaining the population over more than a millennium.

The geography and climate of the empire was always varied, demanding a wide range of responses to the perpetual challenge of food supply. Methods of production depended on a range of precursors, such as climate, quality of the land, availability of water for irrigation, individual and communal wealth, land tenure relationships, and local cultural traditions, to name only a few. Our fragmentary sources, nearly all of which have little interest in agricultural pursuits, leave many problems unresolved and permit us only glimpses of agrarian life through portions of Byzantine history. The utmost caution is advised due to our scanty data, and

doubtless the picture of the Byzantine countryside will alter substantially as new archaeological material comes to light.

TOOLS AND TRACTION

Some general remarks may be made about technology in the landscape. First, the Byzantine farmer was almost exclusively dependent on muscle power and inherited practical knowledge passed from generation to generation. Muscle power, in the form of human labour and animal traction, was used for most activities in the countryside, especially tillage. The technology employed in the major tillage activity, ploughing, was already ancient by the Byzantine period. Most of the time pairs of oxen provided traction for ploughing, though other animals, namely buffalo, were used from time to time. The prominent misunderstanding that Roman-Byzantine harnessing was wholly inadequate and strangled the horse or ox is false and must be discarded. The passage in the *Codex Theodosianus* (V.8.48) used to argue the modest limits to Late Roman–Early Byzantine harnessing does not represent a maximum hauling capacity of Roman-Byzantine carts, but legislates ideal maximums in view of public safety of lighter carts that were probably overburdened for their size. There were both two- and four-wheeled carts, most often drawn by oxen, but we know next to nothing about their exact methods of construction, hauling capacity, and precise uses. By the end of the medieval period, the harnessing systems and modes of cartage in Byzantium were less advanced than those of their western neighbours, but were probably adequate in their capabilities. Much more limiting would have been the condition of the road network, which was probably poorly adapted to moving large quantities of bulk agricultural goods overland (see II.4 Communications: Roads and bridges).

In ploughing, animals were yoked to the scratch-plough, the *arotron*. The major components of the *arotron* are the wooden beam that ended at its front side in the plough-share, most often encased in iron, the stilt connecting the beam to the yoke beam. The ploughman exerted pressure on the plough with his foot and the depth of the furrow thus cut as the team moved forward was determined by the angle at which the beam was set in the stilt. There were many variations of scratch-plough in use; the method of construction and the number of wooden pieces used, the overall refinement of the plough and its weight and size would have depended in large part on the availability of suitable wood. In some cases, the plough-share might be fire-hardened rather than sheathed in metal. Although morphologically slightly variable, the range of ploughs created the same pattern of tilth as they cut shallow furrows and pushed the earth to both sides. It has been pointed out in the

past, but is worth stressing here, that Byzantine plough technology was the product of centuries of experience accumulated by Mediterranean farmers with local soil and climate conditions. As such, it was admirably adapted to creating a seed-bed which maintained soil moisture, essential in the dominant methods of dry farming. Dry-farming methods, described in the tenth-century agricultural encyclopedia, the *Geoponica*, include the fallowing of land and frequent ploughing of the fallow to destroy weeds and maintain soil moisture. One of the major reasons that the asymmetrical, heavy mouldboard plough developed in medieval Europe failed to reach Byzantium was undoubtedly its lack of general necessity. Some heavier soils and marshy areas would have benefited from such equipment but the greater part of the arable landscape was better suited to the simple *arotron*. Animal-drawn harrows were used to break up clods of earth left by the plough and to even and smooth the surface of the seed-bed. Harvesting was accomplished by sickle and the Byzantine sickle (*drepanon*) is noteworthy in that it is usually depicted in manuscripts as serrated. This type is often more efficient than its smooth-bladed relatives, and implies topping of the grain through pulling the heads with the sickle, rather than cutting at the base or middle of the grain stalk. The threshing sledge, an animal-drawn set of boards studded with flints, was in common use in the Mediterranean in order to thresh the grain on the wooden, pounded-earth, or cobbled threshing floors. Once threshed, the Byzantines employed both built granaries and underground storage pits (Cappadocia) as well as underground, masonry silos (Pergamon).

Not every farmer could afford a plough or yoke of oxen, nor was every landscape suitable for ploughing. Hilly areas were frequently terraced, as they had been for millennia throughout the Mediterranean region. Various types of terracing were in use throughout the Byzantine period, and most employed the use of dry stone walling, the building material being collected from the hillside itself. Earth was often carried from elsewhere to fill in the area behind the constructed terrace wall. Terrace construction was one technology through which cultivators could extend the productive area of the land surface and take advantage of natural run-off and soil deposition in order to create fertile pockets, most often for tree crops for which terraces are especially suitable, but also for cereal cultivation and garden crops. The building of such agricultural installations required little in the way of tools or capital outlay, but was a laborious job; many terrace systems undoubtedly took years to complete. Terraced areas, and many open areas tilled by farmers were worked by hand using two-pronged digging forks (*lisgarion*) and broken up using drag hoes (*dikella*) crafted from wood or sometimes metal. These two hand tools were apparently the most common implements for preparing grain fields and for the frequent trenching and digging round the olive trees and vines prescribed by the *Geoponica* and illustrated in Paris, BN gr. 74, fo. 39^v. The use of iron in such implements was limited, though attested in manuscript illuminations and archaeological finds from the early Byzantine period. The Euphrates zone around Samosata, important in the early Byzantine period but only briefly held during the Middle Byzantine period,

has produced iron implements such as sickles, scythes, spades, and knife blades. The metal tongs featuring in the life of Germanos of Kosinitza (*Vita* 8 E. 2–5), or those unearthed at Corinth, and the *lisgarion* in iron depicted in an Athos manuscript (Vatopedi, 620, fo. 384^r) hint that iron implements were common technology in everyday use. They were not without cost, and not everyone could own them. The *Farmer's Law* shows a fair amount of implement borrowing, probably by poorer village farmers.

CROPS AND CROPPING TECHNOLOGY

The Byzantines relied on various basic staple crops. Garden vegetables such as lettuce, leeks, turnips, and cabbage formed an important part of the diet of the average person. Grapes were a major crop for both table and especially for wine. Just as today, there were named varieties prized for various characteristics. The major fibre crops were flax and hemp. Flax also provided oil, especially in cold areas like the Anatolian plateau where olive oil was not produced. Tree crops, including various nuts, olive, fig, pear, apple, peach, pomegranate were common. Most citrus crops (sour orange and citron being exceptions) probably made only limited headway even after the Muslim conquest, but this is uncertain. One of the major techniques known to be widely applied in everyday arboricultural practice was grafting. The *Geoponica* notes numerous different methods of grafting and an astonishing array of experimentation, while illustrations in mosaics and manuscripts attest to the practice throughout the Byzantine period. The advantages of grafting are numerous: superior individuals may be cloned, sick trees and vines remedied, and the time from planting to the first crop of fruit or nuts reduced. Grafting also allows hybridization and enhances the opportunities to adapt varieties from one locality to another.

New crops did arrive into Byzantium in the medieval period. Several non-indigenous species were already in place in antiquity and do not belong to any agricultural 'revolution', either European or Islamic. Rye was an important crop in the temperate regions of the empire, and durum wheat (today used mainly in pasta) was a commonly produced variety of great antiquity by the Byzantine period, not an Islamic introduction as has been argued. Millet was a major crop in many regions, as was barley. Among the new crop technologies available to the Byzantines in the middle period and later were sugar and cotton. Both were assuredly known in Late Antiquity, but the circumstances of their production within the empire is little known. Cotton was grown on Crete in the later medieval period and also on Cyprus (strengthening the case of widespread irrigation there), as was sugar (with

the same implication) (Malamut 1988: 390). Major sugar installations were in place in Cyprus during the Venetian period, but we await archaeology to inform us of installations within the empire itself. While these crops may have had a significant economic impact in a given time and place, the repository of crop technology within Byzantium remained relatively stable: numerous garden vegetables, legumes, and common temperate orchard trees were combined with grape, olive, and cereal production to furnish the basics of the diet.

PRESSES AND PRESS TECHNOLOGY

Wine and oil production were especially important in the Byzantine diet. In the Mediterranean coastal regions, the olive tree was the major oil crop. Flax was also particularly important, especially in the temperate regions of the empire. The extraction of olive and other oils (flaxseed, sesame) was accomplished by milling, then placing the resultant pulp into a press. The simple lever and weights press consisted of a socket in the wall of a building or a pair of upright piers in which was anchored the press beam. Baskets containing the pulp fresh from the mill were stacked to the front of the beam. The beam was lowered onto the stack through applying weights or through a windlass or by means of a screw anchored in a stone. The weight of the beam thus exerted force on the baskets and expelled a mix of pulp, kernels, oil, and watery lees. By the Middle Byzantine period, most oil presses employed screw technology in one fashion or another. A fine Middle Byzantine oil press in Aphrodisias, a large-scale lever and screw press, is probably largely representative (Ahmet 2001).

An old improvement (a Hellenistic invention) in the oil press technology was adopted widely in early Byzantium. The direct screw press operated without the long lever beam and involved a rigid frame that housed a pressing board that operated vertically directly onto the pulp-filled baskets. Thus the direct screw press required less wood in its construction. It further reduced pressing time. Direct screw presses are abundant on Cyprus and examples are known from the Chalkidike. The direct screw press was not universally used in Byzantium, but was a technological option that served side by side with the older lever press varieties (Frankel 1999: 25–30).

The direct screw press was also used in wine production, notably in the large-scale wineries of early Byzantium in Palestine. The use of the screw press for wine production in other areas of the empire is uncertain. In north Syria and Cilicia, roller installations were used to crush the grapes quickly and efficiently. In most regions of the empire wine production was by means of the simple treading floor

(*lenos*) which might be wooden, as it was in the case of Skaranos' estate near Corinth (Nesbitt 1973). Wine-treading floors were often cut into bedrock and represented a minimal investment in capital outlay. While not as efficient or specialized as the centralized wineries of early Byzantine Syria–Palestine, these wineries were well adapted for local and communal production.

MILLS AND MILLING TECHNOLOGY

As noted, rotary oil mills were used to render crops to paste before processing (olive, sesame, flax). Such mills were cut from limestone and basalt. They generally consisted of a circular base in the centre of which was a socket housing the wooden shaft with horizontal axle on which were fixed the millstones. Sometimes there were pairs of millstones without vertical support. A carved circular track in the stone base contained the product to be milled and guided the stone(s) as it was turned either by animal or human power. This technology was ancient and remained largely unmodified until the industrial age.

The most common type of mill in Byzantium was probably the simple rotary hand quern, like that uncovered in the Middle Byzantine levels at Pergamon. This mill consists of a pair of flat, circular stones with a perforation on the top stone into which the grain is trickled. As with most other mills, these were generally crafted from volcanic rock. A handle on the top stone allows one to turn the mill and flour is ejected from the bottom stone. These mills were for household use and depended entirely on human labour. They had the advantage of requiring no external power and were cheap and somewhat portable. Another mill type, the hour-glass mill, takes its name from its open crown, tapering to a pinched, socketed waist where wooden cross-pieces formed the framework allowing the mill to be harnessed to a beast or turned by a person. Grain was fed into the top of the mill and ground at the waist, flour being discharged at the bottom. Sometimes called the Pompeian mill due to its frequent occurrence there and its Roman origin, it is uncertain when manufacture of this type of mill was suspended, though it seems to have vanished shortly after the Islamic conquests of the eastern Mediterranean in the seventh century CE. Where capital and nature allowed, watermills and later windmills were used in place of animal-powered mills. Human and animal-driven mills were never entirely replaced, however. When the public bakeries of early Constantinople gave way to the numerous private bakeries, according to the *Book of the Eparch* (18.1) the bakers ground their flour *in situ*. Some of these establishments may have had access to mills driven from the aqueduct of Hadrian, but nearly all were probably animal or human powered.

Watermills were common in the late antique landscape of Byzantium. They appear in early Byzantium in Palestine, at Caesarea. They were a major feature at such eastern cities as Dara and Amida. Watermills were primarily for grinding grain, though milling technology was also used for other purposes (see II.8.10 Everyday technologies). The Byzantines used both the horizontal undershot, or so-called Norse watermill, the undershot vertical mill and the overshot vertical watermill. In the case of the Norse watermill, the charge of technological backwardness levelled against the Byzantines must be dismissed. Such mills were eminently practical in the Pontic mountains and other areas of Anatolia where the steep terrain carried suddenly falling streams whose energies were often easiest to exploit by construction of the simple undershot watermill. Overshot mills were more efficient, but also more expensive, often requiring mill ponds and gearing not needed in undershot mills. The sixth-century mill in the Athenian agora is a vertical overshot mill, while that depicted on the sixth-century Great Palace mosaic floor may also have been an overshot mill. The same mosaic depicts a Byzantine bridge mill, in which the milling facility was incorporated into the bridge structure. As is well known, the *Farmer's Law* mentions watermills, which seem to have been a commonplace in the early medieval Byzantine landscape. They appear throughout the medieval period in monastic *typika* all over the empire and are known archaeologically in Pisidia and at Papikion in Thrace (Thomas and Hero (eds.) 2000; Donners, Waelkens, and Deckers 2002; Soustal 1991: 387–9).

The transmission of windmill technology to Byzantium is uncertain. They were on the land in the fourteenth century. This method of grinding corn probably arrived in Byzantium before the Crusades, since vertical windmills were known from the early Islamic period in Persia. In any case, windmills were probably never very important on the Byzantine landscape. Like overshot water mills, they are generally expensive to build and maintain and did not feature in the Byzantine economy which was already in decline. While windmills possess the obvious advantage of not needing a perennial source of strong running water (absent from so many of the Byzantine islands), they do, of course require the wind to blow regularly. Thus we find evidence of Byzantine windmills on Lemnos, at Alexopyrgos and Antzyke (Koder 1998: 93).

IRRIGATION TECHNOLOGY

Most of the Byzantine territory depended on rainfall for agricultural production. There were few open river plains with great expanses of irrigable landscape on which to base hydraulic agriculture. In Anatolia many of the streams were enclosed

by sheer valleys and thus unsuitable for irrigation. The Maeander Valley was certainly irrigated during the Byzantine period, probably predominantly through gravity-flow irrigation by small derivation channels from the course of the river and its tributaries. Gardens, particularly those near cities, would have been the areas where Byzantine farmers had the motivation to irrigate in order to intensify their production of vegetables and tree crops. In addition to some gravity-flow systems from springs, aqueducts, or streams, such irrigation was in all likelihood small-scale, varied, and done by hand from wells or cisterns. We know little about irrigation machinery in the medieval period.

The large vertical waterwheel, the *noria*, the relics of which still stand in Hama, were developed in antiquity somewhere in the Orontes–Euphrates corridor. A *noria* is depicted on a fourth-century pavement at Apamea. Those *norias* known from Hama, the Euphrates, and the Syrian Chalkidike are probably useful proxies to determine the area of major use in late antiquity (Dulière 1974: 26–7, 37–8, pls. xxii, xxv, lxii–lxiii). The mechanism of the spread of the *noria* to other parts of the Mediterranean is uncertain; it is generally attributed to the Muslims. However, an equally probable route of transmission would have been through the exarchate of Ravenna or Byzantine south Italy and Sicily. The question remains unanswerable without further work. Equally unknown is the extent to which the *noria* was used within Anatolia and the European themes. They do not feature in texts and so we must wait for archaeology to address the issue. Likewise unknown is the fate of the Archimedes screw in Byzantium. The ancient simple swipe (*geranon*), a counterweighted bucket suspended from two beams and a cross-piece over a well or watercourse, was probably fairly common (Koukoules 1952: 226–7). Human muscle lowered the bucket into the water and raised the water a short distance, assisted by the reaction of the heavy counterpoise.

The *saqiya* was a major component of the period of agrarian expansion that occurred in the fifth–sixth centuries (Decker forthcoming). A complex machine with over several hundred different parts, these machines represent a capital investment. In the *saqiya*, an animal is connected to the drive shaft via harnessing. The drive shaft turns a gear wheel on the horizontal that meshes with the vertical gear, thus converting the horizontal treading of the driving animal to vertical power. The vertical wheel then turns on its axis and to this axis is affixed a loop of rope, to the outside of which is attached a series of vessels, most often pointed clay jars. The entire machine is placed over a well or cistern, and as the animal circumambulates, the empty jars plunge into the water source, then rise to the other side and discharge on their way down once again. *Saqiyas* were not cheap. In Late Antiquity they are found most often on Egyptian estates belonging to wealthy landowners engaged in cash cropping (Banaji 2001: 109). In early Byzantine Palestine numerous finds of early Byzantine *saqiya* jars point to the importance of the machine there, probably in connection with vineyard irrigation where the cash generated from increased viticultural output could justify the expense of the machines (Decker

forthcoming). The *saqiya* is a flexible and efficient irrigation device: it is adaptable to the groundwater sources (wells) commonly used throughout the Mediterranean, may be used with cisterns and even on the banks of streams in order to raise water where needed amongst the fields and orchards. Once again, the medieval experience is unknown. This was probably the machine that was used in the drainage and dredging operations in the harbour of Julian in 509 reported by Marcellinus Comes, though the *rotalibus machinis* mentioned might have been a *noria* or some other device (Croke 1995: 35). While the *saqiya* was common in early modern Cyprus, we are far from certain that this was the case in the Middle Ages on the island as well as elsewhere throughout the empire.

Equally problematic in its pattern of diffusion and use in Byzantium is the *qanat*. The *qanat* technique is a means of tapping and conducting groundwater to the areas where it is needed. The technology is an eastern one, perhaps Persian (or Urartian) and was developed several millennia before Byzantium's *floruit*. The principle of the *qanat* is simple: a well is sunk into the aquifer to be exploited. Subsequent wellheads are sunk in a line proceeding from the mother well and connected to one another through a horizontal shaft (thus the term sometimes employed in English 'chain-of-wells'). *Qanats* were common in the early Byzantine east, especially along the desert margins of the Syrian steppe where their use was probably one of the major components of settlement viability in Late Antiquity. *Qanats* are also known in eastern Anatolia and are ideally suited to the semi-arid uplands. In Cappadocia a *qanat* of uncertain date is recorded at Caesarea (Goblot 1979: 126–217). *Qanats* were a major feature of the landscape on Cyprus in the early modern period. Though they probably pre-date the Turkish occupation there, we have no conclusive proof of this, nor do we know the extent of the *qanat*'s spread over Byzantine Anatolia.

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CHAPTER II.8.2

FABRICS AND CLOTHING

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IN Byzantium clothing served a complex role that went far beyond satisfying the basic need of protecting the human body from the elements. Clothing was an important commodity, the production and marketing of which could prove quite lucrative for both the state and private entrepreneurs. Acquiring garments, especially those made of or decorated with expensive materials like silk and gold thread, was considered a sound economic investment. Clothes as asset were often given in payment of salaries and debts and were sometimes offered as security in financial transactions. Because of their monetary and aesthetic value and the prestige they could confer upon the bearer, pieces of clothing were much appreciated and sought after as presents among the Byzantines themselves and were often included among the items given by the imperial government as diplomatic gifts or as tribute to foreign rulers. The ritual bestowal of garments on officials by the emperor, beyond being a manifestation of his authority and wealth, contributed towards cementing ties of loyalty and solidarity between him and the court. Precious garments even served as part of the decoration of the imperial palace and city streets during important ceremonies. Above all else, clothing in Byzantium functioned as a mirror of status, be it political, religious, economic, or social. Nowhere was this more evident than in the attire of the imperial court, to such a degree that it is entirely justifiable to speak of a veritable 'hierarchy through clothing' (Lopez 1945: 20–1): rank was encoded in the use of garments and accessories of particular designs and in the variation of materials (fabrics, dyes, precious substances added for adornment), colours, manufacturing techniques, and decorative motifs of a heraldic character.

Admittedly, we are better informed concerning certain aspects of the production, marketing, and use of fabrics and clothing in Byzantium than others and this is largely due to the nature of the relevant sources, archaeological, written, and artistic. The archaeological evidence is much more informative as regards late antique dress and this is due to the rich finds of garments and other textiles recovered from Egyptian necropoleis, especially those of Akhmim, Antinoë, and Saqqarah, and from Syrian sites such as Dura Europos, Palmyra, Halabiyeh, and elsewhere (Pfister and Bellinger 1945; Pfister 1951; Lafontaine-Dosogne 1988; Rutschowskaya 1990; Martiniani-Reber 1991; Stauffer 1992, 1995*a* and 1995*b*; Cardon and Feugère 2000; Fluck and others 2000; Schmidt-Colinet and others 2000; Linscheid 2001; Lorquin 2003). By comparison, finds of textiles and garments from Middle and Late Byzantine sites are rare (Moutsopoulos 1967, 1989; Jeroussalimskaja 2000; Martiniani-Reber 2000; Dawson 2003; Linscheid 2004; Lightfoot and others 2005: 243–52). More common are finds of metal objects related to dress, namely belt-fittings and buttons (Swift 2000; Kalamara and Mexia 2001: nos. 8, 9, 11; Papanikola-Bakirtzi 2002: nos. 481–91). To these should be added the small number of ecclesiastical vestments that have come down to us from the Late Byzantine period (Johnstone 1967: 94–7, 100, 105–6; Piltz 1976; Evans 2004: 295–323) and the impressive corpus of medieval Byzantine silks preserved in the ecclesiastical treasuries of western Europe, some of which may have originally belonged to garments (Muthesius 1997). Other relevant archaeological evidence comprises implements used in weaving and tailoring (Dauterman Maguire, Maguire, and Duncan-Flowers 1989: nos. 77–81; Papanikola-Bakirtzi 2002: nos. 427–42, 444–57), as well as industrial refuse and large vats related to the production of murex purple and the dyeing of fabrics (Jacoby 1991–2: 481).

As for the written evidence, this consists of a large corpus of texts which include ceremonial handbooks and precedence lists of Byzantine officials; imperial legislation regulating prices, production, and distribution; private acts, like wills and inventories of movable property; accounts and other commercial documents; historiographic and poetic works; homilies and saints' lives; scholia on classical authors and ecclesiastical canons; clauses concerning monastic dress in monastic foundation documents; private letters; books on the interpretation of dreams; accounts of foreign travellers and diplomats; and non-Byzantine archival documents and other texts which bear witness to the dissemination of Byzantine fabrics and garments in East and West. Detailed descriptions of the design of Byzantine garments are admittedly rare. It should be pointed out that the meaning of a number of technical terms employed in the sources to describe materials and garments still remains unclear, despite significant advances in this direction (Guilland 1949; Chatzemichale 1956; Haldon 1990; Jacoby 1991–2; Muthesius 1993: 46–56).

Artistic representations constitute the third main source of information on Byzantine dress. The most reliable among them are portraits of emperors, officials,

and private individuals, which have survived in a variety of media, from sculpture and monumental painting to gold glass and seals. Figurative art with a secular content, especially when illustrating episodes of everyday life, can also prove extremely informative as far as clothing is concerned. This is particularly true of late antique art, which provides ample evidence for the diffusion throughout the empire of garments and designs which are attested archaeologically only in Egypt and Syria (Dimitrov 1962; Atanasov 2005; Rinaldi 1964–5; Dunbabin 1978: figs. 22, 114, 121). Narrative secular paintings that have come down to us from the Middle and Late Byzantine periods for the most part reflect the imperial milieu of Constantinople and, what is more, they are exceedingly rare. As for Byzantine figurative art with a religious content, despite its conservative and formulaic character, it too can prove surprisingly informative on dress if approached critically and systematically (Parani 2003; Ball 2005; James and Tougher 2005).

According to the combined testimony of this evidence, Byzantine clothing was made using mostly linen, woollen, cotton, and silk fabrics. Most of the garments recovered from late antique Egyptian and Syrian sites are made of linen. Given that flax fibre is difficult to dye, the yarns used were as a rule undyed. The decorative elements adorning late antique linen tunics were commonly woven using dyed wool yarns. Ornamental attachments made of silk were rarer, but they too are attested in the archaeological record (Rutschowskaya 1990: 24–5). Linen continued to be used in the medieval period as well. In late ninth-century Constantinople the guild of linen merchants dealt both in domestic linen fabrics brought to the city from the provinces and in linen imported from Bulgaria (Koder 1991: 106, 108).

Dyed wool, in addition to being used for the decorative elements that were either woven into or sewn onto clothing, was also employed for the manufacture of entire garments, especially tunics and mantles (Lefort, Oikonomides, and Papachryssanthou 1990: 181). During the medieval period, woollen fabrics must have been used quite commonly for the manufacture of everyday clothes. Wool was also used for certain ecclesiastical vestments like the *omophorion*, a kind of stole worn by Orthodox bishops (see below), which was supposed to be woollen since it symbolized the lost sheep that Christ had come to save (Bernardakis 1901–2: 133). Finally, wool was employed for producing felt used, among other things, for making hats and thick, protective garments worn by the Byzantine soldiery.

Though the cultivation of the cotton plant had been introduced into the Middle East from India by the first century BCE and cotton fabrics were being imported, albeit on a restricted scale, in Egypt from the Indian subcontinent, the use of cotton fabrics for the manufacture of clothing in Late Antiquity was very limited. It is only with the advent of the Arabs that both the cultivation of the cotton plant and the more extensive use of cotton fabrics for clothing and textile furnishings became widespread in the lands of the eastern Mediterranean (Fennell Mazzaoui 1981: 7–27). Cotton fabrics of varying thickness were used for the manufacture of

both summer and winter clothes (Thomas and Hero 2000: 826). Garments made of mixed yarn combining cotton with another fibre (linen, wool, or silk) are also attested (Eideneier 1991: 100, 101; Jacoby 1991–2: 474–5).

During the Late Roman period the silk fabrics used for the manufacture of garments worn by the emperor, his officials, and the most affluent of his subjects were woven with silk yarns imported from China via Iran. The introduction of sericulture into Byzantium is traditionally attributed to the reign of Justinian (527–65), but Muthesius (1993: 19–23) has suggested that it may have existed in Syria already during the fifth century. By the twelfth century it certainly had spread to the western provinces of Byzantium, where Thebes, Corinth, and the island of Andros emerged as important silk centres (Jacoby 1991–2). Notwithstanding local production, imports of both raw silk and finished silk garments from abroad continued into the medieval period; the late ninth-century *Book of the Eparch* specifically mentions Syrian silk garments sold in Constantinople (Koder 1991: 94, 96). The use of certain high-quality, purple-dyed silk fabrics and garments produced in the imperial workshops was restricted to the highest echelons of the court with the emperor at its pinnacle. For the market beyond the palace, a variety of high- and lower-grade silk textiles was available, as well as cheaper fabrics woven of spun floss silk and half-silks combining a silk warp with a linen or cotton weft. This diversity was meant to cater for the needs of an ever-expanding public with varying buying power, yet keen to imitate courtly fashions for reasons of prestige and to own at least one garment made of the precious fibre (Jacoby 1991–2: 473–5).

In addition to fabrics made of animal or plant fibres, other materials used in the manufacturing of clothing in Byzantium included leather, sheepskins, and fur. Leather was used mostly for footwear, accessories like belts, and protective garments worn by the military. In artistic representations, sheepskin garments are associated with representations of shepherds. Still this iconographic topos is not necessarily devoid of significance: there is written evidence to suggest that, at least during the twelfth century, the rural populations of the empire were dressed thus (Koukoules 1950: 111). As for fur, its use in Byzantium prior to the eleventh century was uncommon (Howard-Johnston 1998). It is only from the late eleventh century onwards that fur began to be used for trimming tunics, lining coats, and making winter outer garments.

Byzantine clothing, mirroring as it did the political, social, and ethnic complexity of Byzantine society, encompassed many different categories of dress: imperial and official dress and insignia; the dress of social groups defined by gender, age, and family status; the dress that was characteristic of various professional groups; regional dress; ethnic dress; ecclesiastical dress; and monastic dress. Byzantine ceremonial dress, whether secular or religious, at the earliest stages of its development, was often a more elaborate version of contemporary attire. Its use in a ritual context resulted in its becoming imbued with symbolic significance which

detached it from daily life. As a result, certain designs continued to be employed in ceremonial contexts long after they had become obsolete in everyday ones. Their antiquated form became in itself a signifier of uninterrupted continuity with the past that justified the exercise of power in the present. One characteristic example of the conservatism of Byzantine ceremonial dress is the imperial *loros*, the long bejewelled scarf which developed out of the *trabea triumphalis*, the most elaborate version of the Roman toga. The *loros* was in use from the Late Antique period down to 1453, that is, for more than a thousand years after the Roman toga had gone out of use in everyday contexts.

Outside the ceremonial context of the court and the Church, certain general trends may be observed in the development of Byzantine clothing. The draped garments of antiquity made of supple fabrics and encompassing the body in their rich folds were replaced first by ample tunics often woven on the loom in one piece and simply sewn down the sides and later, in the medieval period, by tailored garments sewn together from smaller pieces of cloth. During the Middle and the Late Byzantine period the character of Byzantine dress was further modified with the assimilation of non-Roman elements ultimately derived from the traditions of the Islamic peoples of the Middle East and the nomadic peoples of Central Asia. The influence of western fashions was mostly felt during the Late Byzantine period, especially in regions with a strong Latin presence. The adoption and the dissemination of new styles must have been facilitated both by the eagerness of members of the Byzantine upper classes to follow foreign styles and by the tendency of the members of the lower classes to imitate the clothes of their more affluent contemporaries, two trends that are well attested throughout Byzantine times.

The most characteristic item of clothing in Late Antiquity for both men and women was the tunic adorned with colourful ornamental shoulder-, hem-, and neck-bands, square and circular panels, and galloons at the wrists. The male tunic, worn belted over a hose, was as a rule knee-length with long sleeves. Over it the men wore a mantle, of which two types are attested: one that was fastened at the right shoulder with a brooch and one provided with an opening for pulling it on over the head. Early Byzantine officials wore tunics similar in design to those worn by their contemporaries outside the court. The distinguishing element of the officials' attire was the *chlamys*, the ankle-length cloak that was fastened at the right shoulder with a fibula. Attached at the vertical edges of the mantle was a pair of square or rectangular textile panels (*tablia*) of a colour different from that of the rest of the garment. The emperor also wore the *chlamys*. The imperial *chlamys* was purple with golden *tablia*, while that of the officials was often white with a pair of purple *tablia*. Among women only the empress had the right to wear one. The basic components of the female wardrobe were the tunic and the mantle. The tunic was ankle-length, had long ample sleeves, and was, sometimes, girt below the breasts. In artistic representations the tunic is often shown worn over an

undergarment with long tight sleeves. Female mantles were draped loosely around the body.

During the Middle Byzantine period the male tunic became ankle-length with long sleeves. One variation on the common tunic had exceedingly long sleeves, which either hung freely at the sides or were gathered in folds around the wrists. A second variation was provided with a V-shaped neck opening and lapels. The habit of wearing an outer tunic that came down to mid-calf and had a vent at the front over an ankle-length under-tunic appears to have been adopted by the ninth century. Other types of male garments included a short coat with long tight sleeves and a skirt with vents on all sides, worn with a pair of trousers. By the late twelfth century caftans with a buttoned opening down the front also made their appearance as part of the male wardrobe. The *chlamys* continued to be the most distinctive element of official costume in this period as well, though the Middle Byzantine garment was much more ornate and luxurious than its Early Byzantine antecedent. An important innovation was the appearance of headdresses as part of official costume during the course of the eleventh century. The Middle Byzantine female wardrobe basically comprised the gown, the mantle, and the headdress. Dresses were ankle-length and had a tall neck and long narrow sleeves. As a rule, they were worn without a belt. By the middle of the eleventh century the sleeves became exceedingly wide at the wrists acquiring a characteristic trumpet-shaped appearance. Female mantles were no longer draped around the body, but secured at the front by means of a brooch. The most common type of female headdress consisted of a kerchief wound around the head; hats became fashionable in the eleventh and the twelfth centuries.

During the Late Byzantine period the long caftan with the buttoned opening down the front became widespread in use. It could be ample or tight-fitting, with long or elbow-length sleeves; in the latter case it was worn over a long-sleeved undergarment. The Byzantines wore their caftans girt with a leather belt or a fabric sash. Like the caftans, Late Byzantine male mantles evidence strong oriental influences in their design. The sleeveless cloaks characteristic of the previous periods were replaced by heavy coats, sometimes lined with fur, which lay on the shoulders and were provided with sleeves that reached down almost to the ankles. The appearance of official dress also changed dramatically during the Late Byzantine period, most probably as a result of the disruption caused by the fall of the empire under the blows of the Fourth Crusade. Byzantine dignitaries wore caftans similar to those worn by their contemporaries. However, the distinguishing feature of their dress was no longer the *chlamys*, but their headdress, the colour and decoration of which was determined by their rank in the court hierarchy. Significant changes were also observed in the Late Byzantine female wardrobe. In addition to the more traditional ample gowns with tall necks and trumpet-shaped sleeves that were worn without a belt, one encounters for the first time dresses fitted at

the waist with a tight bodice, an ample skirt, and long narrow sleeves. Gowns with low necklines also make their appearance under the influence of western fashions.

The origin of most of the components of Byzantine ecclesiastical dress can be traced back to the everyday clothing of Late Antiquity. By being used in a liturgical setting and by being attributed a mystical significance alluding to particular aspects of Christ's Life and Passion (Gerstel 1999: 25–9), these garments became fossilized in the context of ecclesiastical ceremonial; they are still worn today by Orthodox clergy. All levels in the Byzantine ecclesiastical hierarchy wore the *sticharion*, an ankle-length tunic with long ample sleeves. The combination of mantles, stoles, and other insignia worn in association with the *sticharion* was determined by the rank of the bearer. Deacons wore the *orarion*, a long narrow stole, which lay over their left shoulder. The priests' stole was called the *epitrachelion*; it was worn around the neck with both ends falling down the front. The priests also wore the *zonarion*, a fabric belt that was meant to hold the *sticharion* and the *epitrachelion* in place. Their vestments were complemented by the *phailonion*, an ample, sleeveless mantle that was pulled on over the head. The priestly vestments were also worn by bishops. By the twelfth century the *phailonion* of certain bishops acquired an overall decoration of crosses and became known as the *polystaurion*; by the fifteenth century, all metropolitans wore it. The bishop's vestments also included the *epimanikia*, detachable cuffs to secure the ample sleeves of the *sticharion*; the *encheirion/epigonation*, a square piece of fabric that was suspended from the *zonarion*; and the *omophorion*, the bishop's stole that was draped around the shoulders over the *phailonion/polystaurion*. The *sakkos*, a short ample tunic with short sleeves, when first introduced sometime during the eleventh century, was worn by patriarchs alone instead of the *phailonion*. In Late Byzantine times its use was extended to metropolitans as well. As for headdresses, only the patriarch of Alexandria is attested as wearing one (Bernardakis 1901–2; Johnstone 1967).

The basic items of Byzantine monastic dress were common to both monks and nuns and their origins can be traced back to the monastic dress of late antique Lower Egypt. Like ecclesiastical vestments, each item of the monastic habit became imbued with symbolic significance which alluded to the virtues that should adorn the bearer, namely chastity, innocence, mortification, faith in Christ, and readiness to serve God. The monastic habit was also perceived as protecting the monk and nun against the attacks of the devil. In addition to the ankle-length, long-sleeved tunic, it comprised a kind of scapular called the *analabos*, a leather belt, a hood (*koukoullion*), and a mantle. The system of thin leather bands worn around the body forming an X-shaped cross back and front, identified as the *schema*, appears to have been an attribute of the highest-ranking monastics known as *megaloschemoi* (Innemée 1992: 107–29).

Fig. 1 The Middle Byzantine imperial *chlamys*-costume

(based on the portrait of Michael VII Doukas in Coislin 79, fo. 2^r, 1071–81)

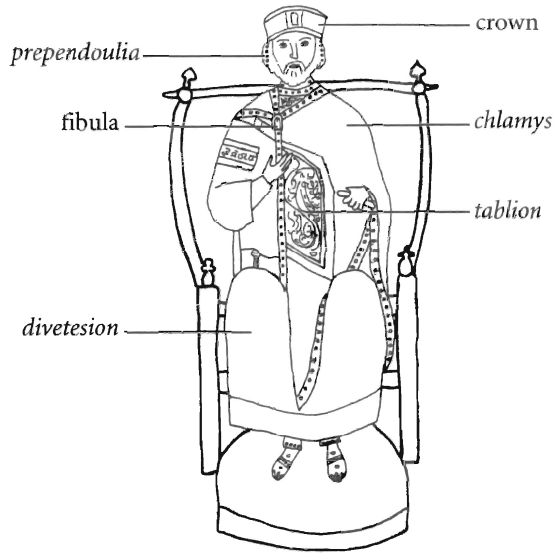


Fig. 2 The Middle Byzantine male crossed *loros*-costume

(based on the portrait of Michael VII Doukas in Coislin 79, fo. 1 (2 bis)^v, 1071–81)

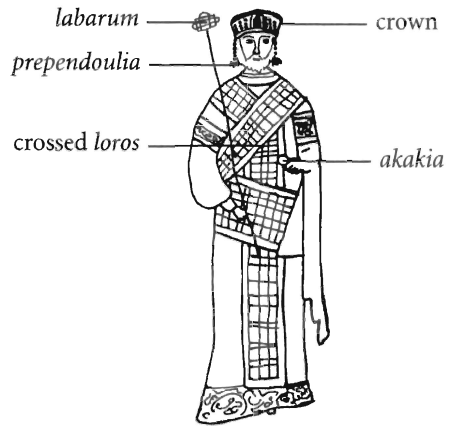
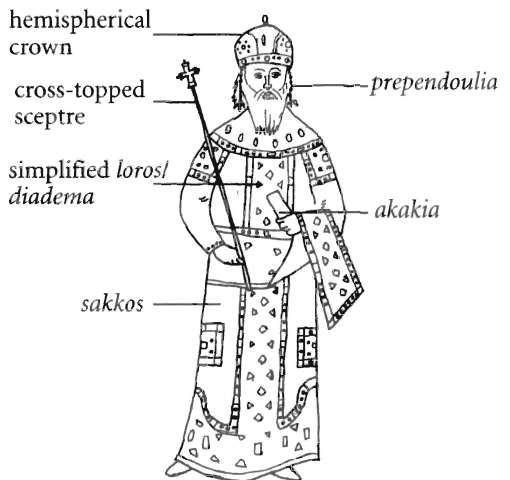


Fig. 3 The Late Byzantine male simplified *loros*-costume

(based on the portrait of Manuel II Palaiologos in Par. suppl. gr. 39, fo. vi, 1407)



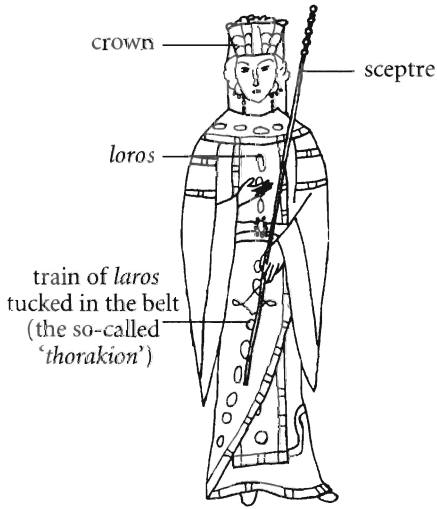


Fig. 4 The Middle Byzantine female *loros*-costume

(based on the portrait of Maria of Antioch in Vat. gr. 1176, fo. ii^r, 1166)

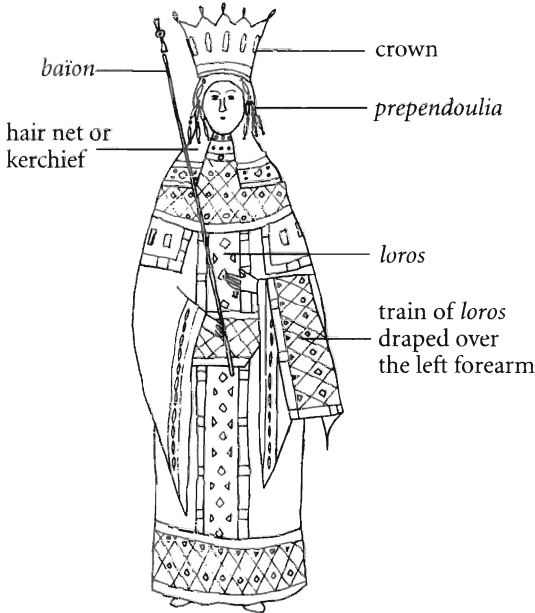


Fig. 5 The Late Byzantine female *loros*-costume

(based on the portrait of Anna of Savoy in Stuttgart, cod. hist. 2° 601, fo 4, 1328–41)

Fig. 6 Late Byzantine male official dress

(based on the portrait of the *protosebastos* Constantine Komnenos Raoul Palaiologos in the Oxford, Lincoln College, MS gr. 35, fo. 6^r, 1327–42)

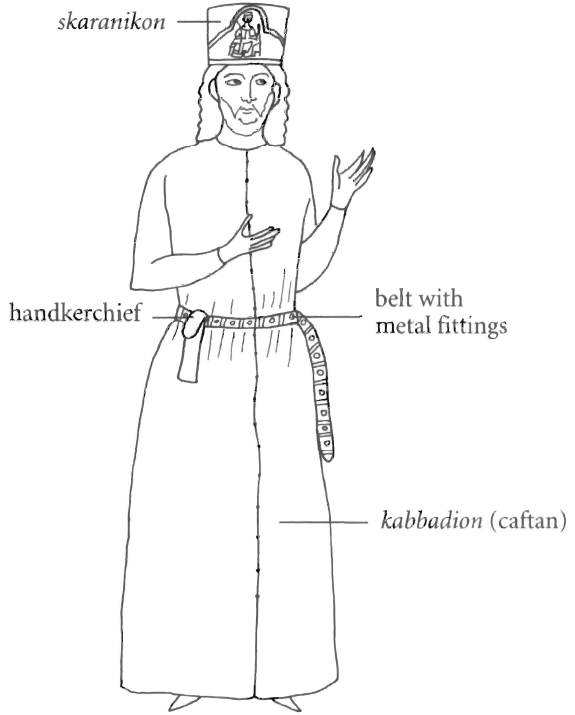
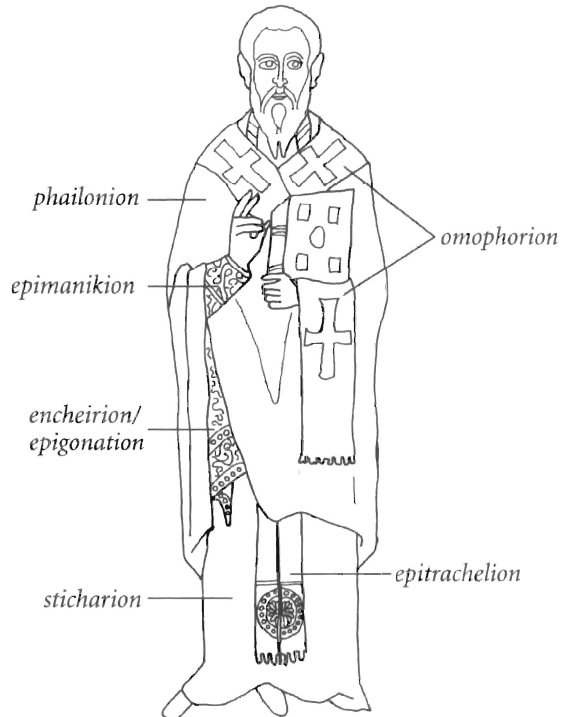


Fig. 7 Episcopal dress

(based on the portrayal of St Ignatios in the katholikon of Hosios Loukas Monastery, Phokis, Greece, 11th century)



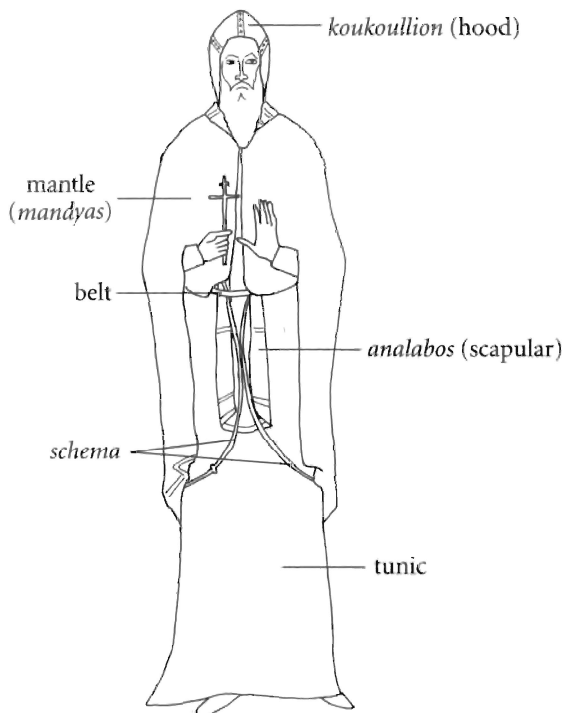


Fig. 8 Monastic dress

(adapted from the portrayal of St Gregory of Agrigento in the chapel of the Holy Trinity, Monastery of St John Chrysostom, Koutsovendes, Cyprus, early 12th century)

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CHAPTER II.8.3

SILK PRODUCTION

DAVID JACOBY

A fairly large number of extant silk pieces are regarded as Byzantine products. Their identification as such, approximate dating, and classification are primarily based upon the visual analysis of ornamental motifs and patterns, iconographic and stylistic comparisons, as well as confrontation with depictions in other artistic media, namely mosaics, wall-paintings, and manuscripts, and with written sources. Progress has also been achieved by the use of sophisticated technical and scientific methods in the analysis of weaves, textile fibres, gold, silver, and gilt threads appearing in weaving and embroidery, and of colourants. Only seldom is it possible, however, to establish a direct correlation between extant pieces and silks mentioned in written sources. Moreover, most silks considered as Byzantine are ascribed either to Constantinople or to the empire in general, yet so far none has been securely attributed to specific provincial manufacturing centres, except for some early ones found in Egypt. The attribution of many other silks to Byzantium is still hotly debated.

Some early Byzantine silks have been excavated in Egypt and later ones at various European and Asian sites. Many other pieces owe their survival to their use in the Latin West as ecclesiastical vestments or furnishings, reliquary wrappings, or burial shrouds (Muthesius 1995: 119–44). Some late ones have been preserved in Greek Orthodox monasteries and churches. However, written sources provide important evidence regarding the economics of silk production in the empire, and reflect the broad qualitative spectrum of the textiles, their multiple uses, and the social framework within which they circulated.

By the time of Justinian I (527–65) precious silk textiles had already acquired an important symbolic role in the life of the imperial court; they fulfilled liturgical

and ornamental functions in churches and monasteries, and served as markers of social status. Especially sumptuous fabrics, whether plain, gold-interwoven, or displaying woven imagery (animal designs or complex scenes), served as tools of imperial diplomacy and were among the prized artistic products contributing to the empire's prestige abroad (cf. II.8.2 Fabrics and clothing). More generally, silks also became an increasingly weighty factor in the empire's economy until the early thirteenth century.

The late Roman empire imported silk fabrics from inner Asia, yet also manufactured textiles with foreign silk. The assertion that thread unwound from imported fabrics was also used is highly questionable. The production of silks continued in early Byzantium. As a result, the industrial infrastructure and the skilled work force required for their manufacture existed in the empire by the time of Justinian I. Two sixth-century Byzantine historians report that during the reign of that emperor two Christian monks circumvented Sassanian Persia, the main intermediary in the empire's supply of silk, and secretly introduced silk moth eggs into Byzantium. They supposedly enabled thereby the launching of sericulture, the growing of the domesticated silkworm feeding on mulberry leaves (*Bombyx mori* L.). However, since sericulture appears to have already been practised earlier in Syria (Muthesius 1993: 19–23), the accounts presumably reflect the introduction of silk worms producing higher-grade and more abundant silk.

Strict state control over the import of raw silk and the manufacture of textiles and their diffusion was enforced from the fourth century onwards. Its aim was to ensure the court's supply of precious silks and to create a 'hierarchy through clothing'. Imperial factories constituted an important tool in the implementation of that policy. The attempt of Justinian I to impose a state monopoly on the silk sector ended in failure. After expanding in the eastern provinces sericulture and silk manufacture spread to other regions of the empire, although climatic conditions exclude silk cultivation in all the regions in which the *kommerkiarioi* exercised their functions from the mid-seventh up to the early ninth century (despite the assertions of Oikonomides 1986: 33–51, relying on dated seals; Jacoby 1991–2: 453–4). In view of the rising demand for silks, Byzantium nevertheless remained partly dependent upon the import of raw material for some time. The growing private production of silks resulted in a lowering of prices and was accompanied by a loosening of state control, already obvious by the first half of the seventh century.

The loss of the eastern provinces of the empire to the Arabs in that century resulted in three important developments. Constantinople became the major Byzantine silk manufacturer until the thirteenth century. The empire ceased to be the sole silk producer around the Mediterranean, and the Arabs extended the cultivation of the mulberry tree, sericulture, and silk manufacturing from the Middle East to al-Andalus (Spain), Tunisia, and Sicily. Finally, commercial and diplomatic relations between the Empire and the Islamic East generated an artistic and

technological interaction between these regions, also reflected by their respective silk fabrics.

Growing quantities of silks were required in the following centuries by the imperial court for its own consumption, for distribution to state officials, holders of honorific titles, and foreign dignitaries, as well as for diplomatic gifts. In Constantinople imperial factories housed in the emperor's palaces manufactured, dyed, and tailored silk textiles for the exclusive use of the court. Some of them bearing the names of emperors, produced from the ninth to the early eleventh century, have been preserved (Oikonomides 1986: 51 and n. 108; Muthesius 1997: 34–43). However, since the imperial factories did not cover all the court's needs, the authorities also relied on purchases from private workshops and from merchants importing Islamic silks.

The *Book of the Eparch* (ed. Koder 1991), compiled in the early tenth century, offers precious information regarding the operation of the private silk sector in Constantinople. Five guilds, each in a specific field, were involved in the manufacturing process and in the trade of high- and medium-grade silks. However, guild members employed hired workers and slaves, and weavers subcontracted work to individuals who were not members of their guild. Embroiderers and tailors operated outside the guild system. All stages leading from the city's import and purchase of silk and colourants to manufacture, marketing, and export were closely supervised by the city's Eparch. This imperial silk policy was motivated by several closely related concerns: to provide the private workshops of the capital with adequate supplies of silk, in which the empire had become self-sufficient, hence the prohibition to export it unless woven into cloth; to ensure stable standards of quality; to enable the imperial court to purchase locally made or imported textiles if required; finally, to prevent the emigration of skilled labour and the export of silk technology (Maniatis 1999: 263–332; Jacoby 2001a: 1–8, 12–17).

It should be stressed that imperial supervision did not amount to a state monopoly of the silk trade, as often asserted. Only precious textiles commissioned by the imperial court remained outside the commercial circuit. Private workshops were forbidden to produce silks or vestments of specific weaves, types, sizes, and colours, among them fabrics dyed with murex purple (see below). All these items were included in the category of *kekolymena*, that is, 'prohibited' for private use, sale, or export from the empire. The diffusion of other high-grade silks was controlled, yet their sale and export were allowed under permit. Other silks were handled on the open market. Despite strict state control there was nevertheless some illegal silk trade and manufacture (Jacoby 1991–2: 490–2, 498–500).

The manufacture of silks in the empire was mainly geared towards the domestic market, yet there were also commercial exports. By the eighth century high-grade Byzantine silks were being shipped to Italy, from where they reached other regions of the Latin West, yet until the early eleventh century consumption in that region was restricted to princely courts, the upper ranks of society, and wealthy

ecclesiastical institutions (Jacoby 1997a: 55–61). There was a much broader diffusion of Byzantine silks within the urban society of the Islamic East, Trebizond serving as main transit station in the tenth century (Jacoby 2004a: 218–19, 221–2).

There was a strong visual affinity between various Byzantine and Islamic high-grade silks resulting from the borrowing of decorative elements from Sassanian textiles and artefacts, as well as from the ongoing interaction between the empire and the Islamic East in that field. Interaction also extended to silk technology and weaves, clothing items and fashion. It has been argued that this process was primarily generated by diplomatic gifts, yet the commercial diffusion of silks and the mobility of skilled labour, industrial implements and technology appear to have been far more decisive in that respect. Silk workers from Islamic countries, whether Christians, Jews, or Muslim prisoners, contributed to the imitation of Islamic silks in the empire. On the other hand, the highly skilled workshops of the Islamic East increasingly imitated Byzantine silks and thereby gradually restricted their imports from the empire (Jacoby 2004a: 221–2, 224–6).

Scholarly attention is focused upon costly luxury textiles. However, by the tenth century, if not earlier, silk manufacture and marketing in the empire were not exclusively elite-orientated and also catered to a clientele in the lower ranks of society. The diversification of products was obtained in various ways. Since silk was an expensive raw material, most of it had to be exploited to maximize profits. The continuous filaments of first-rate silk entered into the weaving of high- and medium-grade cloth, while short fibres coming from floss and waste silk had to be spun before being woven into a fabric of a coarse and uneven quality, known as *koukoulariko* (Jacoby 1994: 53–4). In addition, both first- and second-grade silk was combined with wool, flax, or cotton in the manufacture of half-silks. These lower-priced textiles appear to have been produced on a fairly large scale in the empire. Since silks topped the hierarchy of textiles, they conferred distinction on their owners regardless of quality. Wills, inventories, personal correspondence, as well as marriage and business contracts illustrate the multiple uses of silk for purposes other than garments, namely for ribbons, belts, veils, headscarves, kerchiefs, pillow cases and covers, bed covers, hangings, upholstery, and bookbinding. The weaving of small silk pieces on simple narrow looms was a domestic production, outside the framework of ateliers subjected to state supervision (Jacoby 1991–2: 473–5).

Colourants were also an important component in the price of silks, especially those used for luxury fabrics. The production of shellfish purple, the most expensive one, was controlled and subsidized by the imperial court, and its use was restricted to the colouring of silks for the latter's consumption. The production of that colourant ceased in Byzantine or former Byzantine territories shortly after the collapse of imperial power in 1204, for lack of funds. Less expensive high-grade colourants in various shades of red were obtained from parasitic insects found in the empire. Other dyestuffs such as indigo providing blue colour were imported from Islamic countries. Not surprisingly, in order to lower production

costs expensive colourants were occasionally replaced by substitutes or adulterated. These practices are attested even for high-quality silks commissioned by the imperial court for distribution to foreigners (Jacoby 1991–2: 455–8, 464–8, 481–99, *passim*).

From the late tenth century onwards the Byzantine social elite and the urban middle stratum, the latter particularly in Constantinople, enjoyed an accumulation of wealth that generated changing consumption patterns and a growing inclination towards the display of luxury as status symbol. The increasing demand for silks in that framework stimulated the extension of sericulture in the provinces (as in Calabria), the expansion of the empire's silk industry, and the diversification of its products. The rise of new manufacturing centres in continental Greece (Thebes, Corinth, and Patras), some Aegean islands (Andros and Euboea), and Asia Minor was partly promoted by local *archontes* acting as entrepreneurs, who recruited skilled artisans and financed the activity of workshops. The existence of a guild organization of the silk sector in the provinces is still disputed (Jacoby 1991–2: 456–7, 490–2, 499; Maniatis 2001: 351–7). Thebes became the most important provincial silk manufacturer, supplying its products to the imperial court, the domestic free market, and foreign customers both in the West and in Islamic Asia Minor. The high quality of its silks, which challenged the supremacy of Constantinople, induced the authorities to control and restrict their sale for the same reasons as in the capital. It also prompted King Roger II of Sicily to capture Thebes and to deport its silk workers to his capital Palermo, where they were ordered to teach their crafts to local workers (for the whole paragraph: Jacoby 1991–2: 452–500; 1997a: 66–7).

The development of the new silk centres, which initially was orientated towards the supply of the Byzantine domestic market, also enabled growing exports to the Latin West. The expanding demand among the nobility and in the cities of that region from the eleventh century generated a growing involvement of Venetian and Genoese merchants in the Byzantine silk trade and shipping, including the supply of Byzantine domestic markets (Jacoby 1991–2: 493–500; 1997a: 61–3; 1999: 11–14). Their activity, which was favoured by the commercial privileges they enjoyed in the empire, combined with the growing competition from provincial silk workshops to erode the effectiveness of the guild system prevailing in Constantinople, which collapsed with the fall of the city to the Latins in 1204.

The huge fires that swept through Constantinople in 1203 and 1204 and the Latin conquest of the city in that year destroyed the economic foundation of the city's silk industry. Constantinople was abandoned by the Byzantine imperial court, its social elite, and large sections of its population. Subsidized production in the court workshops ceased, as the impoverished Latin emperors (1204–61) lacked the means to reactivate it. The new Latin social elite could not muster resources comparable to those of their Byzantine predecessors, and the sharp decline in population restricted the market even for cheap grades of silk cloth. The absence of investments in the rebuilding of private manufacture soon after 1204 induced silk workers to emigrate.

Most of them apparently settled in Byzantine Asia Minor, a region practising large-scale sericulture, where they reinforced the existing labour force. The main production centres in that region, Nicaea, Magnesia, and Philadelphia, pursued their activity throughout the thirteenth century, as well as after their conquest by Turkish rulers (Jacoby 2001a: 17–20).

Several factors prevented the revival of silk manufacture in Constantinople after the Byzantine recovery of the city in 1261. The emperors could no longer afford the financing of court workshops, and other Greeks, who faced the competition of Genoese and Venetian merchants, lacked both the capital and entrepreneurial spirit required to renew private silk manufacture. After the loss of Asia Minor to the Turks around 1300, except for Philadelphia which remained Byzantine until 1390, Thessalonike, which drew raw silk from its own hinterland, remained the only silk centre active in the shrunken empire. The Palaiologan period also witnessed a gradual decline in the quality of Byzantine silks, reflected by a shift from interwoven to embroidered decoration, which reduced production costs.

In addition, from the mid-thirteenth century onwards Byzantine silk workshops faced increasing competition on the domestic market. Textiles imported from Lucca (Italy) and Islamic countries were in high demand among the social elite of the Empire of Nicaea. Around 1243 Emperor John III Vatatzes (1221–54) imposed upon his subjects the exclusive use of indigenous silks for clothing, yet the implementation of his decree was apparently short-lived (Jacoby 1999: 23–4). In the reign of Andronikos III (1328–41) Italian and Islamic silks and pieces of clothing were imported or imitated and displayed at the imperial court and elsewhere. Later written, visual, and archeological evidence illustrates their growing use and the impact of foreign fashion in Constantinople and in Mistra, the capital of the Despotate of the Morea, until the collapse of the empire (Jacoby 2004a: 220; 2004b: 138–44; 2006; *The City of Mystras*: 143–51).

The dismemberment of the Byzantine Empire in the wake of the Fourth Crusade had a major impact on silk manufacture and trade in the western provinces occupied by the Latins. Western entrepreneurs replaced the Byzantine *archontes* in the financing of some silk workshops, and the export of the latter's high-grade products was redirected towards the West. The silk centres of Latin Greece, among which Thebes maintained its lead, apparently upheld Byzantine tradition both in the nature and quality of their textiles and thereby ensured for themselves a share both in domestic and foreign markets. In the fourteenth century their silks were exported as far as France and Egypt. From the late thirteenth century, however, Italian merchants active in Latin Romania increasingly shifted their activity from support of local workshops and export of the latter's products to the purchase of raw materials for Italian silk manufacturers. In the long run, then, continuity in the manufacturing of Byzantine silks, the strong dependence of these workshops upon western outlets, and lack of adaptation to new fashions in the West weakened their ability to withstand the fierce competition of the major Italian silk industries

and contributed to their decline (Jacoby 1994: 41–61; 1997a: 68–70, 74–9; 1999: 21–3, 29–31, 37–8; 2000a: 22–35).

The production of high-grade silks in Lucca and Venice, from the mid-twelfth and early thirteenth century respectively, was decisive in that respect. Genoese and Venetian merchants increasingly focused upon the supply of raw silk from the Caucasus and the region around the Caspian Sea via Constantinople, as well as from Asia Minor and Latin Romania to these expanding silk centres (Jacoby 2004b: 129–38). Initially Lucca and Venice produced Byzantine types of silks similar in quality to those of Romania, as well as cheaper half-silks (Jacoby 1997a: 68–79; 1999: 16–29). From the 1260s onwards, however, rich customers in the West displayed a particular taste for luxurious Oriental silks manufactured in the Islamic East. By the early fourteenth century Italian workshops began to imitate them (Jacoby 2004a: 230–6) and, in addition, launched a new silk cloth, velvet. The introduction of innovative technologies, among them labour-saving devices, further enhanced their competitiveness. Finally, the Italian dominance in long-distance maritime trade and transportation contributed its share to the contraction and demise of Byzantine silk production, both in the empire and in Latin Romania.

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CHAPTER II.8.4

CERAMICS

PAMELA ARMSTRONG

CERAMICS encompass a great range of objects employed to facilitate everyday human activities, from drain pipes and roof tiles to the most delicate drinking vessels. They were produced in large quantities at factories which required the availability of suitable raw clays, water, and access to a transportation network for the finished products. Shipwrecks laden with water pipes, amphorae, or tablewares attest their bulk production and transportation (van Doorninck 2002: 899–905). Ceramics were used for food preparation and cooking in all households, and dining in most, since wealthy households would have used tableware of silver plate and other metals.

Ceramic production can be divided into four main chronological phases based on classification of tablewares. The first is the early Byzantine period, that is, from the fourth to eighth centuries, in the course of which production in the ancient classical tradition came to an end. The second is from the eighth to eleventh centuries when the production of tablewares was dominated by Constantinople, from where they were exported to regions of Byzantine political and cultural affiliation. In the third phase, roughly corresponding to the reigns of the Komnenian emperors, glazed pottery production became common in provincial centres. The fourth phase begins at the end of the twelfth century when late Byzantine tablewares developed distinctive regional styles.

Pottery of the fourth to eighth centuries found in Greece, Asia Minor, and the Levant is generally labelled Byzantine; elsewhere in the Mediterranean the same wares would be designated late Roman (Hayes 1997: 471). Hard-baked, thin-walled Roman red tablewares, with their remarkably fine clay fabrics, continued to be made in the early Byzantine period. Roman, and subsequently Byzantine, red wares

were manufactured at a small number of centres in large quantities and traded extensively not just in the Mediterranean: many have been found as far away as northern France and Britain (Hayes 1972, 1982). In the fourth century African red slip (ARS) ware was a coveted tableware. Produced at sites in the region of modern Tunisia, it was widely exported throughout the Mediterranean and Levant (Hayes 1972: 296–9; 1997: 472–3). Cypriot red slip (CRS), also known as late Roman D, ware which began to be produced in a modest way in the fourth century by the seventh and eighth centuries had become one of the most common fine tablewares in the eastern Mediterranean (Uscatescu 2003: 547 fig. 1, 551; Armstrong 2008). CRS, however, did not circulate widely in Italy, Greece, or the northern Aegean after the sixth century. It acquired its name because it occurs so extensively in Cyprus, but no production site has been identified either there or anywhere else. Also popular from the fifth to seventh centuries was Phocaeen, known too as late Roman C, ware manufactured at the eponymous site on the Anatolian coast between Smyrna and Pergamon (Vaag 2005: 132–8). It circulated widely in the eastern Mediterranean as well as being found in significant quantities in Spain (Peralta 1991), Britain, and even Ireland (Fulford 1989: 1–6).

Understanding of the complex nature of pottery production and its exchange in the early Byzantine period has grown in the last decade, with publication of an increasing number of types of fine red tablewares associated with manufacturing centres that operated on a smaller scale than those identified by Hayes in 1972. The emerging picture is of a series of hierarchical groups, categorized by how far the pottery travelled from where it was manufactured and the size of the production centre, the former often determined by the latter. At the top are what might be termed the ‘international wares’, such as ARS, CRS, and Phocaeen, produced in large quantities with extensive distribution. These wares have been well documented for a long time. The next level forms ‘regional’ wares, such as Sagalassos ware (Poblomé and others 2000), that is, they were produced in a lesser quantity than those at the top and had a smaller distribution network than ‘international’ wares. At the lowest level are ‘local’ wares, also produced in some quantity but for use only in one place, or for limited distribution within their own territory such as at Askra in Boeotia (Vroom 2003: 137–9), or Balboura in Lycia (Armstrong forthcoming). One local ware has been identified by scientific methods at a small number of sites without its place of origin being known (Poblomé and others 2001). Those with limited distribution are the least well known of Byzantine red wares.

The production of cooking pots was highly technical because the demands of their daily use required special properties of the fabric in the vessels. The clay matrix that formed the bodies of cooking pots needed bulk inclusions to withstand the fluctuations of temperature that cooking pots were subject to, as well as to conduct heat to their contents. Suitable inclusions could be imported to a production centre and mixed with clay there, but usually, though not many manufacturing centres

have been identified, clay sources suitable for cooking pots were exploited where they were located, often for centuries. Not just availability of materials but also advanced technical skills were necessary to produce efficient cooking pots. For instance, the best cooking pots had thin walls: large pots with rim diameters of 24 cm and above could have walls 5–6 mm thick, which was not easy to fabricate.

An important Byzantine cooking pot factory was at Dhiorios in Cyprus (Catling 1972), from where pots were exported all over the Levant and southern Turkey (Armstrong 2008). Only a small area of the enormous complex was revealed during a rescue excavation but enough to show that production went on there in the seventh and eighth, and possibly into the ninth, centuries. Such was the importance of cooking pot manufacture at Dhiorios that, while it may have suffered a hiatus during Arab incursions, production quickly resumed, possibly under the influence of foreign potters, since the kiln of the last production phase is an Islamic-type, while the kilns of the earlier phases were in the Romano-Byzantine tradition. The continuity of production at Dhiorios illustrates the prime importance of locations where resources suited to cooking pot manufacture occurred naturally.

Vessels used for cooking either had bulbous bodies wider than the opening at the rim (Fig. 1*a*) or else the width of the body and the opening were of similar size (Fig. 1*b*). The former is usually known simply as a cooking pot (also the generic name for the whole class of fireproof vessels) or possibly a stew pot, and the latter as a casserole. The rims often had inner ledges to support lids that could be custom-made or simply an upturned bowl, which would then have had a dual function, acting also as a serving dish. Cooking pots had either a flat base, for setting directly into a fire, or a rounded bottom, which required metal stands to rest on in the fire, and a ring or collar, usually ceramic, to rest on out of the fire (Dark 2001: pl. 13). Flat-bottomed cooking pots regularly had only one handle (Fig. 1*c*), which protruded from the fire when in use, while round-bottomed usually had two handles. Small versions of both had no handles and were moved with metal tongs (Bakirtzis 1989: 33–4, 130). These general forms do not exhibit perceptible changes throughout the Byzantine period. The prevalence of archaeological finds of cooking pots suggests that round-bottomed pots are found mostly in a city and urban context, while villages and small settlements tended to use flat-bottomed pots.

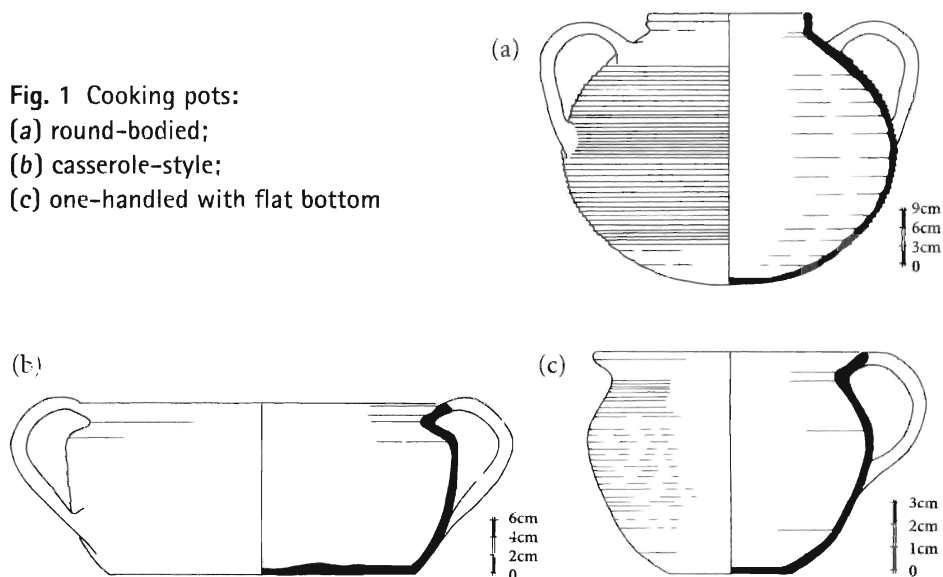
Between early Byzantine red-bodied tablewares and Komnenian glazed ones lie several centuries and the lesser-known category of ‘White Wares’, or ‘Constantinopolitan White Wares’. These are truly Byzantine ceramics, for Constantinople is their principal place of origin, and wherever they are found outside the capital city is indicative of Byzantine cultural influence since they were not items to be traded for their intrinsic or artisanal value (Armstrong 2001: 63–4, fig. 6.1). Glazed, and unglazed, white-bodied Byzantine tablewares have become better understood

Fig. 1 Cooking pots:

(a) round-bodied;

(b) casserole-style;

(c) one-handed with flat bottom



since the publication in 1992 of the ceramics from Saraçhane, the former church of St Polyeuktos in Constantinople, where they formed one of the main categories of excavated pottery. Hayes used these 20,000 white ware sherds to establish a classification which is now widely accepted as the standard system of reference (Hayes 1992: 12–15).

This class of pottery is known as ‘white ware’ because of its white clay body. From the earliest stages of Byzantine ceramic classification in the 1920s and 1930s, the distinctive white fabric formed a principal determinant followed by categorization based on decoration (Talbot-Rice 1930: all subgroups of class A, and B4). There are two main types of white ware: Polychrome, and Glazed or Unglazed white wares. The most common are Glazed or Unglazed white wares that were made from a coarse clay with many small grit inclusions. This fired to a grey-white colour, or pale pink. The fabric of Polychrome ware uses the same base clay but it has been refined by levigation to remove coarse inclusions, then fired to a brilliant white or pale-pink colour. The whiteness of the fabric is due to the high calcium content of the raw clay. White wares were also produced at Nicaea (François 1997: 423–58). They were possibly produced at Nikomedeia (Mason and Mango 1995: 313–31). Similar white clays to the Constantinopolitan source can be found at Preslav in Bulgaria where a production centre of white wares in the Constantinopolitan style developed (Totev 1987: 65–80; Durand and Vogt 1992). Highly calcareous clays producing ceramics with a white body are also found in the eastern Peloponnese where they were exploited in the Komnenian period for glazed tablewares (as Hatcher and others 1997: 226–7, no. 6, pl. 1 no. 6; also noted by Dark 2001: 63). Because of their Komnenian date they are confusingly classed as ‘red wares’.

Classic white wares were first in use early in the seventh century, when they were mainly closed shapes, that is, jugs for use at table (Hayes 1968: 203–16); red-slipped wares were still the popular choice for open shapes, such as bowls and dishes. In the eighth century white ware bowls appeared, decorated with simple incision or dog-tooth cut-outs around the rim (Hayes 1992: 16, fig. 5). Dishes, bowls, jugs, chafing dishes, cups, and candlesticks appeared in the ninth century, and continued to be made until the end of the eleventh century (Peschlow and others 1977–8: 363–414). Although the majority of deep bowls and chafing dishes were undecorated, some were stamped or impressed with images of animals, human figures, or abstract or geometrical patterns similar to those produced by bread- and brickstamps. All forms could be either glazed or unglazed; glazing probably made the pots more expensive, as well as easier to clean. The glazes, thick, lustrous, often speckled with undissolved pigments, were green, yellow-brown, or brown.

The colourful and pleasing appearance of Polychrome ware has meant that it features more prominently in publications than is representative of its production: at Saraçhane it occurred in a proportion of 1:99 against all other white wares (Hayes 1992: 35). Polychrome ceramics are fine-bodied and consist of shallow dishes and bowls with plain or fine rims, and small one-handled cups. The colourful decoration was created with combinations of green or yellow lead glazes, matt-red clay solution, turquoise alkaline glaze, and a manganese-tinted lead glaze, which may all feature on one vessel, beneath a clear lead glaze (Hatcher and others 1997: 225–9). The decorative motifs, as with the application of more than one glaze or colour on an individual vessel, were adopted from the Islamic world's tradition of fine pottery production (Talbot Rice 1965: 194–236). Hayes followed Talbot Rice in classifying Polychrome ware according to decoration, but with the Saraçhane finds was able to propose a secure chronology for each type, which had not hitherto been possible. Thus Polychrome ware first appeared early in the tenth century, and went out of production in the second quarter of the twelfth century (questioned by Sanders 2001: 89–103).

Polychrome ware is closely related to contemporaneous architectural ceramics, both in fabric and decoration. Their luxury value is indicated by their use only in palaces and prominent parts of churches, where they encased columns and cornices, or formed icon frames (Gerstel and Lauffenburger 2001). Even icons themselves were composed of panels of painted white-bodied tiles (Totev 1999; Gerstel 2001: 43–66). The decoration of white ware architectural members was similar to that employed on Polychrome tablewares. Red, blue, yellow, black, and white are painted in delicate patterns, and used for figural representation. White ware production at Preslav included architectural ceramics which have survived there in a more complete state than elsewhere, including a striking iconostasis formed from a series of shaped icons, associated with a colonnade of columns and arches revetted in painted tiles (Totev 1999). The earliest architectural ceramics are from the ninth century and the latest from the eleventh (Mango 2001: 22–9). The recent (2006)

discovery during a rescue excavation of stacks of curved polychrome tiles (for encasing columns) stored in the harbour area of Constantinople gives an intriguing glimpse into the system of their manufacture and export.

Byzantine amphorae, literally two-handled, like their ancient ancestors, were used to transport liquids, mostly oil and wine, over long distances. Therefore their form was designed for ease of handling and efficient storage in a confined space. The shape of the body and handles of Byzantine amphorae can be divided into two basic classes according to the method by which they were stored in ships' holds (Bakirtzis 1989: 71–4, pl. 15). They were either spherical or oblong: the spherical ones were stowed in ships with wide holds, the oblong ones in narrow holds. Within these two basic classes there are further details of form, as well as distinctive fabrics, which distinguish amphorae of different regions.

The amphorae production centre at Ganos, on the coast of Thrace in the Sea of Marmara, is a unique example of ceramic manufacture at a location where extensive resources of naturally levigated clay occur, close to the source of the product to be exported, and access to the sea (Günsenin 1993: 93–201). More than twenty amphora kilns have been found along the shoreline; the amphorae carried wine from the estates of the nearby monastery of Ganos. Study of the occurrence of Ganos amphorae shows that they were exported, or rather the wine was, mainly to Constantinople, as well as to coastal cities in the Black Sea, along the Anatolian littoral, and even in small quantities to Italy (Günsenin 1998: map B).

Apart from two handles the main distinguishing feature of amphorae of all periods was their inability to stand upright: the oblong ones had pointed ends and the squat versions rounded bottoms. But there was a particular type of Byzantine transport vessel which had a flat bottom and could stand upright as well as be stacked on its side: the *stamnos*. *Stamnoi* came in three sizes: the largest for sea trade, a medium-sized version for shorter-distance trade (both of these were also used as storage vessels in the household), and a small version which was used at table (Bakirtzis 1989: 95–9). *Stamnoi*, unlike amphorae, could have three handles, the upper ends of which joined at the rim of the vessel (Vassi 1993: 287–93).

Amphorae and transport *stamnoi* were gradually replaced from the twelfth century on by wooden barrels. Barrels had larger capacities than amphorae and were less liable to breakage, while at the same time being easier to transport overland, whether in wagons or by mule train (Bakirtzis 1989: 84–6). But at locations like Ganos, where clay was plentiful and wood scarce, amphorae continued to be the preferred transport vessel until well into the Ottoman period.

In the eleventh century production of Byzantine glazed tablewares underwent radical changes which led to the appearance of the type of bowls and dishes which have come to be thought of as typically 'Byzantine'. First, production dispersed to regional centres throughout the empire, so that cities like Corinth (Morgan 1942), Thessalonike (Papanikola-Bakirtzi 1983), Pergamon (Spieser 1996), and Sparta (Sanders 1993) developed their own glazed pottery industries. These new factories

utilized local clays which were often red. However, the grail of white wares was such that red-bodied vessels of this period were usually coated in a white slip before the desired decoration was applied. The real change in glazed pottery production at this time was simply the scale at which it was carried out, since the technology producing the lead glazes did not change in any way (Hatcher and others 1997: 225–9). Also during the twelfth century, improvements to kiln operating efficiency permitted the stacking of greater quantities of ceramics in a single kiln load, with the introduction of the tripod stilt to separate pots during firing (Papanikola-Bakirtzi 1986: 641–8). Previously, outside Constantinople and major cities, glazed wares formed a small proportion of the ceramics in everyday use. But during the Komnenian period the increased quantities of glazed wares available were such that they were in use amongst the smallest of rustic communities (Armstrong 1989: 1–47; 2002: 366–7).

The main continuum in the Komnenian period was the influence of Islamic ceramics. Whereas decorated Glazed white wares often employed motifs from the classical world, Polychrome white wares and Middle Byzantine red wares were strongly influenced by artistry from the Islamic world (Talbot Rice 1965: 194–236). The principal decorative techniques of Komnenian wares were green and brown painted, sgraffito, incised, and slip-painted. Other types are either a variation or combination of these basic techniques. These wares are known best from Corinth, where their detailed study forms the framework of current knowledge (Morgan 1942: 75–103, 116–57; Sanders 2003: 41–3). In green and brown painted ware, spirals and criss-crosses in both colours were painted onto the leather-hardened white-slipped vessels. Sometimes the greens and browns were applied as simple pigments, which could be covered in a clear glaze to produce a homogeneous glazed surface. Other vessels were painted with green and brown glazes, and, when the overglaze was applied, the coloured decoration stands out as glossier than the background glaze. In sgraffito ware a very fine point was employed to scratch through the hardened white slip to the clay body producing intricate patterns of spirals and diamonds and repeated motifs (Vogt 1993: 99–110). A tondo would be created on the floor of open vessels by scratching out a circle with a compass, and filling it with fine, detailed patterns. The vessel would then be covered in a clear or pale yellow or pale green glaze, which fired brown on the exposed clay lines and contrasted with the pale background. The sgraffito might be daubed with green or brown, known as painted sgraffito. Incised wares were made in the same way as sgraffito wares, but with a broader scraping instrument. The incision might form simple patterns, such as cross-hatching, or repeat a simple motif, usually in the area of the rim. Incising tools could also be used to scrape away large areas of the slip, often the background to a figurative decoration that then stood proud, in a technique known as *champlevé*. Slip-painted wares differ from the previous three in that they did not employ a white ground. Instead of coating the vessel, white slip solution was used to paint simple linear decorations. When the over-glaze, which could be

green or yellow, and less frequently clear, was applied the resultant yellow or green decoration contrasted with the dark background of the clay body.

Lead-glazed red-bodied wares first appeared in the eleventh century and continued to be made, with stylistic developments, during the twelfth century. Although produced throughout the Byzantine world the appearance of the ceramics was remarkably homogeneous. It was once thought that they were all products of a single centre, but a programme of scientific analysis in the 1970s showed that there were a number of places of manufacture (Megaw and Jones 1983: 235–63). Current studies are focusing on particular regions such as Pergamon (Spieser 1996) or Thessalonike (Bakirtzis and Papanikola-Bakirtzi 1981: 421–36), revealing subtle variations within the prevailing techniques and styles and allowing association of identifiable groups of vessels with a production centre.

There was a large range of plain wares in use at table—jugs, table amphorae, and chafing dishes mainly—which is not well represented in the literature. Open shapes like plates, dishes, and bowls were almost always glazed and usually form the greatest proportion of published Byzantine ceramics, and so have become better known. As many of the closed shapes were not eye-catching they have not received the same scrutiny as their showier partners at table, unless they happen to have been found in a complete state, which is not frequent. Such wares could be left with untreated surfaces or they might have a glaze applied directly to the clay body. Very occasionally they were coated with both slip and glaze, indicating that the use of slip was more decorative than functional. Sometimes they had simple incised decorations. Jugs (Fig. 2*a* and *b*) came in a range of sizes, from 10 to 30 cm tall. Sometimes they had a pouring lip, or trefoil mouth; more often they had plain round rims. The bases were usually flat, and could be string cut. Table amphorae (Fig. 2*c*) were simply two-handled jugs. They usually did not have a pouring lip. Also in use at table was the chafing dish (Fig. 2*d*). The lidded upper dish would have held a pungent sauce which was kept warm by burning charcoal in the lower section. Pieces of roasted meat were dipped into the sauce before eating. Chafing dishes were always glazed, for practical reasons, and there are many with a plain, dark brown glaze (Sanders 2003: 39–40, figs. 11–12) which would have been in everyday household use. But there are some preserved with elaborate plastic decoration (Morgan 1942: 56–8) which must have been used at banquets and celebratory feasts. The earliest known chafing dish belongs to the first quarter of the seventh century but they did not become common until the ninth (Gerousi 1997: 266–7, figs. 7–8; Morgan 1942: 56). They seem to have gone out of fashion in the late Byzantine period by which time they have disappeared from the Byzantine ceramic repertoire.

The thirteenth century saw the end of the finely decorated pots of the Komnenian period and the appearance of hastily executed mass-produced ceramics. These are evident from numerous shipwrecks carrying great cargoes of glazed bowls, possibly as a kind of profitable ballast (Filotheou and Michailidou 1986: 271–330; Armstrong 1997: 4–15). Foremost amongst these was the so-called Aegean ware, which has

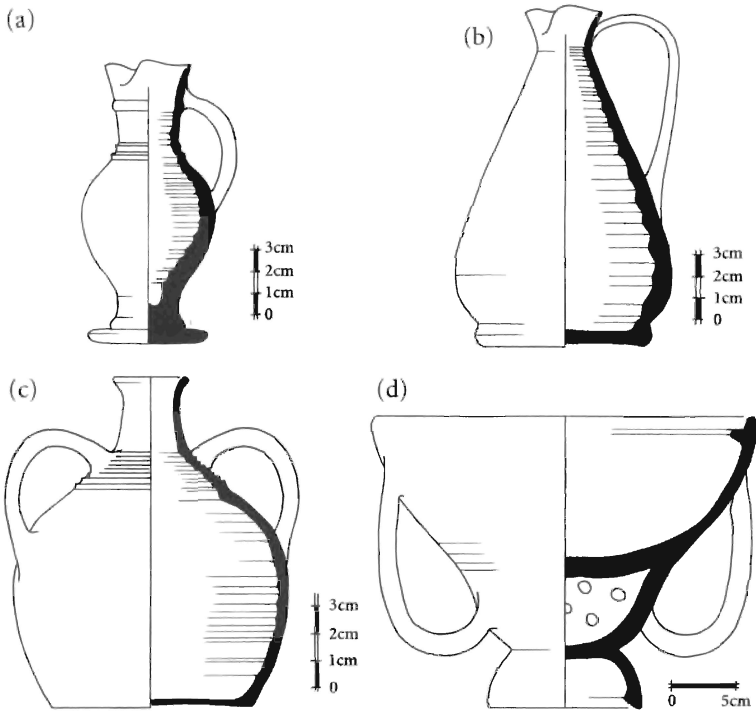


Fig. 2 Plain tablewares: (a) small jug; (b) jug; (c) table amphora; (d) chafing dish

become an umbrella term for many of the wares of the thirteenth century, though it was initially coined to describe one particular group—‘low ring base ware’—(Megaw 1975: 35–45). Aegean ware is characterized by large bowls, with either inturred or flat horizontal rims. They are made from surprisingly coarse clays, often with inclusions that can be as large as small pebbles. In these cases the potter relied on the slip and glaze to smooth over roughness. The incised patterns are distinctive: a hare or other animals incised and in relief in the tondo; water birds or birds of prey in the centre of the floor; rings of compass-drawn circles around the upper walls, and small amuletic motifs such as an evil eye with a cross through it.

In contrast to the folk character of Aegean ware is its contemporary Zeuxippos ware, which is outstanding because of the high quality of its potting, utilizing a fine clay to produce thin-walled vessels (Megaw 1968: 67–88; 1989: 259–66). They were finely incised with series of abstract or floral motifs, and often the external walls were carefully adorned with slip-painted rings and loops. Their glaze was of an exceptionally hard and glossy quality. The most numerous finds are of small bowls, with a variety of rim forms. A small number of closed shapes, flasks with unusual quatrefoil mouths, have also been identified (Armstrong 2005: 13, fig. 7). The original source of Zeuxippos ware is unknown and disputed (Berti and Gelichi 1997: 85–104; Zekos 1999: 243–4; Megaw and others 2003: 91–100). The highly

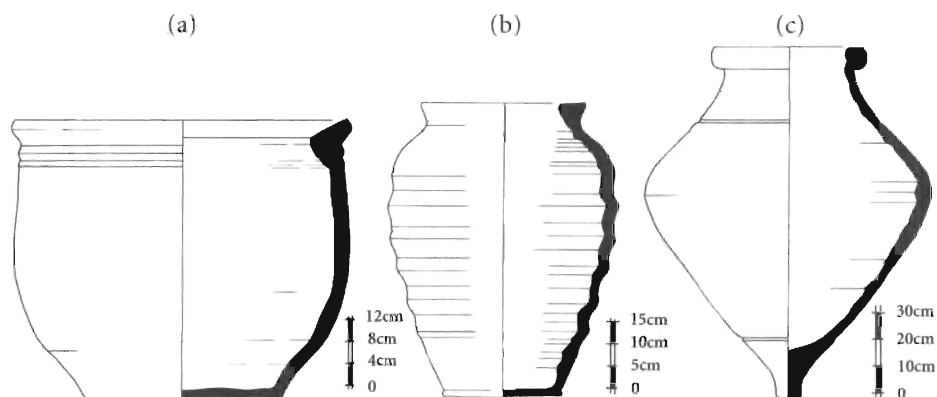


Fig. 3 Storage vessels: (a) open container for dry ingredients; (b) free-standing pithos; (c) pithos that would have been partly-buried

desirable prototype version was copied at a number of locations, until a standard 'derivative' type became common in the second half of the thirteenth century (Armstrong 1992: 1–9). The chronology of Zeuxippos ware proposed by Megaw, based on the destruction by earthquake of Saranda Kolonnes at Paphos in 1222, has been challenged by von Wartburg (2001: 127–45), arguing for a later dating based around 1267–8.

Ceramics performed an important function in households of all status as storage containers. There were two basic types of storage vessels: open and closed. Open vessels could be 50–80 cm high and 50–80 cm wide at the rim. Formed on the wheel the shape was a simple large basin (Fig. 3a) which could either have no rim or a heavy ledge around the upper edge to facilitate lifting. Ridges on the exterior of the rim would have facilitated binding a cloth over the top to protect the contents. These types of containers held dry stores such as flour or dried boiled wheat. Closed storage pots were known as pithoi. Their narrow openings, 25–40 cm, could have a rolled rim, a D-formed rim, or a thick, wide flange resembling a ruff. The lower section tapered either to a flat base or to a point. Those with a flat base and rounded body would have been free-standing (Fig. 3b), while those with pointed bases and angled shoulders (Fig. 3c) were sunk into the ground of the kitchen or storeroom up to their widest dimensions so that only the upper third was visible. This helped maintain an even temperature for the liquid contents, usually oil and wine. The size of individual pithoi meant that their production required specialist expertise. Leather-hard sections that had been formed on the wheel could be joined with wet clay and the whole vessel left to harden before firing in the kiln. Another production technique involved attaching rings of wet clay to the wheel-made base allowing each to dry before the next was added (as Fig. 3b). In this way the pot was gradually built up until the wheel-made neck and rim was added. Pithoi must have been expensive to acquire and, because of the passive way in which they were used, tended to have

long lives. As they could not easily be transported over distances, they are perhaps the most individually regional of all Byzantine ceramics. While the general shapes were standard, details were often quite idiosyncratic. They are not well studied (a notable exception being Yakobson 1966: 189–220) although many examples have been found, particularly by surveys, since their size alone meant that large pieces survived when other ceramics did not.

By the end of the thirteenth century distinctly regional styles of glazed ceramics had emerged, some of which can be associated with their place of production. One such group is the Thessalonike bird bowls, in which a heavily incised, stylized bird motif has come to be recognized as a product of that city (Papanikola-Bakirtzi 1987: 193–304; 1999: 188–9, figs. 215–24). They were manufactured from the mid-thirteenth and throughout the fourteenth centuries. At the same period Serres was a flourishing glazed ceramics production centre, and its wares have been recognized at many locations in the eastern Mediterranean (Papanikola-Bakirtzi and others 1992). Serres produced a range of decorations but they were essentially abstract, though heavily geometric or floral, incised patterns highlighted with coloured glazes. Study of other production centres on the island of Lemnos (Pennas 1994: 69–76) and at Lapithos and Paphos on Cyprus (Papanikola-Bakirtzi 1996) has made available the characteristic motifs and decorative techniques of each location.

By the period of transition from Byzantine to Ottoman rule, which had little impact on ceramic tastes and products, glazed ceramic tablewares are characterized by bold and bright colours, always varying shades of green and yellow or brown. Bowls and dishes were hastily incised inside and, for the first time, on the exterior, with rough floral motifs or wavy lines (Papanikola-Bakirtzi 1999: 97–112). Jugs with this type of decoration also became common. These were then highlighted with bright colours and glazed with clear or bright green glazes. Other bowls were simply painted directly onto the white slip covering in coloured linear or floral patterns and glazed in the same way.

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Recommended Further Reading

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METALWORK

MARLIA MUNDELL MANGO

MINES

MINING in the Byzantine period has been attested in written sources or archaeologically established in a number of locations (McCormick 2001: 42–53). In the early period, gold was mined in the Balkans, overseen by the *comes metallorum per Illyricum*. Gold mines, archaeologically investigated at Bir Umm Fawakhir in eastern Egypt, were in operation in the fifth to sixth centuries, while Prokopios and Malalas discuss the important gold sources of Armenia. Jones states that nothing is known about silver mining in late antiquity (Jones 1986: 838) and Byzantine numismatists once considered that silver was continuously recycled without new supplies added by mining (Hendy 1989: art. vi). However, ceramic archaeological evidence obtained from mining shafts suggests that the ancient Laurion mines in Greece were exploited for silver in the fourth to fifth centuries, while lead isotope analysis of ores, slag, coins, and other artefacts has demonstrated that silver was mined in the Taurus mountains and Black Sea area in Asia Minor in the sixth to seventh centuries. Archaeological evidence indicates medieval exploitation of the polymetallic Taurus region which also produced copper, iron, lead, tin, and gold, although silver extraction in the Byzantine period alone has been investigated. Important copper sources existed in the Troodos Mountains of Cyprus where what may have been an early Byzantine copper smelting area has been found in the Lagouthera Valley. In another area of exploitation, Sinai and Palaestina Tertia, early Byzantine copper mining has been investigated near ancient Fainan and to the south at Wadi Amran which revealed evidence of the continuity of Roman mining

technology. As noted, copper was also available in Asia Minor, in the Taurus range (Mango, M. Mundell 2007).

A major iron source in the mountains of Lebanon provided material for production centres situated at Damascus and Bostra (Lombard 1974: 162–9). Iron was also mined in Asia Minor in the Taurus and the Black Sea region near Trebizond and Sinope. Known major iron works at Sardis, later Byzantine workshops of which have apparently been archaeologically recovered, are presumed to have relied on a local source (Waldbaum 1983: 5). Evidence of iron-working has been archaeologically recovered in the Crimea. Minor amounts of iron were available in many places and it may also have been imported from India. The tin taxed on entering Anazarbos in Cilicia may have been mined nearby in the Taurus, although British tin may still have been available in the sixth to seventh centuries (Salter forthcoming), judging by the *Life of John the Almsgiver* (610–20), which recounts that a ship taking grain to Britain returned with tin to Alexandria, selling some along the way in Cyrenaica. Lead, also mentioned in the Anazarbos tax list, occurs with silver in the ore galena which was mined in the Taurus and Dalmatia. Archaeological evidence of Middle Byzantine mining has been obtained in north-west Asia Minor and Greece, while iron mining and production are attested in several locations in the late period (*EHB*: 620, 627, 675).

PRODUCTION CENTRES

Metals were worked in both state and private workshops. Gold, silver, and copper coin was produced in state mints and *thesauri* under the *comes sacrarum largitionum*, as were *largitio* gold and silver plate, insignia of office, and ceremonial armour. Other armour and arms were manufactured in eleven state weapons factories in the eastern empire under the control of the *magister officiorum*, as listed in the *Notitia Dignitatum* of c.400 (Jones 1986: 834–6). That at Sardis may have been located on the north-east edge of the city (Waldbaum 1983: 9). With regard to private workshops, written evidence suggests that while copper and gold were worked in villages (for household uses and jewellery, respectively), silver plate was produced in cities. Alexandria is mentioned in several sources as such a centre. Furthermore, the horoscope of a ship sailing from there to Athens in 475 states that it carried silver work, while cargoes of the patriarchal fleet of Alexandria, said to have sailed to the Adriatic in the early seventh century, likewise included worked silver. At Constantinople silversmiths operated on the Mese (in both the early and medieval periods), coppersmiths opposite Hagia Sophia, and a blacksmith's forge is mentioned in the seventh century on the *embolos* of Domninos. Justiniana Prima

had two forges making agricultural tools and a goldsmith. At Sardis, shops in use still in the seventh century on the *decumanus maximus* repaired metal items, such as locks; numerous copper metal vessels were found in other shops (Mango, M. Mundell 2001: 93–5).

USES OF METALS

Gold (*chrysos*). In the Byzantine world gold was restricted to coin, jewellery, and objects of imperial use (Grierson 1993). It was also made in the form of thin leaf for gilding and glass mosaics. Gold jewellery included the insignia of late antique office (belt buckle, fibula, torque), as well as imperial regalia including the imperial fibula, all described by Prokopios, John Lydus, and Corippus. In both early and medieval periods texts attest to the use of gold dishes in the imperial palace. In the medieval period, plaques of enamel work inlaid in gold were attached to silver objects which were often entirely gilded in imitation of gold.

Silver (*argyros*). Silver was not coined in the eastern empire between about 400 and 615. Whether the amount of silver (mostly hammered) plate produced in that period increased accordingly or by coincidence, is unclear. Furthermore, certain types of objects, such as plates and spoons, became larger in size. The heaviest surviving object, the Theodosian *missorium* of 388, weighed 50 Roman pounds when made. From the early fourth century silver dishes survive with imperial images or inscriptions manufactured for distribution as largesse on state and other occasions. Most extant examples, like the set of tenth-anniversary dishes of Licinius made in 317, are small and weigh about one pound of silver, in contrast to the Theodosian *missorium*. Some of this imperial plate bore a stamp identifying its place of manufacture (Antioch, Nikomedeia, Naissus) (Baratte 1975). After the early fourth century, stamps appear on silver no longer decorated with the imperial effigy or name, although by c.500, the stamps themselves are overtly imperial, containing the emperor's portrait and monogram combined with other officials' monograms and names in a series of five stamps. These stamps are thought to have been applied at Constantinople (Cruikshank Dodd 1961), although that city is not indicated and, in some cases, individual stamps name Antioch and Tarsos. Other contemporary series incorporate the emperor's name, often in coin-type legends; one such stamp was struck in Carthage in 541. In terms of metallic content stamped and unstamped objects were equally pure (92%–98%), but differed in the level of impurities in the copper alloyed with the silver for manufacture. That the stamped state-produced silver of the sixth–seventh centuries was largely sold to the public, rather than distributed as largesse by the court, is indicated by the numerous

personal inscriptions. Like privately made silver, it became an object of trade, in theory to gain gold in a period when silver was not coined (Mango, M. Mundell 1993*b*: 203–16). Whether stamped centrally or also in provincial imperial mints, the objects could have been sold in a partially finished but stamped state to be decorated elsewhere.

Byzantine domestic silver plate continued the traditions of the Roman period. Several treasures have been recovered from both the fourth to fifth centuries (Latakiya, Sevso, Canicattini Bagni) and the sixth to seventh centuries (Lampsacus, Cyprus, Mytilene). These contain a variety of household objects such as serving plates, bowls, spoons, drinking vessels, washing vessels, mirrors, caskets, lamps, as well as elaborately decorated plates intended for display (Mango, M. Mundell 2007).

In addition to the main liturgical vessels of chalice and paten (the *diskopoterion*), other objects were made of silver for church use, such as spoons, ewers, *rhapidia* (fans), censers, lamps, crosses, and book-covers. Reliquaries, particularly of casket form, were also made of silver and even gold, as were ex-voto plaques. As early as 314, Constantine gave to churches in Rome numerous heavy silver objects and furniture revetments, listed in the *Liber Pontificalis*. Justinian bestowed 40,000 pounds of silver on Hagia Sophia at Constantinople, some of which is described by Paul the Silentiary in 563. In 622 the Persians removed 112,000 pounds of silver from Hagia Sophia in Edessa. Revetments accounted for masses of church silver: an altar generally weighed 200 pounds, a ciborium 2,000 pounds, a chancel screen could weigh 6,000 pounds. Inventoried lighting equipment, in silver as well as bronze, was likewise large and heavy. From the fourth to the seventh century, numerous extant objects dedicated to named village churches in Britain, Italy, Asia Minor, and Syria (Mango, M. Mundell 1986), prove that silver plate was within the reach of many levels of society (Mango, M. Mundell 1993*a*: 123–36).

The use of control stamps on silver stopped in c.661, forty-five years after silver started once again to be coined. Precious metalwork continues in the medieval period when late antique silver-working techniques, such as open-work, niello inlay, repoussé, and parcel gilding continued, but often produced a different effect. Noteworthy are the elaborate composite objects incorporating other precious and semiprecious materials (onyx, rock crystal, lapis lazuli, etc.; on enamel incrustations, see above). These silver and composite objects were principally articles for religious use, such as chalices, patens, crosses, bookcovers, reliquaries (Hahnloser 1971). Outstanding examples are the chalices of Romanos II (959–63), the Limburg reliquary (969–70), and three silver receptacles of architectural form made in, respectively, 969–70 (now at Aachen), 1059–67 (from Thessalonike), and the late eleventh century. Some of these objects are inscribed with the names of emperors and prominent persons, in contrast to much extant sixth- and seventh-century silver plate which was presented to village churches. However, texts refer to elaborate secular objects—dishes, washing sets—of precious material made in the period,

and some extant bowls, lamps, and goblets may have been for domestic use (Mango, M. Mundell 2007). Silver furniture revetments are attested in the medieval imperial palace. Silver covers were also made to adorn icons (Grabar 1975). Aside from this elite production, a series of crosses of silver revetment on an iron core having personal inscriptions are epigraphically associated with monastic milieux (Mango, C. 1988).

Many of the extant precious metal objects from Byzantium were removed from Constantinople during the Fourth Crusade and are now preserved in western Europe. Recorded and extant medieval elite silver was presumably made in Constantinople, as was probably a preserved set of domestic silver decorated with figural and other motifs (Drandaki and Ballian 2003), which belonged to Constantine the Alan, a *proedros*, apparently mentioned by Skylitzes in 1042. Other domestic silver bowls, decorated with hunts, musical scenes, and, in two cases, Greek inscriptions, probably date to the late eleventh and twelfth centuries. Found mainly in Russia, they are so oriental in some details that an origin in eastern Asia Minor has been suggested. What may be imitations of (or genuine) Byzantine silver are documented abroad in a few significant cases: a ninth-century (c.865) silver cup of the Grand Zhupan Sivin of Bulgaria and a gold paten, both inscribed in Greek, excavated at Preslav; another silver cup found in Gotland, Sweden, and a pair of twelfth-century silver gilt kraters inscribed in Slavonic and Greek which were once in Novgorod cathedral. The latter's design combines features of Byzantine silver work of both the sixth and the tenth centuries (Mango, M. Mundell forthcoming a). Silver work related to the Byzantine was produced in Georgia in the middle period.

Copper (*chalkos*) and its alloys. Copper and its main alloys, bronze and brass, were used in a variety of ways in Byzantium. Large-scale work included the sheathing of public monuments (the Anemodoulion and the masonry obelisk at Constantinople), statuary (the Colossus of Barletta, the equestrian Justinian at the Augusteon), and animated fountains (Great Palace, Constantinople). Copper alloy doors survive from both the early period (Hagia Sophia, Constantinople; Sinai monastery) and the medieval (Hagia Sophia, Constantinople, 836). Between 1060 and 1087 a series of brass doors with silver and niello inlaid figural decoration embellished with inscriptions was produced at Constantinople, under the management of an Amalfitan family, for export to Italy (Venice, Monte Cassino, Rome, Atrani, Salerno, Monte Sant' Angelo) (Frazer 1973).

Regarding metal objects, there are four main groups namely those of cast bronze, hammered brass, hammered tinned copper, and hammered copper. The cast bronze group can be subdivided into vessels and lighting devices. Cast bronze household and other objects such as lamps, lampstands, *polycandela* (Bouras 1981), censers, drop- and long-handled basins, ewers, and bowls were mass produced. Some of the more decorative pieces have Greek inscriptions. These copper-alloy objects often reproduced contemporary types made in silver, and some were silvered or tinned in direct imitation of the more precious metal. Examples of all types have been

found at Skythopolis/Bet-Shean and other sites within the empire, including an illicitly excavated assemblage reportedly from Syria that contained numerous pieces of cast and hammered metalware, apparently from one household. But many more have been found outside the empire. Between the fifth and the seventh century approximately 300 cast objects, particularly washing vessels (ewers, basins), travelled abroad as exports. Nearly 120 went to northern Europe, where they have been excavated at numerous sites particularly up the Rhine and in south-east Britain, including the Sutton Hoo royal burial (620s). More than 170 of them went south to Nubia (recovered at Ballana and Qustul) and to Axum (excavated at Adulis and Matara). These southern groups probably came from Egypt. The lighting devices (*polycandela*, lamps, lampstands) were apparently exported south but not north. One can perhaps conclude that oil for lamps was less available in Europe (Mango, M. Mundell 2001: 89–92).

A series of hammered brass buckets were made in three different shapes and decorated with mythological, hunting or religious subjects executed by distinctive use of annular, matt, and other punches. Several buckets have Greek inscriptions, epigraphically dated to the mid-sixth century. It has been suggested that they formed part of officers' kit and were produced at state arms factories. Their decoration is close to that of a sword sheath excavated at Sardis (the location of an arms factory) and their wide distribution (Mesopotamia, Caesarea Palaestina, Spain, three sites in Britain, Kuwait) accords well with military (including mercenary) destinations (Mango, M. Mundell, and others 1989).

Centres of manufacture have not been determined with certainty for any of these objects, despite speculation. The cast bronze objects have often been called Coptic, indicating Egyptian manufacture, due to a resemblance to certain types appearing in Strzygowski's 1904 catalogue of the Cairo Museum and Wulff's 1920 Berlin catalogue which also includes material from Egypt. Some of this metalware has been found in transit in shipwrecks off Sicily, Spain, and France, one of which had coins up to 631. The horoscope of a ship sailing in 479 from Alexandria to Smyrna records that its cargo included objects of bronze and kitchen utensils (*skeue chalka*, *skeue mageirika*) (Mango, M. Mundell 2001: 98).

Certain object forms continued to be made after the seventh century. Medieval versions of the flask, ewer, and drop- and long-handled basins are known from Crete, Corinth, Asia Minor, and Pliska. That they are not as plentiful as in the early period may be explained by fewer excavations. Other cast metalwork continued to be made, however, in particular the *polycandelon*, a horizontal disc pierced with a series of circles to hold stemmed glass lamps, the development of which can be traced from the fifth to the fourteenth century. Although copper-alloy (and pottery) standing lamps cease to be made by the Dark Age, the hanging lamp and *polycandelon* continue to be produced (Bouras 1981). The latter then starts to be embellished with an upper vertical disc containing the name of the owner or donor. A set of seven such *polycandela*, from near Bursa in Bithynia, belonged once to a Marinos

protospatharios, a title first recorded in 718 (Mango, M. Mundell, forthcoming a). Both the vertical and horizontal discs came to be assembled together with other separately cast elements into large chandeliers (*choroi*) that illuminated churches and probably other large buildings (Evans 2004: no. 60). Five such chandeliers were made by Vukašin king of Serbia (d. 1371), demonstrating the export and longevity of the type. Bronze epistyles (*lamnai*) equipped with projecting stakes to hold candles are recorded (Bouras 1981) and have survived from the period; likewise extant are single brackets consisting of human fists grasping similar stakes.

Other copper work dated epigraphically to the ninth to eleventh centuries is hammered tinned copper, attested as *chalka ganota* in the *Book of Ceremonies* in connection with water containers and lamps provided for the Cretan naval expedition of 949 and the imperial baggage train. Extant Byzantine tinned copper objects include chalices and patens, openwork hanging bowl lamps and so-called *polycandela*. The last are flimsy compared with the traditional cast copper-alloy type and may have held a central glass bowl rather than a series of glass lamps. The chalices and patens, decorated with engraved crosses or figures, are perhaps best viewed as medieval substitutes for the village silver of early Byzantium. These twenty-five or so objects, where provenanced, have been found inside and out of the medieval empire (Asia Minor, Antioch, Pliska, Kiev) (Mango, M. Mundell 1994).

Hammered unalloyed sheet copper was used to make household washing and kitchen wares, particularly flasks, jugs, and cauldrons. In the early period several (including three samovars of a type also excavated in Nubia) were found at Sardis in seventh-century contexts, in shops and elsewhere. Copper flasks and cauldrons have also been recovered from shipwrecks (Yassi Ada, Dor, etc.) where they were used by the crew. Comparable vessels were made in the medieval period and have been found in such contexts at Corinth, Pergamon, and Constantinople. The type of flask found on a seventh-century shipwreck at Dor reappears later at Corinth and in Constantinople where it contained what was undoubtedly a contemporary hoard of eleventh-century coins. Earlier standard forms of the household vessels were maintained in the medieval production, as was the use of the crenellated seam. This technical innovation, possibly developed as a repair technique that first appeared in the third century, has continued in use in hammered vessels until the present day in the Near East and India; it was exported from the Near East to Scandinavia by the eighth century (on boxes holding dirhems). Unfortunately, hammered copper is not durable and these household items were undoubtedly often recycled when worn (Mango, M. Mundell 2001: 93).

Copper and its alloys were used to make medical and navigational instruments (such as the Brescia astrolabe of 1062) (Dalton 1926), weighing devices, bells, stamps, and cone seals. These metals were also used to make jewellery (rings, buckles, *fibulae*, bracelets), some of it gilded in imitation of gold. In the medieval period great numbers of large pectoral crosses, some of them reliquaries, were made of copper alloy and decorated with relief or engraved figures.

Iron (*sideros*). Iron was employed primarily for weapons, tools, and agricultural implements. State weapons factories are noted above; a series of swords, lances, and shield bosses were excavated in a shop outside the west gate of Jerusalem (Maier 1993). Anchors, building tie beams, doors, and gates were also made of iron. Smaller-scale uses include dies for coins and seals, locks, keys, nails, clamps, dowels, and some household utensils (e.g. Davidson 1952).

Tin (*kassiteros*). Used as an alloy with copper (to make bronze) and with lead (to make pewter), tin was also used to plate copper to achieve a silver appearance.

Lead (*molybdos*). Lead lowered the melting temperature when added to copper alloys for casting. As a soft metal it was ideal for striking seals attached to documents and packaged materials. Lead was used for *sarcophagi*, water pipes, and in building as roofing for domes and vaults, and to strengthen the piers of Hagia Sophia, Constantinople. Alloyed with tin to make pewter, it was used for *ampullae* (Vikan 1982) and other pilgrim artefacts.

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CHAPTER II.8.6

IVORY, STEATITE, ENAMEL, AND GLASS

ANTHONY CUTLER

OUR knowledge concerning the manufacture of objects in ivory, steatite, enamel, and glass comes largely from scholarly and/or scientific examination of pieces, whereas our information on their use (to the extent that they are mentioned at all) comes from literary and documentary sources. This dichotomy between production and consumption is a factor in the frequent assumption that these artefacts were made predominantly in Constantinople. This conclusion is so far unsupported by archaeology which has only rarely yielded specimens in these materials in the city. The outcomes of this discrepancy include distinctions between art and industry and between the capital and the provinces. These may or may not be justified.

IVORY

Elephant ivory, more than any other medium, has suffered from the notion that it was always a luxury, since it is mentioned in texts only two or three times after the sixth century and has turned up no more often in excavations. This is a distortion of the evidence. Since texts were produced by and for the elite, they cannot be

considered an adequate guide to the societal range across which ivory was used; the testimony of the spade, on the other hand, shows that in Late Antiquity ivory was used for objects of domestic use in the vicinity of Alexandria (Engemann 1987) and in Rome (St. Clair 2003), alongside many more pieces of worked bone. We have no record of its monetary worth later than Diocletian's Price Edict where it is valued at one-fortieth of the equivalent weight of bullion silver, but the size, weight, and variety of ends to which it was put in the fifth and sixth centuries suggest that ivory was by no means the rarity that it would become in the Middle Byzantine era. Generally held to be the most important among surviving artefacts are the diptychs issued to commemorate the accession to office of consuls and other office-holders (Delbrück 1929): these are prized by modern scholars since, where the inscribed name of a consul is preserved, they can be exactly dated. No less telling is the evidence they offer for their manufacture in series, in workshops that aimed at reproducing an ideal type but whose products still exhibit the variations introduced by the hands of individual craftsmen (Cutler 1984). Teams of this sort seem to have worked indiscriminately for both pagan and Christian clients: the diptych leaf in London inscribed with the aristocratic family name of the Symmachi presents in its figure types, physiognomies, technique of undercutting, and ornamental border an almost perfect match for a plaque in Milan depicting the Women at Christ's Tomb (Volbach 1976: nos. 55, 111).

We are thus faced with a situation familiar from other media where differentiations among consumers are not paralleled in the means of production. This disjunction is equally apparent in the huge number of pyxides, cylindrical boxes that are simple sections of a tusk cut across its vertical axis. The skill required to carve figural scenes in the resultant curving surface is evidenced in the diversity of achievement apparent across the more than sixty surviving examples. If the versions with Judaeo-Christian subject matter (e.g. the life of Joseph, the Multiplication of the Loaves, Christ's miracles) were used to contain the elements of the Eucharist or incense, as is commonly supposed, it is not surprising that many more specimens survive than examples decorated with motifs drawn from classical mythology. But, despite the range in perceived aesthetic merit which has led scholars to assign examples to all centuries between the late fourth and the eighth, and to workshops across a geographical spectrum extending from Gaul to Syria, the techniques involved in their production remained essentially the same.

The diameter of the largest pyxides (the largest, in Berlin, is 14.6 cm across; Volbach 1976: no. 161) suggests that, like the slabs used in the widest plaques (one leaf of the Stilicho diptych in Milan measures 32.4 × 15.9 cm), the source of the material was African. At all times and whatever its origin, however, craftsmen were intent on maximizing the area available for carving. This is manifest in the corners of many diptychs that preserve the natural diminution of the tusk towards its tip, and in the medicine boxes whose troughs were made from bisected tusks and provided with compartments and a sliding lid carved with representations of

therapeutic divinities (Asklepios, Hygieia, Jesus healing the Blind, etc.). On ivory combs, upmarket versions of their counterparts in bone and wood, miracle scenes such as the Raising of Lazarus or Daniel in the lions' den replaced the gently erotic content (and cosmetic associations) of Graeco-Roman romance. But whatever the belief system involved, the makers of both vertical and horizontal combs equipped their creations with a choice of fine and coarser teeth and framing devices that both helped to protect the figurative scenes and anchored the teeth when, in the last stage of production, these were cut.

The abundance of ivory artefacts and furnishings (Paul the Silentiary mentions ivory as one of the materials adorning the ambo of Hagia Sophia in Constantinople) seems to dwindle in the late sixth century, perhaps as the result of a decline in the import of tusks or elephants, but certainly before the era when a reduction in supply can be explained as a result of the Arab conquest of North Africa. It stands to reason that the making of plaques bearing Christian imagery would decline after the onset of Iconoclasm, but not all ivory working need have disappeared: Theodore, abbot of Stoudios, lists buckles made of this material and in bone among the gewgaws that should not be brought into his monastery by novices. Vestigial as the craft may have been in eighth- and early ninth-century Constantinople, its continuation may help to account for the production of two pieces—the so-called sceptre tip in Berlin which is more likely a box handle or even the base of a massive comb, and a casket in the Palazzo Venezia depicting scenes from the life of David (Cutler and Oikonomides 1988), both to be associated with the patronage of Leo VI. On the other hand, the revival of the craft in Byzantium, like the introduction of cloisonné enamel (see below), could have been prompted by contact with the West. The manufacture of ivory plaques in the Carolingian empire hit its stride well before the heyday of their production under the Macedonian emperors.

At least in terms of datable instances, this expansion is signalled by a cluster of pieces either depicting Constantine the Great or inscribed with good wishes for an otherwise unidentified emperor of this name, both types surely alluding to Constantine VII Porphyrogenetos, son of Leo VI. Although there is no evidence for a 'Palace School' (on the Carolingian model), a host of high-quality plaques suggests the presence, presumably in the capital, of skilled craftsmen discharging the orders of an elite for single plaques, diptychs, and triptychs. Some ivories display galleries of holy men or individual saints who perhaps represent the patrons of those placing the commission or the religious institution to which an object was presented. Overall, the diversity of uses to which these objects were addressed is less than those of the Early Byzantine period. Indeed the majority can be subsumed under the label of icons, in light of both their form and content which often closely resemble painted panels and full-page manuscript illuminations of the tenth and early eleventh centuries. Diversity is nonetheless apparent in carving techniques, a fact that may allow attribution to distinct masters (Cutler 1994), whose chronologies can be inferred from their products found in the West where they were applied

to the covers of service books offered as gifts by Ottonian emperors, bishops, and abbots (Effenberger 1993; Cutler 1998).

One or more of these hands also produced early examples of the ivory- and/or bone-clad boxes (conventionally called caskets). The famous Veroli casket in London, for example, displays techniques found on a triptych of the Nativity in Paris (Cutler 1988). Notwithstanding this common origin, the subject matter of the boxes either emulates classical models (Goldschmitt and Weitzmann 1930–4: vol. 1) or parodies them in a spirit far removed from the respectful attitude towards antiquity normally attributed to artists of the ‘Macedonian Renaissance’ (Cutler 1984–5). Mocking or otherwise, apart from a few early exceptions like the Veroli casket, the wooden matrices of these boxes were dressed in bone. This construction distinguishes them at once from the solid-ivory fabric of the box in the Palazzo Venezia and the ivory icons.

Just as tenth-century Byzantine icons in ivory provoked derivatives in southern Italy and Germany, so it has been proposed that a large number of the bone-clad boxes were in fact the products of Venetian or Sicilian workshops. Based upon their find-spots, this hypothesis has yet to be sustained by either documentary or archaeological evidence. What is clear is that ivory carving all but disappears in eleventh-century Byzantium. The so-called Romanos ivory in the Cabinet des Médailles in Paris, assigned in the nineteenth century and again in the twentieth (Kalavrezou-Maxeiner 1977) to the fourth emperor of that name (1068–71), is all but certainly to be associated with Romanos II after he became co-emperor in 945. The total absence of ivories linked to the Komnenian dynasty, figures who in other media ostentatiously celebrated their God-given authority, is mute testimony to the decline in ivory working in the late eleventh and twelfth centuries. Indeed, after a cross-reliquary made for the emperor Nikephoros Phokas (963–9), formerly in the treasury of Hagia Sophia and taken to Cortona after the Fourth Crusade (Goldschmitt and Weitzmann 1930–4: vol. 2, no. 77), only one object, a tiny fourteenth-century pyxis, possibly made in Thessalonike and now at Dumbarton Oaks, can be safely attributed to a Greek craftsman.

STEATITE

To explain the virtual disappearance of ivory working in Byzantium as a consequence of the Italian domination of maritime trade in the eastern Mediterranean in and after the twelfth century is no more firmly grounded than the supposition that at this very time steatite came to replace ivory as the carving material of choice. The fragility of steatite when cut into thin layers suggests that evidence on its use, and thus the dating of objects in this medium, is even more subject to the vagaries of preservation than is ivory. Moreover, the widespread geographic distribution of

steatite in its natural state and its softness (compared with ivory) made it, like bone, a material which was carved in many societies. The belief, then, that it was worked in Byzantium no earlier than the tenth century (Kalavrezou-Maxeiner 1985) must be treated as an open question. This opinion is founded upon the study of soapstone (its non-scholarly designation) as a medium of art; broader, utilitarian applications are conceivable in light of its modern uses (sinks, laboratory tables, etc.) but these have yet to be confirmed as a Byzantine use by archaeology.

In Byzantine inventories, steatite seems to be recorded as *amiantos lithos* (spotless stone), a designation that says nothing about its colour (in preserved examples this is usually a shade of pale green), or the condition of the objects (which, at least today, range from slightly cracked to appallingly fragmentary). Although specimens can measure as large as 30.6 × 23.0 cm (a plaque of the Twelve Feasts in Toledo; Kalavrezou-Maxeiner 1985: no. 52), most are considerably smaller and have therefore been understood as personal possessions and often as phylacteries worn around the neck (which would account for their often parlous state). Tenth-century examples in particular replicate the content and composition of ivory plaques, perhaps because produced by the same carvers. But the softness of steatite impedes such elaborate techniques as true undercutting and high relief, while the generally restricted size of the plaques helps to explain why it is found on icons in combination with other materials more often than is normal in the case of ivory. In some cases these settings are later—witness an eleventh-century (?) Nicholas plaque at Mt Sinai enclosed in an arched wooden frame painted in the Palaiologan period with a Deesis, Peter, Paul, and other saints. Where steatites are not mounted in this way, beyond the occasional narrative scene or scenes, they generally depict the frontal half-length image of the Hodegetria or holy men (especially warrior saints). Some subjects, such as the Man of Sorrows and Christ Emmanuel, are found on steatites but not on ivory; the explanation is that these are new subjects developed after ivory had been superseded by steatite. A few objects, notably a (now lost) steatite paten at the Panteleimon monastery on Mt Athos, have imperial associations, information conveyed sometimes by inscription but more often by legend. The descriptions of steatites in the epigrams of Manuel Philes does not necessarily imply that the material was favoured above all by the rich and powerful, since it was these groups that had best access to the services of such authors. There may have been other consumers who did not employ them.

ENAMEL

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If Middle Byzantine clients and craftsmen showed in the case of steatite a willingness to adopt new materials, the history of Byzantine enamel suggests a similar openness to technical innovation. Before the late eighth or ninth century, enamels

were produced by the method known since the Hellenistic period whereby molten glass was poured between boundaries of gold wire or strips of the same material soldered on their edges to the surface of an object. Much imitated by modern forgers, this technique is employed on an authentic pendant in the British Museum (Buckton 1994a: no. 98). But more celebrated pieces long supposed to be early Byzantine have been shown to be later medieval products. The *cloisonné* technique of enamels (in which the different colours of glass are separated by metal strips set on edge, *cloisons*) was a Western invention, unknown in the East before Iconoclasm. Thus the box at Poitiers made to house a fragment of the True Cross sent by Justinian II to Queen Radegundus in 569 (Buckton 1988; Durand 1992: no. 241; Cormack 1994: 68–9) cannot be contemporary with the gift of the relic but was probably a work of the eleventh century. By this time, the *Vollschmelz* technique, so called because the enamel completely covers the underlying metallic ground, had been perfected.

This *Vollschmelz* technique is seen at an early stage of development in the crown of Leo VI, now in the treasury of San Marco in Venice. In the course of the tenth century another method of production, known to scholars as *Senkschmelz*, was also in vogue. In this technique, the melted glass is let into the cavities in the metal ground leaving much of this substrate exposed, as on the cross reliquary at Limburg-ander-Lahn which bears an inscription of Basil, a son of Romanos II, identifying him as *proedros*, a title he received in 963 or 964. While the aesthetic effect of objects like Leo VI's crown is due primarily to its jewel-like enamels, most strikingly a deep translucent green, the impact of the Limburg reliquary, in which precious stones are also set as if to rival the effect of the enamelled cells, is a function of the exposed gold ground. This effect is seen most dramatically in the so-called *Goldene Tafel* at Schloss Nymphenburg (Kahsnitz, in Baumstark 1998: no. 30). The Nymphenburg plaque consists of a single sheet of gold measuring $24.3 \times 17.5 \times 0.1$ cm, weighing in all 430 g. This prodigious expenditure of precious metal is clearly intended to convey the maximum value to be attached to the image of the Crucifixion on it. Perhaps inevitably such ostentatious expenditure led to a reaction and greater economy of materials: silver-gilt and copper substrates were tried, particularly when in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries *Vollschmelz* that concealed the underlying metal (and was employed perhaps for that purpose) came back into fashion. But gold, which does not oxidize and of all metals has a coefficient of expansion closest to that of glass, served, beyond its obvious symbolic significance, as the optimum setting for enamel and remained the substrate of choice until the end of the empire.

Enamelling demonstrates what was possibly the most inventive and ingenious of all Byzantine crafts. Its practitioners simultaneously used a variety of techniques. On the lower part of the Holy Crown of Hungary, for instance, inscriptions and figurative plaques were created by different means, and even the plaques themselves display diverse methods of preparation (Kovacs and Lovag 1980). All in all, this variety reflects the passion in Byzantium for polychrome brilliance, which the

medium of enamel perfectly served. As the very emblem of lavishness, enamel work constituted a perfect medium for gifts, like the Hungarian crown, and a prime stimulus to overseas demand, famously expressed in Doge Ordelafo Falier's order for the Pala d'Oro as an antependium to the main altar of San Marco. This particular commission was placed in Constantinople, but there is no reason to suppose that the craft of enamelling was entirely confined to the capital. Theoretically, wherever glass was made and gold or copper mined (as in eastern Anatolia), enamel could be produced. Although attributions of individual pieces to Thessalonike, southern Italy, Kievan Rus, Georgia, and the Christian communities of the Christian East may be no more than educated guesses, the widespread distribution, particularly of secular jewellery (ear- and finger-rings, *enkolpia*, and other adornments), can hardly be always explained as the result of long-distance trade.

GLASS

Like pre-Iconoclastic examples of enamel, glass artefacts of the same period conformed technically to the norms of late antique production. The Theodosian Code (XIII.4.2) includes glass-blowers (*vitrarii vasa vitrea conflantes*) in a list of craftsmen exempt from taxation, and workers in this medium are a commonplace of early hagiography and homiletic. Window glass has been found at Sardis, Gerasa, Karanis, Mount Nebo and other sites in the Holy Land, while one shop at the first of these sites yielded more than 3,500 sherds from early Byzantine vessels in this material. Justinianic churches such as St Polyuktos in Constantinople had window glass (Harrison 1986: 204–6), but vastly greater areas on the wall were sheathed in mosaic tesserae of which glass was the chief component (Freestone, Bimson, and Buckton 1990; and in this volume, II.7.4 Wall-paintings and mosaics).

The analysis of glass tesserae has focused mainly on eleventh- to thirteenth-century samples from San Marco in Venice, while other studies have been devoted to the stained window glass from the early twelfth-century church of the Chora. These specimens show remarkable differences in composition both from each other and from glass found at the Pantokrator monastery in Constantinople. At the last two sites the natron-based glass seems to have been locally produced, perhaps under the guidance of Latin glaziers at work either in the capital or the Levant, and in response to imperial Komnenian interest in Western modes of decoration (Dell'Acqua 2004).

Especially valuable would be the introduction of Islamic evidence, given that Muslim potters developed a broad range of often sophisticated lustres for their products that may relate to the glazed tiles used widely in Middle Byzantine

Constantinople (Gerstel and Lauffenburger 2001). Such a contribution might also clarify the connection, if any, between the cut and polished clear glass vessels in the Treasury of San Marco, often assigned to eleventh-century workshops in Constantinople, and Sassanian and early Abbasid objects said to exhibit exact parallels (von Saldern 1998: 2). The relation of Byzantine gilded and enamelled glass vessels, notably the mythological bowl also in the Venice Treasury (Cutler 1974), to methods described in the twelfth-century treatise of Theophilus has been explained as an intuitive approach to Byzantine techniques on the part of its German author (Buckton 1994b; Whitehouse 1998). If, as seems likely, his recipes were based on autopsy, this presupposes Byzantine exports of the sort mentioned in the *Book of Ceremonies* (*De Cer.* 2.44: 661, lines 13–16) where Romanos I is said to have sent seventeen glass vessels to Hugh of Lombardy. These objects are not described but other examples of art glass, employing liquid gilding or silver stain, and ornamented with roundels or friezes of birds, animals, and human figures, have been discovered as far afield as Cyprus, England, Sweden, Belarus, and Armenia (for a survey see Whitehouse 1998). Some of these pieces have been ascribed to workshops at Corinth and the Athenian Agora where kilns and associated evidence have been found. Yet the scattered finds vary enough in technique and decoration to allow that they could have been native creations. The old understanding of glass objects widely diffused from the small number of attested factories may require replacement with a model, akin to that which prevails in ceramic studies (see II.8.4 above), characterized by diversified local production as well as long-distance exchange.

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BOOK PRODUCTION

JOHN LOWDEN

THE Byzantine book was handwritten, that is, 'manuscript'. The language of most Byzantine books was Greek, although the fluctuating borders of the empire mean that at different times books in Coptic, Syriac, Armenian, Georgian, various Slavonic languages, Gothic, and Latin can all reasonably be considered to some extent 'Byzantine'. 'Production' embraces all aspects of the process by which the content of Byzantine books gained material form.

The sources for a study of book production in the Byzantine world can be summarized as follows. The explicit evidence, in which the Byzantines themselves wrote about book production, is strictly limited. An oft-cited source is the brief list of penalties to be observed by those producing books in the Stoudios Monastery in Constantinople, attributed to its sainted abbot, Theodore (d. 826) (*PG* 99: 1740C, nos. 55–60). For breaking a pen in anger, for example, the punishment was thirty prostrations. To this can be added occasional remarks in chronicles, sermons, hagiographies, and other literary sources (see e.g. Lemerle 1986), but these have not as yet been systematically assembled. There is evidence that can be gleaned from scribal colophons (short epilogues, often formulaic, in which some of the circumstances of a book's production might be recorded, usually for votive reasons: Vogel and Gardthausen 1909). These colophons, however, are far less informative than those found in, for example, contemporary Armenian manuscripts (Sanjian 1969). Conspicuously lacking in the Byzantine world are the equivalents of the fiscal records and/or guild regulations that make possible, for example, a richly detailed study of book production in late medieval Paris.

The tenth-century *Book of the Eparch* (Koder 1991) does not mention the trades concerned with book production. The price edict of Diocletian (301 CE) cites some relevant materials (Lauffer 1971: 35.1 papyrus; 7.8 parchment, priced by the quire), but not (for obvious reasons) the costs of finished products as variable as books. Given the limitations of all these sources, therefore, the analysis of information that can be gleaned from the tens of thousands of surviving manuscript books themselves (what might be termed the implicit evidence) assumes particular importance.

Book production was a long and complex process, requiring a wide range of materials and skills (in general, Gardthausen 1913; Devreesse 1954; Dain 1964; Hunger 1989). Many of these remained little changed over the Byzantine millennium. The structure adopted here, therefore, follows the micro-chronology of the production process, drawing attention to key changes over time, rather than following the macro-chronology of emperors and dynasties.

The basic supports on which Byzantine books were written—papyrus, parchment, paper—were all manufactured. Of these supports, parchment was by far the most important. The technique of preparing animal skins to receive writing, rather than tanning them to produce leather, was supposedly developed in Hellenistic Pergamon, hence the Greek term for parchment ‘pergamene/pergamennon’ (Lauffer 1971: 7.38; Atsalos 1977: 85). Parchment is a tough material, extraordinarily resistant to decay. The main threats to the survival of manuscript books, other than deliberate destruction, have always been fire, damp, attack by pests, and the proverbial ‘wear and tear’ of use. Parchment is far more resistant to all these dangers than are papyrus or paper.

The skins that go to make parchment are primarily a by-product of the slaughtering of animals for meat, and most of them, therefore, are from sheep, goats, or cattle (around 1300, Maximos Planoudes complained at receiving donkey skins; Wilson 1975: 2). We can be confident that animals were not killed solely so as to provide parchment for making books, so the value of livestock and the price of skins would have been very different. Nonetheless, the cost of parchment must always have been high, and the supply subject not so much to (scribal) demand as to patterns of animal husbandry and meat-eating. The eight weeks of Lent, therefore, was a period when parchment supplies could not easily be replenished, a point to consider given that copying books during Lent seems to have earned the scribe particular spiritual credit (Rapp 2007).

The typical Byzantine book, or codex, was constructed of folded and sewn leaves (bifolios, *diphylla*), generally in groups of four, forming quaternions/quires (*tetradia*). Horizontal scrolls were in general use at the beginning of the period, and vertical scrolls were sometimes employed for manuscripts of the liturgy in the middle and later eras. The codex-book, while not a Byzantine invention, certainly owed its wide and rapid dissemination to the enthusiasm of early Byzantine patrons and craftsmen (Turner 1977; Roberts and Skeat 1983). The importance in the very

broadest terms of the codex's convenience in use, and its durability, factors still evident today, can hardly be overemphasized.

Unlike the scroll, assembled from pasted-together sheets, the mode of construction of the codex ensured that the dimensions of two pages, or of the book lying open, determined the size of the smallest rectangular sheet that could be employed. A large book of 240 folios with a page size of 40 × 30 cm thus required 120 sheets of parchment each at least 40 × 60 cm. Given the wastage in extracting an appropriate rectangle from the irregular shape of an animal's skin, a book of this size probably represents 120 sheep/goat skins (probably 60 cattle skins since prior to selective breeding livestock was smaller). Starting with those same skins, but folding them in half, would provide material for two books of 240 folios, each measuring 30 × 20 cm, or four books of 240 folios, each of 20 × 15 cm, and so on pro rata. The size of a book thus had a direct bearing on its cost. In addition, in the costliest products the craftsmen avoided using any parchment sheets blemished either in the production process or before. The actual costs of the parchment for a book are sometimes recorded. For example, in the year 895 the parchment for a Plato of 424 folios, page size 32.5 × 22.5 cm, cost eight gold *nomismata*, the transcription thirteen (Wilson 1975: 3).

In comparison to parchment, papyrus as a writing support was certainly less costly (Lewis 1974: 129–34). A composite made from the thinly sliced stems of the papyrus reed, it must have been very widely used at the beginning of the Byzantine era, but has survived in significant amounts only in very dry environments, notably in Egypt (its principal place of manufacture) (see also I.2.11 Papyrology). It continued in use for imperial documents, however, into the ninth century (Dölger 1956).

Paper (manufactured from a pulp of fibrous plants and/or cotton rags) was also less expensive than parchment. The first type used in Byzantium was of Near Eastern manufacture, and most frequently termed *bombykinon* (bombycine), or *bagdatikon* (implying an origin in Membij, perhaps, or Baghdad). Bombycine paper has a light brownish colour, a shiny surface, and no watermarks. It was utilized primarily between c.1050 and c.1350, for both books and documents, including imperial chrysobulls (Irigoin 1977: 46–7).

The use of bombycine paper was gradually superseded from the late thirteenth century onward by high-quality watermarked paper, generally of North Italian manufacture ('oriental' paper manufactured in Arabic centres in the west can also be found). As a result of the intensive study of the watermarks in many thousands of (western) documents it is possible to localize and date (with fair accuracy) a particular paper's manufacture (Briquet 1907; Harlfinger 1974). In the Palaiologan period paper began to replace parchment for all but the most costly products. Sometimes the two were used in combination, as in the Hippokrates of Grand Duke Alexios Apokaukos (Paris, BN, gr. 2144) of 1335–8, which uses paper for the text, but parchment for the prefatory bifolio with its images (*Byzance* 1992: no. 351). The

usual dimensions of a sheet of North Italian paper produced a maximum page size when folded of about 35 × 25 cm, but the Hippokrates used sheets almost twice as large (now 42 × 31 cm).

Having acquired sufficient parchment (or paper) to produce a book of the desired format, the sheets had to be prepared for the text by ruling a pattern of guide lines. The page was measured and the margins pricked to guide the horizontal and vertical rulings, which were then impressed into the parchment with a stylus, sometimes one bifolio at a time, sometimes with two or more bifolios superimposed. The pattern of the ruling, especially if the book was to have a marginal commentary (catena, 'chain') could be very complex. It must have been a time-consuming process, probably carried out by an assistant if one was available. Study of ruling patterns (Sautel 1995) can reveal patterns of workshop and scribal activity. But to be reliable it must be combined with the evidence of script, decoration, and so forth (e.g. Nelson 1991).

No Byzantine scribe produced a book 'on spec': such a costly and time-consuming undertaking required a commission or specific demand, even if that demand was from the scribe himself. Most scribal activity was based on the concept of copying. Even a new text would surely have been a fair copy, worked up from drafts. Yet the notion of book production as (mere) 'copying' is far from simple, because Byzantine scribes were rarely required to produce a facsimile of some model, and instead adapted what they took from their source or sources in various ways to fulfil the demands of the new project. Crucial examples of this balance of continuity and change in the copying process are, for example, the transcription in the new calligraphic minuscule of the ninth and tenth centuries of texts preserved from late antiquity at that date only in majuscule (uncial) script, and without accents, punctuation, or word division. Surviving illuminated manuscripts of Dioskorides' *De Materia Medica* from the sixth and tenth centuries exemplify the process (Gerstinger 1965–70; *Dioscurides* 1935). The heritage of classical Greek literature all had to pass through this filtering process, and much failed to do so (Reynolds and Wilson 1974: 51–8; Wilson 1983).

Book production requires at the least an exemplar and a consumer as well as a scribe. The position is most straightforward with an 'in-house' monastic product: the abbot instructs one of his monks to produce a new copy to supply a need. The evidence of manuscripts still in the monasteries on Mt Athos in and for which they were made, as for example at Vatopedi, exemplifies this process (Lamberz 1998). But the range of possible alternatives to the in-house scenario are very large: a scribe might be a lay 'professional' (possibly female) rather than a monk or priest (or nun); the commission might very well come from a layman or laywoman; the model(s) might need to be borrowed, possibly from a distance; the book might be commissioned in one location for use in another, and so forth. Without specific information these unpredictable circumstances, vital to the act of production, remain completely opaque. It is important, therefore, that the

example of the Stoudios Monastery as a centre of production in the ninth–eleventh centuries (Eleopoulos 1967; Fonkic 1980–2; Barber 2000), or the well-documented (by colophon) activities of the monk Ioasaph of the Hodegon Monastery in Constantinople in the fourteenth century (Politis 1958), are not assumed to be normative. The complex nexus of high-quality books that relate to an illuminated Gospel (Vat. gr. 1158), made for a Palaiologina around 1300, exemplifies the difficulty in identifying or defining place of production, identity of patron, collaboration of scribes and artists, and so on (Buchthal and Belting 1978; Nelson and Lowden 1991).

Once provided with his commission and exemplar(s) the scribe set about his task of transcription. He used a reed pen, and needed a knife ('pen-knife') to sharpen it from time to time, and to hold down the parchment sheet while writing. The primary ink was either carbon-based or tannic, or possibly a mixture of the two (De Pas 1977). But for titles, initials, and other letters, words, or passages intended to stand out, the scribe generally had access to a range of more costly materials, and often employed one or more special display scripts (Hunger 1977). There were two red materials, an intense, opaque mineral pigment, generally cinnabar (sulphide of mercury, vermilion) rather than minium (red lead); and a thin partly transparent lake, probably carmine (from the kermes insect). These may have been purchased ready-made. Silver, generally in powdered form, was also sometimes used, notably in the sixth century in luxury manuscripts in which the very thin parchment had previously been dyed with purpura ('purple') dye-stuff. In later centuries the mark of high expense was the scribal use of powdered gold. Generally the scribe first wrote a text intended for gilding in carmine ink, before overwriting it with a suspension of gold. The extra cost of adding gold texts is not quantifiable, but a clear progression can be observed, for example in Gospel Books: from a gold initial to the gospel's incipit, to a first line written in gold, to the first page written in gold, to multiple pages in gold, and (most exceptionally) to writing the book's entire text in gold (e.g. Sinai, gr. 204).

In addition to embellishing the text, scribes often made provision for, and sometimes themselves also executed, more or less complex decoration. This decoration frequently served to draw attention to the start of a new text, but was never merely functional. Gilding, often in the form of burnished gold leaf, might be combined with costly pigments, notably lapis lazuli blue, in a rich variety of patterns (on pigments see Mathews and Sanjian 1991: 227–30). These designs were developed notably in the post-Iconoclast era, and from the second half of the tenth century adopted a schema reminiscent of cloisonné enamels of the period (Weitzmann 1935; Hutter 1972). Headpieces might take the form of horizontal strips, Pi-shaped frames around a title, or larger rectangular or square panels, sometimes framing the title in a circle, quatrefoil, or rectangle (Fig. 1).

If images were to be supplied in the book, as with decoration, the scribe needed to make provision from the start, leaving sufficient space at the appropriate points, space that would be filled later (Fig. 2). The artist (who might also be the scribe)

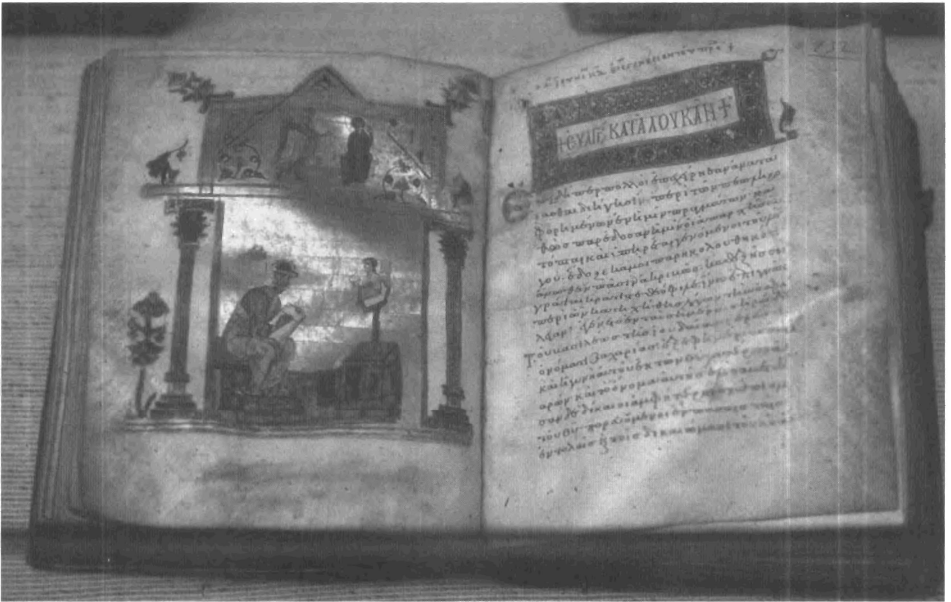


Fig. 1 Monastery of Megaspelaion, MS 8, 12th century

(Gospel Book, opening of Gospel of Luke)

generally supplied miniatures according to the workshop traditions and formulas that so dominated Byzantine book-production (Lowden 2002). Because of the physical structure of the book it was also possible for the scribe to organize the insertion of images on separate sheets of parchment at appropriate points, for example a full-page evangelist 'portrait' (the conventional modern term) before each gospel. This had the advantage that the image could be painted on a leaf that was not scored with the ruling pattern for the text. It also meant that the artist could work independently of the scribe. Furthermore, if an old book was disbound, new images could be supplied to 'upgrade' it (Buckton 1994: no. 176). Less often, old images were recycled into a new book (Buckton 1994: nos. 69–70).

Occasionally, scribes left spaces within the text they were producing for much larger numbers of images (more than 350 in a family of closely related Octateuch (Genesis–Ruth) manuscripts: Lowden 1992) (Fig. 3). It has been hypothesized that such cycles of images ultimately descend from lost illuminated manuscripts of the early period (Weitzmann and Bernabò 1999). This is most improbable (Lowden 1999). Like other aspects of Byzantine religious culture, the production of illuminated manuscripts quite often involved the disguise of innovation as long-established tradition. This is demonstrated most clearly in the pictorial decoration of newly composed texts by means of traditional-looking visual formulas (Homilies of James of Kokkinobaphos: Canart and Dufrenne 1991). In such cases, we have no way of knowing how much the provision of images added to the already high cost



Fig. 2 Jerusalem, Greek Patriarchate, MS Taphou 14, 11th century

(Homilies of St Gregory of Nazianzos)

of a book. Without doubt, however, richly illuminated manuscripts represent the exception in book production.

Because the Byzantines liked the parchment in their books to be polished, smooth, and glossy, images have quite often suffered more or less severe flaking of the pigments due to poor adhesion (Paris, BN, gr. 510: on the manuscript see Brubaker 1999). This type of disaster was already affecting some books at an early date, as we can see, for example, from the Palaiologan restorations to a mid-eleventh-century Octateuch (Hutter 1972). Such restorations, like the recycling of texts or images, or the updating of a book by the addition of liturgical information (Buckton 1994: no. 178), indicates a continuing appreciation of and use for such a book over centuries.



Fig. 3 Istanbul, Topkapi Saray Museum, MS 8, 12th century

(Octateuch, unfinished miniature)

The final stage in a book's production was the sewing of the quires (they might have been temporarily stitched before) and the supply of a protective binding (Federici and Houlis 1988). All books were sewn to stout wooden boards, which, when clasped together, prevented the pages from buckling, and helped to create a micro-climate between the leaves which did much to ensure the preservation of inks and pigments. The characteristic raised endbands of the sewing prevented Byzantine books from being stored vertically on shelves (a modern development), and the flexible spine (without the stout horizontal thongs of the familiar western binding) ensured that such books opened flat for use. Leather was the usual covering of the boards and spine, but occasionally books were given 'treasure' bindings, incorporating some combination of precious metals, enamels, gemstones, ivories, and even relics (Lowden 2007). Such covers generally fell victim to acquisitive predation over the centuries. The treasury of St Mark's in Venice has some of the most splendid examples, recycled as the covers of Latin books (*Treasury* 1984: nos. 9, 14, 20).

Once produced, the Byzantine book was stored and used by its private or institutional owner, but rarely inventorized. Wills and other documents occasionally list books (e.g. will of Boilas: Vryonis 1957; *Diataxis* of Attaleiates: Lemerle 1977), but in contrast to the West the evidence of early library catalogues is extremely sparse (*ODB*: 'Inventory'). Only the Monastery of St John on Patmos has preserved a series of early booklists (Astruc 1981; Waring 2002). Librarians must have known

all the books in their custody. But as a result of the lack of booklists, even those few libraries which have survived in some form since Byzantine times, such as St Catherine's Monastery at Mt Sinai, do not preserve, except on a case by case basis, evidence of how, when, or from where, specific books were acquired. (See III.17.5 Libraries.)

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CHAPTER II.8.8

MILITARY TECHNOLOGY AND WARFARE

JOHN HALDON

ARMS AND ARMOUR

BYZANTINE military technology was part of a much wider picture, and both shared in and contributed to the evolution of the defensive and offensive techniques common to the western Eurasian world: in the former, by the adoption of techniques and products from the East; in the latter, by transmitting the Byzantine version of these techniques to neighbouring cultures. Through the various peoples who inhabited or passed through the steppe regions north of the Danube and the Black Sea the empire maintained regular contacts with more distant societies, so that elements of central Asian and even more easterly military panoply or practices permeated into the Balkans, Asia Minor, and Middle East. In the late sixth century a form of the stirrup may have been adopted from the Avars, who had carried it across from the eastern steppe and China; the same people seem also to have stimulated the use of lamellar (or scale) armour on a much greater scale than hitherto; while in the eighth or ninth century the single-edged cavalry sabre and the lamellar cuirass with associated splinted arm-guards was adopted from the steppe, probably through the Khazars and Magyars (Bivar 1955 and 1972: 286–7; Lazaris 2005).

In the infantry of the later fifth and sixth centuries it was primarily those who made up the first and second ranks who wore the full defensive panoply, which

consisted of breastplate, helmet, leg-armour (splinted greaves of either iron or leather or felt), and wide round or oval shields of 1.5 m (about 5 feet) in diameter, to afford maximum protection. The shields of those in the front rank were also supposed to have spiked bosses. Spears and swords were the main offensive arms of such soldiers. There is a certain element of antiquarian detail in this information: the writer of the anonymous treatise *On Strategy* (now dated to the ninth or tenth century but including much earlier material relating to the sixth century and earlier, and attributed to Syrianos Magister (Zuckermann 1990)) assumes that a solid breastplate will be worn, for example, which may have applied to some officers, and perhaps to soldiers in parade uniform, but for which there is no evidence from other contexts (Dennis 1985: 53 (§16. 14–15)). The sources would indicate that, in reality, a mail shirt would be worn, with padded jerkin or coat beneath. Cavalry during the sixth and early seventh century are described by Prokopios and, in particular, in the *Strategikon* (c.600; Dennis 1985), whose precepts suggest that the influence of the Avars was at this time particularly powerful. According to Prokopios' probably idealized description (*Wars* I. i. 12–16), the best-armed horseman wore a mail coat reaching to the knee, on top of a thick padded coat to absorb the shock of any blows; he wore a helmet, a small circular shield strapped to the left shoulder (another feature found on the steppe), and was armed with a lance, sword (hung from a shoulder strap on the left side), and bow with quiver (on the right side). The horse was unarmoured, since the cavalry described by Prokopios functioned both as shock troops and highly mobile mounted archers. The sixth-century anonymous treatise specifies further that the front-rank cavalry mounts were to be armoured (for the neck, chest, and flanks) and that their hooves were to be protected against caltrops (spiked metal balls) by metal plates. This practice was clearly continuously observed, for an account of an eleventh-century battle between imperial cavalry and Arab forces in Sicily refers to the metal plates protecting the Roman cavalry's hooves (Haldon 1999: 129).

It is clear, both from incidental references in accounts of battles, and from these treatises, that heavy armament was limited to relatively small numbers of men, destined primarily to serve in the foremost rank or ranks of the battle line. The majority of infantry and cavalry were equipped with quilted or padded coats (*zabai*) reaching to the knee, and protection for the chest of leather, possibly in the form of scale armour. For the infantry, whether or not helmets were worn, shields, spears, and padded coats will have been the predominant form of armament. Light infantry wore quilted jerkins, may have carried small shields, and were armed with slings, bows, or javelins. These descriptions match what is known, from pictorial and archaeological evidence, of the standard panoply of Roman infantry in the third century and suggests a considerable degree of continuity in basic style and form of military garb.

By the fourth century helmets with integral neck-guards made from a single sheet of metal had been replaced by composite helmets of two pieces connected by a

welded and riveted ridge piece, which also evolved decorative aspects; cheek- and neck-guards were attached via leather straps and the lining of the helmet, although not all such ridged helmets had crests. It is likely that this type derives from a Parthian-Iranian archetype. Other varieties consisted of several segments, some with hinged cheek-pieces and riveted neck-guards. Known today as *Spangenhelme*, they derive probably from trans-Danubian models, and were widely adopted during the fifth and sixth centuries (Bishop and Coulston 1993: 167–72).

By the end of the sixth century, Avar influence was especially obvious: heavy cavalry soldiers were protected by long coats, intended to cover them down to the ankle, of either quilting or mail-on-quilting, a mail hood and neck-guard, spiked helmet and small circular shield. Elite units also had arm-guards. The late sixth-century *Strategikon* states explicitly that much of this equipment was modelled on the Avar panoply, in particular the throat-guard or gorget and the thong attached to the middle of the lance, and the loose-fitting and decorated clothing. Troopers also wore a wide, thick felt cloak to protect them from the weather, and were equipped with two stirrups, an innovation copied from the Avars. The panoply was completed by a cavalry sword, and the horses were to be armoured in front with a skirt and neck-covering, either of iron or felt, or ‘in the Avar fashion’ (with lamellar of iron or leather). Lamellar armour does not appear to have been used widely, although various types of lamellar construction for both horse- and body-armour were certainly known.

Infantry were less well armed. The best of the heavy infantry wore *zabai*, if they were available, and those in the front rank were also to wear greaves (of iron or wood, thus probably splinted), and helmets. All carried a spear, shield, and ‘Herul’ sword; the Herul infantry figure prominently in Prokopios’ accounts of the war in Italy (*Wars* I. xviii. 44–8; viii. 29–32), and clearly influenced imperial fighting techniques to a degree. The light infantry carried a small shield, a sling, javelins, and bow, together with an arrow-guide to enable them to fire short, heavy bolts as well as arrows of the normal length (a device common in the Islamic world, and perhaps also introduced via the Avars to the Byzantine and western world). Barbarian influence is clear here, too, as with the cavalry: the *Strategikon* notes that the infantry should wear ‘Gothic’ boots, short cloaks rather than the large, cumbersome ‘Bulgar’ (i.e. Hunnic) capes, and that some of the light infantry are equipped with Slav javelins.

The basics of heavy and light infantry equipment seem to have changed little during the period from the fifth to the early seventh century, except for the admission in the *Strategikon* that the majority of the heavy infantry did not possess the more expensive mail armour of those who made up the front rank of the line of battle. In contrast, the heavy and medium cavalry panoply shows marked steppe influence, as well as the influence of Sassanian cavalry tactics and arms (Haldon 1975 and 2002: 68–72; Dixon and Southern 1992: 43 ff.; Bishop and Coulston 1993: 149 ff.; also Nikonov 1998).

By the tenth century, this basic panoply had altered very little, although the seventh, eighth, and ninth centuries had seen a number of developments in both the forms and appearance of armour and weaponry, and in fighting technique. The appearance of the single-edged sabre (which seems to be the meaning of the term *paramerion* in tenth-century treatises), and the greater use of felt and quilted defences, are the most obvious changes, the latter in particular a reflection of the general impoverishment in the levels of equipment of the thematic infantry and cavalry already discussed. Thematic cavalry were armed with mail, lamellar, or quilted armour, according to individual wealth and status; the waist-length *klibanion* of lamellar appears to have been standard, but mail surcoats (*lorikia*) were also worn. The long coat described in the *Strategikon* no longer appears in the mid-tenth-century sources, suggesting that it probably fell out of use during the seventh century; although knee-length coats of what may be lamellar appear in an eleventh-century Byzantine manuscript illumination (Diehl 1933: pl. lxxxii). Helmets were probably also standard, although some soldiers may not have possessed them, using felt caps with neck-guards instead, while the main weapons were the lance or spear, sword, complemented by the light cavalry shield. Bows and quivers (on the Iranian pattern) completed the armament. Light cavalry had less body-armour, and carried javelins or bows, or both.

Infantry wore quilted or lamellar body-armour, or mail, although those that could afford the more expensive mail or lamellar equipment may also have possessed horses and been classed among the mounted troops: the evidence suggests that, on the whole, the foot soldiers were less well outfitted than in the late Roman period. The majority of infantry, even the heavy infantry, had felt caps rather than metal helmets, for example, and this must have been standard wear from the later seventh or eighth century on, and remained so until the eleventh century and after (although there were certainly exceptions, especially among infantry *tagmata* recruited from foreign mercenaries, for example, whose panoply reflected their own cultural and martial traditions). Shields for the infantry were circular, oblong, or triangular; circular for light-armed troops, as well as for the cavalry, but the size varied according to the role of the troops in question. Weapons included various types of spear, mace, and axe (single-bladed, double-bladed, blade-and-spike, etc.), along with the traditional sword, although not all heavy infantrymen carried the latter. The standard infantry spear in the mid and late tenth-century treatises seems to have been longer than during the earlier period, and probably reflects the enhanced status and battlefield role of heavy infantry, who had to stand firm against heavy cavalry and present a 'hedgehog' of spears to repel the enemy.

The mid-tenth-century heavy cavalryman is described in several sources, in particular the *Praecepta militaria* ascribed to the emperor Nikephoros II Phokas, and was protected by a lamellar *klibanion*, with splinted arm-guards, sleeves, and gauntlets, the latter from coarse silk or quilted cotton. From the waist to the knee he wore thick felt coverings, reinforced with mail; over the *klibanion* was worn a

sleeveless quilted or padded coat (the *epilorikon*); and to protect the head and neck an iron helmet with mail or quilting attached and wrapped around the face. The lower leg was protected by splinted greaves of bronze. Offensive weapons included iron maces with a 3-, 4-, or 6-flanged head, the *paramerion*, and the standard sword, or *spathion*. Horses were also armoured, with felt quilting, or boiled leather lamellar or scale armour, or hides; the head, neck and front, flanks and rear of the animal would be thus protected. Their hooves appear also to have been protected against caltrops by metal plates. In addition to this information, a mid-tenth-century text (Dain 1938: §39.4) gives some details on the bow used by Byzantine soldiers: the basic model remained that of the Hunnic bow, adopted in the fifth and sixth century, measuring from 45 to 48 inches in length, with arrows of 27 inches (McGeer 1995; Breccia 2004).

Infantry soldiers may also have employed an arrow-guide, as mentioned above—a channelled tube used to shoot short bolts very rapidly, certainly in use in the Muslim world after the seventh century. First mentioned in the late sixth-century *Strategikon*, it was introduced from the steppe according to later Arab sources, yet another example of military technology from the central Asian and Chinese sphere carried westward by the steppe peoples. Whether Byzantine soldiers also used the hand-held crossbow, some evidence for which exists from the late Roman period (as opposed to the much larger frame- or swivel-mounted weapon used as field- or siege-artillery, which certainly did continue in use), seems doubtful. Why it was not used is unclear: the answer must be sought in the conditions and nature of the fighting carried on by infantry in the period from the later fifth century on (Nishimura 1988).

Next to nothing is known of some aspects of military equipment: types and styles of sword-hilt, scabbard, shield, and helmet construction, and related issues of decoration. In these Byzantine weaponry had its own individual traditions and specificities, as is hinted at in the descriptions in the military treatises of uniform unit colours for shields, pennons, and for tufts or crests on helmets or other accoutrements. But few specific examples have been firmly identified (Haldon 1975; Koliaas 1988; Dawson 1998 and 2002).

While Byzantine soldiers continued to be equipped in their own style, foreigners (such as Normans, Pechenegs, or Varangians) arrived and fought in their own traditional garb. As time went on, especially during the twelfth century, field armies of the emperors were increasingly recruited from foreign mercenaries, and the Byzantine panoply gave way to influences and styles from elsewhere, particularly western Europe and from the Seljuks of Anatolia. Byzantine heavy cavalry were armed more after the fashion of westerners where it could be afforded; light cavalry and infantry continued to be armed, like their Seljuk or Saracen enemies, with the traditional combination of lamellar corselets or mail, quilted fabrics or boiled leather, felt and cotton headgear, and the weapons described above. The heavy reliance upon mercenaries led by the end of the twelfth century to a situation

where indigenous Roman units were not always able to match their enemies on equal terms, and a foreign warlord could plausibly assign imperial defeats to the inferiority of Byzantine weapons and artillery (Babuin 2002).

ARTILLERY

There are several problems associated with the study of Byzantine artillery, and the question of the degree of continuity maintained across the period from the fourth and fifth centuries into the later Byzantine empire remains to be resolved. It is often taken for granted that Roman torsion-powered artillery continued to be produced in Byzantium, although there is virtually no solid evidence for such a claim. Recent work strongly suggests that two-arm horizontally mounted torsion-powered weapons had dropped out of use by the end of the fifth century (Chevedden 1995), although Prokopios describes the much simpler single-armed vertically mounted torsion-powered *onager*, a stone-thrower, at the siege of Rome. The tenth-century illuminated manuscript of the treatises on artillery ascribed to Hero of Byzantium copies in many respects archaic exemplars, and it is unlikely that all the engines described existed in more than theory (Sullivan 2000). The bolt-projecting artillery described by Prokopios, employed by the Romans at the siege of Rome by the Goths in 537/8, is tension-powered; and the vocabulary employed in the Byzantine military treatises, where it sheds any light on the matter at all, reinforces this probability.

The Byzantines certainly employed large, frame-mounted tension-powered weapons as field or siege artillery, both manually spanned as well as weapons spanned by means of a windlass. Whether the wagon-mounted *carroballista* used in late Roman infantry field units continued in use is another problem, since there is little solid evidence. In the treatise *De Administrando Imperio* (*On Administering the Empire*), commissioned by Constantine Porphyrogenetos in the tenth century, a reference to artillery units equipped with *cheiroballistrai* in the time of Diocletian (284–305) and Constantine I (307–37) seems in fact to be a garbling of the Latin term, and refers to such artillery; but this has no relevance for the middle Byzantine period (Jenkins and Moravcsik 1967: §53.30, 34, 37, 133 and comm.). In contrast, however, the *Tactica* of Leo, in bringing the *Strategikon* of Maurice up-to-date in the section on field artillery that might accompany infantry units, refers to wagon-mounted artillery, known as *alakatia* (or *eilaktia*). The term means literally distaff or pole, but could also be used in later Greek of a winch or windlass, and was presumably its nickname (cf. the late Roman *onager*, or ‘mule’, a torsion-powered vertically mounted stone-thrower). This machine is described as mounted on carts and swivelling from side to side (Leo, *Tact.* v. 7; vi. 27; xiv. 83; xv. 27). Other

descriptions suggest that they must have been weapons with a slider, a windlass, or similar mechanical spanning device and a trigger release and associated parts, which could be used to project both bolts and stones, similar to the *carroballista*.

While the simplest form of torsion-powered stone-thrower, the *onager*, appears to have survived in the Islamic, Byzantine, and medieval western worlds, stone-throwing engines were also employed which were based on neither torsion nor tension. During the late sixth century, the Avars introduced the traction-powered (manually hauled) counterweight lever machine, originating in China, but quickly adopted by the Byzantines. There appear to have been at least two classes of such engines, and their operation clearly involved some technical knowledge and skill. In the twelfth-century Madrid manuscript of the history of John Skylitzes there are two illustrations of a traction-powered lever machine, with clear differences in construction between the two devices (Estopañan 1965: I, fos. 151b, 166). Similar devices appear in western medieval pictures also.

The reasons for the disappearance of most torsion-powered artillery remain unclear, but tension-driven artillery is much cheaper and easier to produce and to maintain, and although less powerful, was more reliable: maintaining the torsion at equivalent levels in both springs of a two-armed torsion catapult required mathematical and technical skills which appear not to have been maintained into the fifth and sixth centuries. The Byzantine army seems always to have included a number of specialist engineers responsible for the artillery: they are mentioned in most of the treatises as well as in other sources. But Prokopios' description of the single-armed *onager*, a vertically mounted torsion stone-thrower (*Wars* V. xxi.19), shows that the simplest torsion engines continued to be used in the eastern empire well into the sixth century, and probably beyond, since they appear also to have been employed in all the neighbouring cultures thereafter. The advent of traction-powered lever stone-throwers, which were potentially far more powerful, and much easier to construct and to operate, must have affected the need and the desire to construct even this simple torsion-driven device (Haldon 2000; Chevedden 1995).

Perhaps the best-known Byzantine 'artillery' device is the liquid fire projector, about which there is still no consensus among those who have studied the sources. It was available as a large-scale projector for use on shipboard and in sieges; but during the later ninth and tenth centuries a smaller, hand-held version (which may not, however, have operated on exactly the same principles) was also employed, described in both Byzantine and Arab sources. While there is some debate as to the fabrication of the projector, it was essentially a type of flame-thrower employing crude petroleum (obtained from the Caucasus and the south Russian steppe region, where the imperial government showed a particular interest in maintaining a diplomatic presence). The Byzantine sources provide evidence of the various component parts and the general effects of the device; and a ninth- or tenth-century Latin account gives a fairly clear account of this arrangement (Haldon 2000: §45, ll. 141, 157 f., 202). Whether the weapon was as effective as the Greek sources appear to

suggest depends on the nature and reliability of the sources which describe it. The Byzantines themselves clearly regarded it as an effective weapon, if only because of its psychological effect (Haldon 2006).

The hurling of combustibles from catapults was universally practised, of course, and it is clear that the empire's enemies employed this means where relevant or practicable. It has been suggested that the Arabs also possessed the same type of projector as the Byzantines, but the sources are ambiguous and the issue remains open. But it was the device itself, and the form of projection, which differentiates this 'liquid fire' from incendiary weapons in general, although confusion was introduced by the indiscriminate use, from the time of the first Crusade, of the term 'Greek fire' for any and all such weapons by western knights and chroniclers who had fought in the East (Haldon and Byrne 1977).

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Further Reading

See also III.18.8 Military texts, in this volume, and the following:

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CHAPTER II.8.9

SHIPPING AND SEAFARING

JOHN PRYOR

Oh God, our God, the true and lively way, who accompanied your attendant Joseph, accompany, Lord, this your servant also, and preserve him from the dangers of pirates and every tempest. Grant to him peace and good health, and as he manifests concern for all justice according to your bidding, allow [him] to return abounding in worldly and heavenly goods. Since yours is the kingdom, and the power, and the glory, of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit, now, and forever, and for the ages of ages.

Prayer for seafarers dating back to at least the 11th cent.;
Goar 1730: 681; trans. Jeffreys

It has sometimes been remarked that Byzantines feared the sea and held seamen, shipmasters, and maritime merchants in poor esteem (Kazhdan and Constable 1982: 42–3). However, such opinions are products of skewed sources and of modern historians poorly versed in maritime history. In the Graeco-Roman past Greeks and Syrians had been the most renowned seafarers and merchants of antiquity and in the post-Byzantine Ottoman world they would again make their presence felt. It is simply not credible that for a thousand years such peoples would have turned their backs on their seafaring past and future. Historians need to interpret the record of the establishment. When Genesios and the writer of *Theophanes Continuatus* wrote of the emperor Theophilus that he was incensed at learning that the owner of a

fine merchant ship sailing up the Bosphoros was his wife Theodora and ordered the ship burned, it reflected only that the authors considered operation of a merchant ship inappropriate for an empress, not that seafaring and maritime commerce were alien to Byzantines (Genes. 3.20; *Theoph. Cont.* 3.4). As the evidence of the Rhodian Sea Law of c.700 CE demonstrates, Byzantines were experienced seafarers widely engaged in maritime commerce (Ashburner 1909).

Byzantine seamen would not have shared the negativity of the ecclesiastical-aristocratic establishment towards the sea and there is plenty of evidence that seafaring Byzantines loved the sea. Epigrams in praise of seafaring included in his collection by Agathias of Myrina in the sixth century and reproduced later in the *Palatine Anthology* around 900 CE demonstrate that appreciation of being at sea in spring with a pleasant breeze was never lost:

The deep lies becalmed and blue; for no gale whitens the waves, ruffling them to a ripple, and no longer do the seas break round the rocks, retiring again to be absorbed in the depth. The Zephyrs blow and the swallow twitters round the straw-glued chamber she has built. Take courage, thou sailor of experience, whether thou journeyest to the Syrtis or to the beach of Sicily. Only by the altar of Priapus of the harbour burn a parrot-wrasse or some red bogue-fish. (*Anth. Gr.* x.14; trans. Paton)

However, just as the love of God implies 'fearing' Him, so also does love of the sea imply fear. All seamen respect the sea and fear it in the sense of fearing God: if they do not, they do not remain seamen for very long. In antiquity and the Middle Ages, this resulted above all in the well-known closing of the seas in winter. This was never an absolute matter and the length of the closure differed for low-lying galleys, which were not designed to ride the waves, and for sailing ships which were designed to do so. It also tended to shorten over the centuries. The landlubber farmer Hesiod in the eighth century BCE limited the safe sailing season to around 50 days after the summer solstice. But in the fourth century CE Vegetius extended the sailing season for galleys to the period from 26 May to 14 September and for sailing ships to the period from 10 March to 10 November. Later the closure shortened even more, and in any case it was never absolute. Daring or avaricious masters, or those entrusted with important diplomatic or military missions, continually braved winter seas. Even naval expeditions were occasionally launched in winter, although frequently with disastrous results. Nevertheless, the winter did create seasonal patterns in maritime commerce and communications (Hes. *Works* 646–94; Veget. iv.39; Pryor 1988: 87–8; McCormick 2001: 98, 450–68).

Similar considerations not so much determined as influenced the formation of major navigation routes. The Black Sea, the Sea of Marmara, the Aegean, and the eastern Mediterranean, around which the Byzantine Empire lay for much of its existence, were geographically complex stretches of water. Seamen making their way across them were influenced by prevailing seasonal wind patterns, by

the patterning of islands, and to a lesser degree by current systems. They were also influenced by the sea-keeping capabilities of their ships. For the most part galleys were limited to coastal navigation or to very short hops from island to island. Sailing ships could make longer traverses across open sea more easily; although, economic considerations promoted diversity for them also. For the most part maritime commerce consisted of 'tramp-steaming' or cabotage from port to port, island to island, picking up and offloading cargoes wherever profitability beckoned. So, open sea crossings from the Crimea to Constantinople, from Alexandria to Rhodes, from Lesbos to Athens, from Cyprus to Crete or Crete to Sicily were not the norm. Galleys and galley fleets would pick their way around the coasts because for them to be caught out at sea in a rising swell was extremely dangerous. For the most part sailing merchantmen would do the same, though for different reasons. Only the greatest grain ships or very unusual merchantmen or merchantmen in unusual circumstances would make open-sea crossings. So the most important routes became those from the Sea of Azov to Constantinople via the Danubian coast, from Trebizond to Constantinople via Sinope, from Constantinople to the Levant via the coast of Anatolia and Rhodes, from Constantinople to the West via Thrace and the east coast of Greece, and from Rhodes to the West via the south coast of Crete and the Peloponnese. From Alexandria the route to the north and west lay along the coasts of Palestine, Cilicia, and Lycia to the Aegean and beyond (McCormick 2001: *passim* under 'routes, sea').

SAILING SHIPS

Written sources and the scant pictorial record reveal precious little about Byzantine sailing ships. However, we do have the archaeological evidence of the fourth- and seventh-century Yassı Ada ships (Bass and van Doorninck 1982). The seventh-century ship was around 20.5 metres in overall length, 12 metres on the keel, 5 metres in beam, and 2.25 metres deep in hold. Whether the ship had one mast or two is unknown. It probably had lateen rather than square sails but the evidence on that issue is ambiguous. What may have been lateen sails are depicted on some galleys in the early sixth-century *Ilias Ambrosiana* manuscript but one other galley in it clearly has a square sail. Galleys in the late fifth-century *Roman Vergil* manuscript are depicted ambiguously with what may have been either lateen or square sails. The famous early sixth-century mosaic in the church of S. Apollinare Nuovo, Ravenna, depicting a ship in the port of Classe, may show either a square or

a lateen sail (Martin 2001: 31); the mosaic was altered in 561 and then restored very poorly in 1855.

The two Yassı Ada ships made strikingly clear the transition from the antique method of shell construction of a ship's hull first by edge-joining the strakes with closely spaced and tight-fitting tenons pegged into mortises with treenails, a technique found most impressively in the Kyrenia ship of the fourth century BCE (Steffy 1991a: 1–2). In the fourth-century ship the tenons were wider but shorter, less tightly fitting in the mortises and spaced much further apart. In the seventh-century wreck the tenons were only around 3 cm wide and 3.5 cm deep, were loose fitting, tapered at the ends and varied in spacing between 35 and 90 cm apart. An important transition in the construction of ships from shell to skeleton technique was taking place, from building the hulls first and then adding frames later to what would eventually become the skeleton technique, in which a framework was erected first and the planking was nailed to it afterwards, was taking place (Bass 1972: 138, 143; Bass and van Doorninck 1982: 55; Steffy 1991a; Pryor 1994: 65–7).

By the ninth century the transition was probably complete. The Bozburun ship, around 15–17 metres long and 5 metres in beam, whose timbers were felled in 874 CE, shows no evidence of mortise-and-tenon edge joining of planks, was probably built frame first, and had driven caulking (Hocker 1995, 1998a, and 1998b). The Serçe Limanı ship of c.1025, another small coaster of around 15.36 metres in overall length and 5.12 metres in beam, again had planks which were not edge-joined with mortises and tenons but rather were fastened to the frames with iron spikes and treenails (Steffy 1982).

However, a collection of 27 or 28 ships found in 2005–6 in the harbour of Eleutherios or the Theodosian harbour at Istanbul, of which all but one are dated to the late tenth and early eleventh centuries show something completely different. All were built with edge-joined strakes but instead of mortises and tenons, coaks or dowels were used to join planks together. They were built this way up to the wale at the waterline, after which frames were inserted and the upper hulls were then built skeleton first, the planking fixed to the frames with treenails and iron nails (information courtesy of Cemal Pulak).

Such small coastal craft were probably much as depicted in manuscript illustrations such as those of the Khludov Psalter and the Paris manuscript of the Sermons of Gregory of Nazianzos (Shchepkina 1977: no. 88; Weitzmann 1980: ch. IV, fig. 1). With a single deck, one or two masts, lateen sails, two stern-quarter rudders, and a small cabin with a hearth at the stern, they were nothing like the ship owned by the empress Theodora, but of ships such as that there is no mid-Byzantine record.

By the twelfth century the length, beam, and number of masts and decks of sailing ships were beginning to increase in the Latin West. Three-masted ships with three decks became common. Whether Byzantine merchantmen kept pace with such developments is unknown. Evidence suggests that some Byzantines did

acquire large and 'modern' ships during the late empire but whether they were Byzantine-built or bought from Western shipowners is a moot point.

Even if Byzantines did build or acquire some very large ships at various times, the maritime traffic of the empire rested on a cloud of small ships which, even if quite capable of making open-sea passages when necessary, normally voyaged from port to port and island to island for economic reasons as well as for navigational ones.

Near the stern of the seventh-century Yassı Ada ship was found a single large globular handleless pithos which was almost certainly the ship's water container. Measuring 71 centimetres high and 58.5 centimetres in maximum diameter (Bass and van Doorninck 1982: 186–8), and with an estimated capacity of no more than 90 litres, it would have held sufficient water for a crew of four or so for no more than a few days. Men would need around 8 litres per day for drinking and cooking. That ships frequently ran out of water is illustrated by two miracles included in the *Spiritual Meadow* of John Moschos. In the first, an anchorite bound for Constantinople turned seawater into fresh when supplies ran out. In the second, a pious *naukleros* prayed for four days for rain to relieve the distress of crew and passengers who had foolishly exhausted their water supplies. He was rewarded by a shower confined to the area of the ship, whose course it followed (PG 87.3: 3041–4; trans. Wortley 1992: 142–3). No doubt passengers carried their own water and if profligate and the voyage was delayed by adverse winds, they would suffer. The *Rhodian Sea Law* stipulated that passengers were to take water 'by the measure' or 'moderately' and some manuscripts specified that this meant two *oungiai*, ounces, that is 53.5 millilitres or a small mouthful at a time (Ashburner 1909: Pars secunda, 4^b (p. 2)).

The *Rhodian Sea Law* allowed passengers three by one *pecheis*, that is 1.875 by 0.625 metres, space on deck. For obvious reasons they were not to split wood for fires while on board but for less obvious ones were not to fry fish. Unless they deposited gold and other valuables with the *naukleros*, passengers could not claim for loss or theft. Sailors caught robbing them were beaten.

According to two late manuscripts, sailors could simply hire out their labour for wages. However, in the age of the *Rhodian Sea Law* many voyages appear to have been conducted under profit-sharing. Crews were paid by shares of the profits rather than by wages. Voyages were cooperative ventures and passengers, merchants, and crew shared in decision-making with the *naukleros*. Merchants could lease an entire ship through charter and if they did so, the *naukleros* could not ship cargo of his own without permission. *Nauklero*i had to preserve cargo from damage from sea and bilge water, in particular by providing leather tarpaulins in heavy weather.

Loss from shipwreck and piracy and the conditions under which salvaged valuables, property, cargo, slaves, ship's gear, and a ship itself, might or might not be brought into contribution permeated the *Rhodian Sea Law* throughout.

GALLEYS

A new name for a war galley, *dromon*, appeared early in the sixth century. As the word implied, the ships were renowned for their speed or manoeuvrability or both. Prokopios wrote of the *dromons* of Belisarios' expedition to Vandal Africa that:

And they had also ships of war [long ships] prepared as for sea-fighting, to the number of ninety-two, and they were single-banked ships covered by decks, in order that the men rowing them might if possible not be exposed to the bolts of the enemy. Such ships are called *dromones* by those of the present time; for they are able to attain a great speed.

(Prok. *Wars* III.xi.15–16; trans. Pryor and Jeffreys)

By the later sixth century fully-decked monoreme *dromons* with two files of 25 oars per side, with one or two masts with lateen sails, and steered by two stern-quarter rudders, had become the main war galleys of Byzantine fleets. However, the waterline ram of Graeco-Roman war galleys had been replaced by an above-water spur, a long projecting beam at the bow whose function was to smash the oar banks of an enemy ship. The earliest depictions of such ships are probably those in the *Ilias Ambrosiana* manuscript or possibly in that of the *Roman Vergil* (Rosenthal 1972: pl. VIII; Bandinelli 1955: fig. 190, pl. 34). Both show the above-water spurs quite clearly. However, whether they depict lateen sails is arguable. The *Roman Vergil* artist was clearly ignorant of ships and his sails may be either lateen or square. The *Ilias Ambrosiana* artist may have depicted lateen sails at min. xxvii although he clearly depicted a square sail at min. viii in the only other miniature showing a sail unfurled.

Evidence for further evolution from the sixth to tenth centuries is exiguous, although it is clear that *dromons* did gradually become larger. Two-masted war galleys were depicted in an illustration of a manuscript of c.850–75 of the *Sacra Parallela* attributed to John of Damascus (Weitzmann 1979: fig. 203).

The sources for the Byzantine navy are most numerous for the age of the Macedonian emperors, three in particular. First, Constitution XIX of the *Taktika* of Leo VI, excerpted as *The Naval Warfare of the Emperor Leo* in the manuscript Milan, Ambros. B 119-sup. (Gr. 139) and secondly, the problematic anonymous treatise *Naval Warfare, commissioned by the Patrikios and Parakoimomenos Basil* in the same manuscript (Pryor and Jeffreys 2006: 483–545). Third, some inventories for two unsuccessful expeditions to recover Crete in 910–12 and 949 and two other expeditions to Italy in 934 and 935 inserted into the treatise known as the *De Cerimoniis Aulae Byzantinae* in the manuscript Leipzig, Univ. 28 (Rep. i.17) (Haldon 2000; selections in Pryor and Jeffreys 2006: 547–70).

By the age of Leo VI, line-of-battle *dromons* had two banks of oars, one rowed from below deck and the other from above it, each having 25 oarsmen in each file on either side, for a total of 100 or so oarsmen. A standard ship's company or *ousia* had

108 men. The ships had two masts, stern-quarter rudders, and spurs and *siphones* for Greek Fire at their prows. They were around 31.25 metres in overall length, around 3.80 metres in beam amidships at the lower oar ports and 4.46 metres on the deck, and around 1.90 metres deep in hold. Their deadweight tonnage was probably around 30 tonnes. Their midships masts were probably around 8.3 metres high and their foremasts around 11.85 metres with a height above water of around 10.65 metres. Their lateen sails probably measured around 15.45 metres on the midships yard and 20.15 metres on the foremast yard (Pryor and Jeffreys 2006).

A new term for a warship, *chelandion*, appeared for the first time in the chronicle of Theophanes the Confessor in the context of horse transports for an imperial expedition sent to Cherson by Justinian II. Such *chelandia* were almost certainly galleys adapted to carrying horses by having their beam and depth in hold increased. The terms *dromon* and *chelandion* became confused and almost interchangeable. However, that does not necessarily mean that the ships themselves were also interchangeable. Byzantine literati were maritime ignoramuses. If a ship had oars, was it a *dromon*, or was it a *chelandion*? Who knew? Only seamen, and they have left no written record.

Horses were no doubt transported on sailing ships as well but galleys could certainly transport them because Leo the Deacon recorded that Nikephoros Phokas used ramps to unload horses during his landing on Crete in 960 and that could have been done only from galleys. Such a galley horse transport is depicted in the Madrid manuscript of the *Synopsis Historiarum* of John Skylitzes in an illustration of the fleet of Thomas the Slav advancing on Abydos (Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional, vitr. 26–2, fo. 31^v; Tselikas 2000). This particular illustration is in a Byzantine style and was certainly copied from an earlier Byzantine original.

In the Macedonian era imperial squadrons operated against Muslim fleets from Sicily to the upper Aegean with some notable successes. Against that has to be balanced many disastrous defeats. Leo VI advised that before moving out to sea the *dromons'* standards should be blessed by priests and a prayer should be said for the success of the fleet. Such prayers may have been similar to the following:

A prayer for *chelandia* departing for a city:

Oh God, our God who delivers [us] on the sea as on dry land, you who delivered your holy disciples in your presence from a storm, now, O Lord, sail at the same time as him in the ships sent against your enemies. Send calm and gentle winds, and grant a quiet sea. Permit those making this journey to fare prosperously, against whom are drawn up those challenging you, the true and only God, with blasphemies and denying your dispensation.

Grant to those confiding in you glories [and] also now your mercies, and your help to those expecting [it], coming together in the partnership of war, and prepared to bear the task.

Since you are the agent of peace, and to you we ascribe the glory.

(Goar 1730: 684; trans. Jeffreys)

Navigating galleys was never easy. Their low freeboard and a design intended to cut through the water rather than to ride waves made them extremely prone to swamping and confined them to coastal navigation. They were also notoriously poor sailers and could use their sails only in light and favourable breezes from astern. Leo VI advised setting out on expeditions only when the wind was favourable and sheltering from squalls in refuges, *aplekta*.

The large crews of *dromons* required at least a metric tonne of water per day and they could almost certainly carry no more than 3–4 days' supply. Syrianos Magistros wrote that every ship should have seamen familiar with the coasts and where fresh water could be obtained:

It is indeed obvious that a *strategos* should always have with him men who know the characteristics of the sea through which and towards which we are sailing; I mean, experience of the sea, what waves it produces in a gale, what are the off-shore winds, the hidden rocks, and the places which have no depth, likewise the coast along which one sails and the islands adjacent to it, the harbours, the distances from each to the others, the area and the [fresh] water. For many have perished through lack of knowledge of the sea and the [surrounding] areas, as have very many of the other [men]. . . . each of the ships should have someone with this knowledge so that he can give good advice on these [matters] when necessary.

(Pryor and Jeffreys 2006: 457–9)

Dromons and *chelandia* and their imitations in the Latin West and the Muslim world remained the war galleys par excellence until the late eleventh century. However, from the 1080s Western sources began to refer to a new type: the *galea*. This had been developed from tenth-century Byzantine monoreme *dromons* known as *galeai* but it had been worked out that the two files of oars could both be rowed from the same benches above deck. This produced a great increase in power, in the hygiene and therefore performance of oarsmen, and in space in hold for munitions and supplies.

By the end of the twelfth century *galeai* and their imitations had replaced *dromons* and *chelandia* across the Mediterranean. Byzantines gradually discontinued use of the words and a new word for a war galley, *katergon*, which became the standard Byzantine word for a war galley, appeared from the twelfth century. During the last centuries the *katerga* used by Byzantines were almost certainly the same as *galeae* of the Latin West. The Ottoman Turks adopted the word as *kadirga* for their own galleys.

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CHAPTER II.8.10

EVERYDAY TECHNOLOGIES

MICHAEL DECKER

THE DOMESTIC ENVIRONMENT

BYZANTINE society, like most pre-industrial societies, existed with a modicum of comfort and with access to technologies that would today be considered scarcely rudimentary. The technology employed in quotidian life was inherited from the civilizations preceding Byzantium. The state, commanding the greatest network of resources in addition to technical treatises and expertise, was therefore the most 'technological' element of society, producing and having access to equipment and machines which most private citizens did not. Likewise, we must be conscious of the fact that the products and processes that impacted on life differed, sometimes substantially, from rich to poor, and from one profession to another.

In those rare moments when we glimpse some technology that appears new within Byzantium, we are unable to determine the extent to which the technology was applied throughout society. It is important to maintain perspective and not to assess notions of progress based on the technical advances made in the last three centuries, as this rapid march of scientific knowledge is unprecedented in human history. Technological changes that impacted on everyday life did occur in Byzantium, but they were the sorts of macro changes that might directly affect only one element of the economy and society. Different methods in shipbuilding, for example, led to faster, cheaper construction, and the persistent diffusion of the astrolabe and lateen sail during Late Antiquity assisted many mariners and

merchants. But these developments, as important as they are, touched daily life for the majority of people indirectly and almost imperceptibly.

During Late Antiquity there ensued a phase of dynamic technological development, with new inventions noticeable from written and archaeological sources. Alongside this was the wider application of technologies which, although known before the Byzantine period, seem to have gained wide currency only during Late Antiquity. Some of these, such as the navigation devices mentioned above, were durable and widely utilized. They thus form a part of the body of practical applications that were passed on to their neighbours. It is true that following the difficulties of the seventh–ninth centuries, technological innovation apparently slowed, although the nature of our sources hinders us from knowing this for certain. By the twelfth century it is generally agreed that Byzantium lagged behind neighbouring states in what we might term ‘strategic’ technologies, especially in the areas of warfare and shipping. But for the most part, it bears recalling that Byzantine people lived within the same technological milieu as their neighbours. The pace of change within the kingdoms of western Europe would have little impact on daily life there for centuries after the fall of Byzantium, and Byzantium remained technologically on a par with its immediate neighbours to the east throughout its history.

DOMESTIC TECHNOLOGY

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Food storage and preservation placed considerable demands on the average person of the empire. By the Byzantine period, many of the techniques employed in keeping food stores edible were already many centuries old. Perishables like fruits and vegetables were dried in the sun, preserved in vinegar or oil, or soaked in wine. The *Geoponica* (ed. Beckh), for example, recommended storing pears in jars filled with grape must or wine (10.25), while apples and other fruit could be wrapped in leaves (walnut or fig), or covered with clay and dried in the sun (10.21). Storage jars were frequently coated in pitch or wax (*Geop.* 6.7; 10.25). Bulk goods such as grain were stored in granaries, some of which were masonry built, but more often, food items like grain and other bulk victuals were placed in large ceramic jars (*pithoi*). From monastic inventories we know that ceramic storage jars for wine, oil, and dry goods were used alongside cloth sacks and wooden casks. *Dolia* (large ceramic storage jars) remained a common feature typical of the Mediterranean house, illustrated in the Late Byzantine examples found in the dwellings at Pergamon (Rheidt 1990: 199). Despite such facilities, spoilage was a continual concern: book 7 of the *Geoponica* largely addresses remedying bad-quality or spoiled wine. Animal products presented different storage challenges, and these were treated through

drying, smoking, salting, or pickling. Milk was preserved in the form of cheese (*Geop.* 18.19).

Technology of the most basic sort was used on a daily basis in the preparation of food and in dining. To be sure, the large wood or stone mortars and pestles typical of antiquity (the Roman *pilum* and *mortarium*) were common throughout the Byzantine period, for they were required in the processing of hulled species of barley and wheat, which were consumed as porridge (Bryer and Hill 1995) throughout the empire's history. Stone mortars and basins are fairly common finds in archaeological sites, and examples are known from Constantinople, Corinth, and Emporio (Gill 1986: 234–6; Davidson 1952: 122 f.; Ballance and others 1999: 124). Eustathios of Thessalonike (*Comm. ad Hom. Od.* 1.402.46 ed. Stalbaum) noted that grain was pounded in order to remove the husk, and the bran separated from the grain using sifters. The final stage of domestic grain-processing was accomplished most often through the simple rotary hand-quern (see II.8.1 Agriculture and agricultural technology) or the donkey-driven conical mill. Hand querns were both portable and inexpensive; Diocletian's Price Edict 15.55 fixed the price on a hand mill at 250 *denarii*, only 2½ times the price it set for a *modius* of wheat. They were common throughout the eastern Mediterranean region from the Iron Age into the twentieth century. Certainly, the Byzantines continued to utilize them. Flour was often then sieved to remove the coarse remnants, but the quality and fineness of most flour remained suspect; the available technology did not allow for the production of loaves approaching modern standards.

The hearth, simple in construction and central to life, was synonymous with the Byzantine family. In addition to stone or brick-built private and communal hearths, women might bake bread in the house courtyard in a small bread oven (*kribanos*) of clay or in the ashes of a wood or dung fire of a pit. The typical arched bread oven possessed two compartments; food was baked in the upper space, while the lower served as a fire chamber. Such ovens remained common in former Byzantine areas, such as Greece and southern Italy, well into the twentieth century (White 1984: 44). Braziers and simple open hearths within dwellings, such as those in the Late Byzantine dwellings at Pergamon (Rheidt 1990), provided the bulk of heat for homes. But the seventh century witnessed the start of a gradual change in illumination. The clay lamps that illuminated the empire throughout Late Antiquity gave way to examples in glass and bronze polycandela, such as at Corinth (Davidson 1952: 128). The use of oils for lighting never stopped completely, but oil lamps ceded to the growing preference for candles, made by candlemakers who first appear in the seventh century (Mango 1982: 255–7) and become sufficiently numerous to warrant regulation in the *Book of the Eparch* (11.1–9). Nor did the Roman period practice of lighting the main streets of large cities like Constantinople, Alexandria, and Edessa (Trombley and Watt 2001: 107; Sly 1996: 37) survive much past the seventh century.

Everyday technology in the kitchen was restricted to simple items which varied widely in their composition and quality. Ceramic cooking and table wares were

by far the most common examples of Byzantine culinary technology. These vessels were low-value goods, often undecorated and of coarse quality. Those for cooking were placed over open-hearth fires or over braziers, an example of which was found at Emporio with four draught holes and tapered top (Ballance and others 1999: 114, pl. 26.279). Due to their cheapness, even the poorer households in Byzantium possessed such pottery. This accounts for the frequency of domestic wares in archaeological excavations throughout Byzantium, with Middle period common house wares uncovered at Athens (Frantz 1988) and the capital (Hayes 1992). The Byzantines long produced ceramic products technically superior to those of their western brethren, especially in the fifth to eighth centuries, since most Byzantine wares continued to be wheel made, whereas often western pottery forms regressed to low-quality handmade wares. Fine-ware pottery production also witnessed significant changes through time. In order to provide finish to pots, clay slurry was applied with a brush or by dipping the vessel into the mixture. The slip smoothed and coloured the surface of the clay and thus provided a more aesthetically pleasing object. Red was the typical finishing colour of early Byzantine fine-wares, such as that of Phocaeen Red Slip Ware, produced in Asia Minor. The large quantity of this, and like wares, produced within the Mediterranean meant that a range of high-quality plates, bowls, and jugs were readily available to even poorer members of society. The technique of glazing vessels gradually superseded slip-made pottery. Glazed ceramics appear to have been the result of the translation of glass-making technology to ceramic vessels, transmitted to Byzantium perhaps from southern Italy. While Islamic glazed wares are today generally better known and more widely studied, the Byzantines were the first Mediterranean civilization to produce widely circulated glazed ceramic table vessels (Dark 2001: 61–2). In those lands truncated from the empire, the Arabs first encountered glazed wares, which became objects of commercial importance only in the Abbasid period. From 700 to c.1200, the standard Byzantine fine-ware was a glazed whiteware ceramic which shared in a broad exchange of artistic tradition from China to the Islamic Mediterranean, with Persian techniques and décor especially prominent (Talbot Rice 1937).

MATERIAL SCIENCES

In addition to clay construction, cooking, serving, and storage vessels were fashioned from metal, especially copper and silver. Although more expensive than ceramic, the abundance of these objects suggests common command of metallic resources and widespread technical proficiency. The copper finds in the seventh-century Yassı Ada wreck included kettles, ewers, cauldrons, a pitcher, pan, and jug

(Katzen 1982: 266–80). Among the upper classes, metal tableware was relatively common from the Roman period onward (Boger 1983) with examples of late antique metal forks and spoons surviving (Millikin 1957). Two-tined metal forks are known from Persia, but table forks seldom appear in literary or material contexts, although their illustration in wall-paintings at Karanlık Kilise in Cappadocia evidences their continued favour among the elite (de Jerphanion 1938: 244–8). It is generally supposed that the Byzantines passed the fork to the West via their possessions in south Italy and Venice. In any case, such utensils probably remained rare among average Byzantine households (Oikonomides 1990: 212).

Excavation of late antique sites, notably Anemourion, and medieval contexts in Constantinople have revealed a wide range of metallic objects. Metal buttons, needles, thimbles, buckles, hasps, hinges, and casings are a few of the objects which attest to metal extraction, forging, and consumption in the daily working milieu of Byzantium. In producing these instruments, the Byzantines utilized many common metals, mainly iron, copper, and bronze. A high degree of precision within Byzantine bronze-working is demonstrated by the manufacture and use of the astrolabe, a marine navigation device. The astrolabe was known in antiquity and continued to undergo development through Late Antiquity. It is described by John Philoponos (Greene 1976: 61–81) and passed on from the Byzantine to the Arab world.

While Byzantines produced brass like their Greek and Roman predecessors, they did so without being able to produce a major component: metallic zinc. The process required to obtain metallic zinc was beyond the capacity of any medieval society. Hence, the Byzantines compensated by using an old practice, noted in the pseudo-Aristotelian treatise (*De Mirabilibus Auscultationibus* lxii, ed. Apelt), from the Pontic region that involved smelting zinc-bearing ore with copper. This process vapourized most of the zinc, then oxidized and encrusted the furnace wall. The resulting zinc oxide (calamine) was known to Dioskorides and it formed part of the pharmacopoeia of everyday life. Despite the apparent relative abundance of metals, mining technology and metallurgical techniques were at a low level of development by the Middle Period, and by the time of the Crusades, Byzantium apparently lagged behind the West in this critical area (Matschke 2002; see also II.8.5 Metalwork).

Apart from agricultural tools, discussed elsewhere, implements from many of the everyday professions in Byzantium are known. The *Greek Anthology* preserves an inventory of carpentry tools indicative of all periods of the empire: file, plane, hammer, drill bow, rasp, axe, augur, screwdriver, gimlet (a boring tool), adze, plumb bob, chisel (Russell 1982: 136), etc. Common tools used in carpentry and construction survive in shipwrecks, such as the hammer and pickaxes from Dor (Kingsley 2006: 53). Continuity of ancient woodworking methods are known from pictorial evidence in manuscripts: the illustration of the Homilies of John Chrysostom show an ornately turned lectern, while the bedposts depicted in the miniature of the martyrdom of St Alexios *homo dei* (Sinai gr. 183, fo. 211^r; Anderson 2002: 101, fig. 56) clearly show lathe-working continued through the Byzantine era. Innovations

within wooden and metal tooling and construction methods are best illustrated in changes in shipbuilding techniques that evolved from Late Antiquity. Notable developments within ship construction, propulsion, and navigation include frame-first construction, the use of the lateen sail, and the astrolabe. The transition from 'tenon-built' to 'frame-first' construction, the early phases of which began in the Roman period, continued through Late Antiquity, and by the eleventh century freighters lacked the mortise and tenon construction of their Roman predecessors. The advantages afforded by the application of this method were primarily economic: 'frame-first' construction methods were faster and less labour intensive than the older methods, and required less use of expensive metal in construction (Pryor 1995: 97; Kingsley 2006: 65; see also II.8.9 Shipping and seafaring).

Another material with widespread technical applications was glass. Glass was used frequently in windows, especially in churches: panes and iron grillwork have been found at production centres in Corinth and Sardis (Davidson 1952: 84; von Saldern 1980; Crawford 1990, fig. 347). The industry of Corinth is especially prominent in the archaeological record into the twelfth century (Davidson 1952: 81–4), with beakers, goblets, cups, and bottles representing common products (Weinberg 1979). Glass lamps were common in Late Antiquity, with archaeological evidence recovered from Nikopolis-ad-Istrum, Bet-Shean, Gerasa, and Karanis (Poulter 1998; Crowfoot and Harden 1931), to name but a few. Glass lamps continued to be produced throughout the Middle Period at both Sardis and Corinth, and glass lamp fragments are known from major urban centres such as Constantinople (Saraçhane: Hayes, 1992) and Amorion (Olçay 2001: 285–7) and even relatively poor sites like Nichoria (Rosser 1983: 408). Byzantine glass weights were an innovation of Late Antiquity. They represent a significant advance in the application of materials in everyday life, since glass weights retained their mass far more effectively than metal weights, which frequently eroded through use, and were thus more useful in weighing items in which precision is particularly desirable. Early examples are known from Alexandria but are found outside the empire as well, notably in the burial of an Avar goldsmith (Werner 1970: 71–3).

WATER AND SANITATION

Water Supply

Middle Byzantine Constantinople continued to have running water supplied from the restored aqueduct of Valens which was at least partially restored in 767; further repairs to the water system are recorded in the eleventh century

(Mango 1995: 17–18.). After the Fourth Crusade, the Latin masters of the capital seem to have taken no interest in maintaining the water supply: the vast open cisterns of the city fell derelict, their supply apparently cut off (Magdalino 2002: 536). Thessalonike continued to have a functioning aqueduct system maintained from antiquity (Tafrali 1913: 115–19). Many cities, including the capital, depended on large cisterns to regulate the water supplies through the dry months (Mango 1995) and cisterns within churches, monasteries, and private houses, were ubiquitous.

Running water within houses was a rarity, limited to those places with functioning aqueducts. In public spaces, fountains functioned throughout medieval Constantinople: four *nymphaea* are listed in the *Notitia* (ed. Seeck, 1876: 229–43) and the Nymphaeum Maius lay in the Forum Tauri at the termination of the aqueduct of Valens (Janin 1964: 200–1). Little is known about taps regulating the flow of water within dwellings, but the technology to create them and their presence can be presupposed from their use in the Roman world and from the fact that other Byzantine devices, such as the automata in the imperial palace and the siphons used to propel Greek Fire employed metal valves in their operation. Nearly every house was equipped with a cistern, waterproofed with hydraulic plaster, especially in the capital where water was generally scarce.

Sanitation and Hygiene

Sanitation in Byzantium has received almost no scholarly attention, and consequently we know very little. Late antique cities occupied the same physical space as their classical predecessors and many major ancient urban centres possessed some form of sewer system (Wilson 2000), such as Apamea-on-the-Euphrates and Corinth. These systems had generally ceased to function by the seventh century (Scranton 1957). According to tradition, the sewers of Constantinople were built during the reign of Constantine (Halkin 1959: 87.30–6). Latrines, both public and private, were a common part of rich Byzantine houses and urban spaces, and examples which functioned into Late Antiquity are known from many cities, for example Nea Paphos, Salamis, and Antioch. Mazes of pipes winding through cities like medieval Thebes are unstudied but suggest that rudimentary plumbing continued in the provinces, though public sanitation was largely crude and unplanned (Bouras 2002: 527). The building codes preserved in Julian of Askalon, and transmitted to the Late Empire in the fourteenth-century *Hexabiblos*, describe cesspits and show attempts to protect neighbouring property from drain and latrine effluence (Harmenopoulos 1969: 2.4.79, 80, 82). There was thus a conscious effort to maintain some standards of basic sanitation. However, most private latrines were simple structures, near the living quarters, that drained into earthen pits; those at Mīstra

were typically hermetically sealed (Nikolakaki 2001: 53). Archaeological evidence from the provinces reveals a continued concern with sanitation. The rock-cut complexes of Cappadocia attest a full range of features designed to dispose of waste, such as latrines found at the underground cities of Gelveri and Tatların (Demir 2000: 62) which terminate in cesspits; in the case of Derinkuyu open shafts end at a subterranean river that removes the waste. A private toilet and a bath have been identified at the Cappadocian rock-cut complex Selime Kale (Kalas 2000: 131, 143–5). Latrines are also known from towers: the early Byzantine examples in the Limestone Massif have upper-storey corbelled latrines which may have been plumbed into pits at the base of the structures (Butler 1920: 232–4). In many other circumstances, latrines were outside the domicile and channelled into earthen pits, seepage from which would have been a constant health hazard and unpleasant environment. In most cases houses lacked plumbing, in which case the chamber pot was the primary waste-container. Worse still, there might be no facilities for waste disposal at all; chamber pots were often emptied into the streets, a grim fact attested by the *Hexabiblos* (Harmenopulos 1969: 2.4.71), which repeats earlier Roman injunctions against hurling debris from windows (see also III.13.6 Health, hygiene, and healing).

Public baths were still common in Late Antiquity: in the early fifth century Constantinople had 153 public baths (*Notitia urbis Constantinopolitanae*, ed. Seeck, 1876: 229–43), and provincial baths of Late Antiquity are especially known from Syria (Sergilla, Tchalenko 1953–8: 24–8; Andarin: Mango 2003). But by the seventh century, the practice of building monumental public baths was a thing of the past, and it is safe to say that public bathing establishments were becoming rarer, largely in response to declining revenues needed to keep public bathhouses open. Nevertheless public baths continued to be utilized. What was probably a communal bath (monastic or public is unknown) in the upper city of Thessalonike (Bakirtzis 2003: 61, fig. 18) was initially constructed in the Middle Byzantine period and continued into the Late Byzantine era. In Constantinople, the Zeuxippos baths perhaps functioned into the eighth or ninth century (Mango 1959: 39), and the Dagistheos in the ninth century (Mango 1990: 60), while visitors to the Palaiologan city noted baths functioning in the fifteenth century (Tafur 1926: 143). Bathing establishments in monastic foundations and the houses of the rich are known (*Vita Theophano*, ed. Kurtz 1898: 3) but not common. The bath of Leo VI (Magdalino 1984a; 1988) in the north-eastern corner of the Great Palace is an obvious example of imperial bathing luxury, and a clear indication that the desire for and technology desired to deliver adequate heat and water for bathing remained alive within the Byzantine building tradition at least among elites, but many of the technologies and skills required to sustain large public baths receded and were probably not revived. Certainly bathhouses were less ambitious and sophisticated than their predecessors: only the *caldarium*, the hot room, was typical of Byzantine baths (Berger 1982: 87, 93;

Magdalino 1984a: 234). The survival of the *caldarium* also indicates that hypocaust heating remained in the technical vocabulary of Byzantine builders.

Washing of clothing was accomplished manually, with simple wash basins the only attested equipment. An Early Byzantine laundry, poorly constructed using spolia, was found just inside the Herulian walls at Athens. This laundry consisted of a simple rectangular basin (c.1.0 m wide × 3.35 m long); water was supplied to the wash basin via a makeshift dam in the adjacent early Roman water channel (Frantz 1988: 119). Monastic communities continued to have laundries that served the collections of monks and nuns, such as that mentioned in the vita of Athanasios of Athos (Noret 1982: 151).

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PART III

INSTITUTIONS
AND
RELATIONSHIPS



III.9. HIERARCHIES

CHAPTER III.9.1

EMPEROR AND COURT

JEFFREY FEATHERSTONE

In the tenth-century compilation known as the *De Cerimoniis* the emperor Constantine VII Porphyrogenetos likens the order and dignity of the ceremonies of the imperial Palace to the harmonious movement given by the Creator to the universe. The Palace, at the centre of the terrestrial order of the empire, was seen as the reflection of the divine order. Through the Christianization of the imperial cult of Late Antiquity, the emperor's person was considered sacred, as was the palace where he lived and all he did. The Byzantine term 'palace' (*palation*) comprised the meanings both of the physical setting as well as the society surrounding the emperor, corresponding roughly to 'court' in the western tradition (*De Cerimoniis* 1935–9: I. 2; Toynbee 1973: 185–200; Mango 1980: 218–22; Kelly 1998: 139–50).

In official titulature the older terms *augoustos*, *autokrator*, and *despotes* remained in use, but from the time of Herakleios the emperor was generally called *basileus*, whereas the Latinate *augousta* was preferred to *basilissa* for the empress. In order to reinforce the dynastic aspect of the imperial office, Leo III created for his son Constantine (V) the legitimating title of 'porphyrogenetos', or 'purple-born', given to children of a reigning emperor—a concept which would become essential under the Macedonian emperors. And it was Constantine V who fixed the use of court titles given to members of the imperial family, promoting his sons to the office of caesar and nobelissimos (Bury 1911: 35–6; Dagron 1994; McCormick 2000).

High state officials were called collectively the 'senate' (*synkletos, synkletikon systema*), or 'those in government' (*hoi en telei, hoi archontes*). Approximately half were military officials (*strategos, domestikos, droungarios*, etc.), and a military career was one way of obtaining a place in the upper levels of Palace society, if not the imperial office itself. The highest civil offices (*caesar, magistrus, anthypatos*, etc.) were held by close associates and relations of the emperor. There was also a Palace clergy. The middle and lower offices—military, civil, and ecclesiastical—were to be bought, the fee being relative to the salary or *roga*. A member of the Great Company of guards with a *roga* of up to twenty *nomismata* paid 16 *litrai*; for every seven *nomismata* over twenty, the fee increased by one *litra*. Officials of the Table, or the Vestry, or members of the body of Noble Sons, with a *roga* of ten *nomismata*, paid 6 *litrai*—one less than those wishing to enter the order of imperial clerics. The imperial eunuchs, the *cubicularii (koubikoularioi)*, also paid for their office. They formed the emperor's escort and were a very influential body in the Palace. The imperial bastard Basil Lekapenos who took the cause of Constantine VII against his own natural family was granted in return the supreme office of *parakoimomenos*, or chamberlain, and thus supervised not only all the officials of the Palace but the entire imperial administration, being responsible only to the emperor. Though he was subsequently dismissed by Constantine, Basil was reinstated as *parakoimomenos* by Nikephoros Phokas and also received from him the honorific title of 'President of all the Senate'. Later, he connived in the murders of both Phokas and Tzimiskes and then ran the empire as regent for Basil II until the latter excluded him from power. A great patron of the arts, it was apparently Basil Lekapenos who ordered the final compilation of the *De Cerimoniis (De Cerimoniis 1829: 692–4; Bury 1911: 120–1; Featherstone 2004)*.

At the lower end of the scale, there were scores of minor employees of the Palace: *diaitarioi*, or servants attached to the various buildings, doorkeepers, lamp-lighters, etc., and there were certainly a great many slaves about whom we have little information. The employees of the Hippodrome and the circus factions were also on the rolls of the Palace.

Estimates of the number of the human element of the Palace in the middle Byzantine period, based on calculations of invitations to banquets and space occupied by the court in the galleries of Hagia Sophia during ceremonies, vary from one to two thousand persons. All relations between them were regulated by a rigid system of precedence according to rank (Kazhdan and McCormick 1997; McCormick 2000).

The nature and working of the Byzantine court can best be illustrated by a description of the ceremonies of the 'Great Palace' of Constantinople. Though its general extent can be identified on the map of modern Istanbul, the Palace has long vanished and its structures and ceremonies can only be reconstructed on the basis of written sources.

Built by Constantine on an upper terrace of ground overlooking the Sea of Marmara, the original palace began at the Augustaion opposite Hagia Sophia and

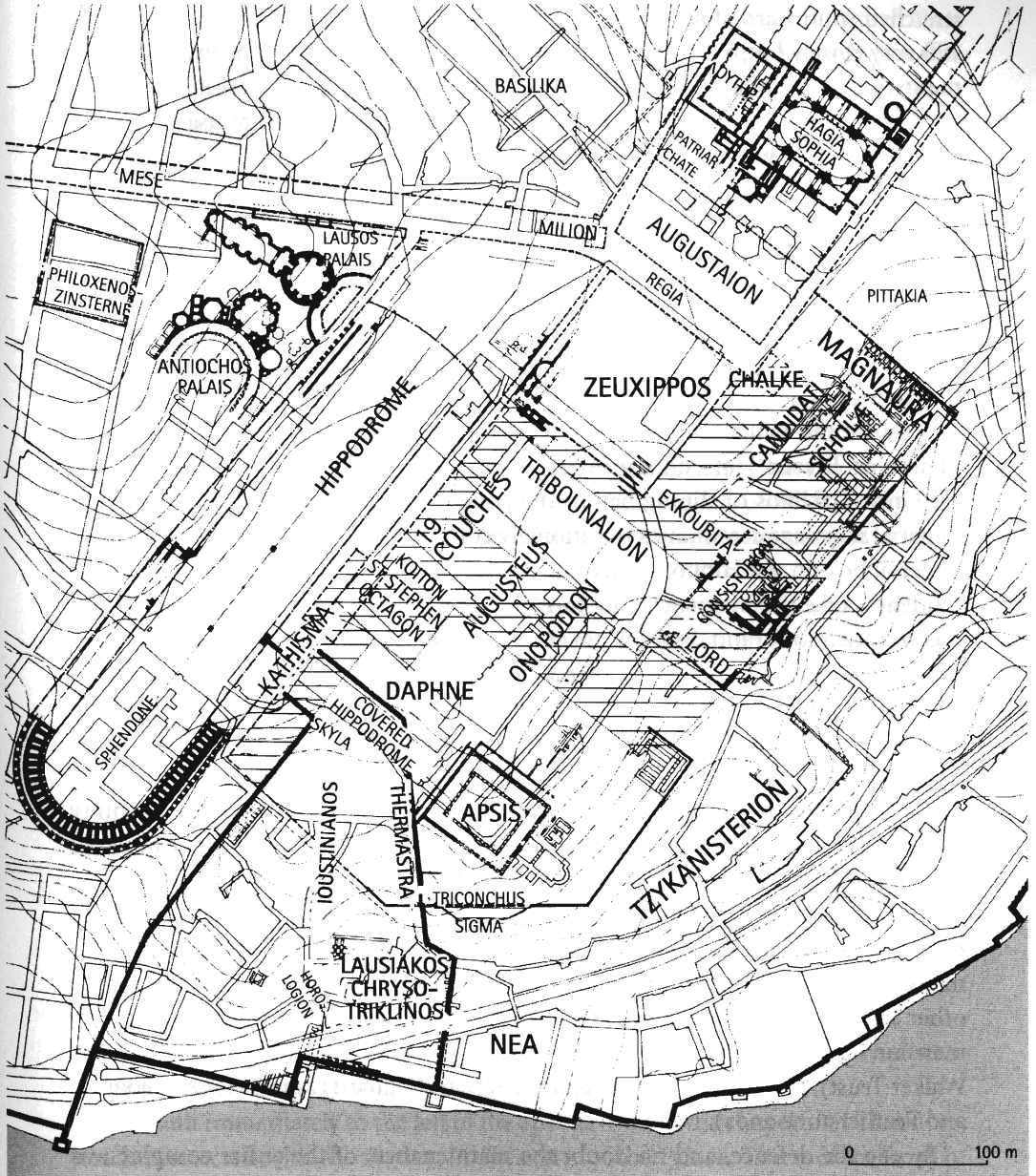


Fig. 1 Sketch-plan of the Upper and Lower Palace, with the Walls of Nikephoros Phokas

(adapted from W. Müller-Wiener, *Bildlexikon zur Topographie Istanbuls*, 1977: 232)

stretched southward along the Hippodrome, with which imperial ceremonial was still very closely bound. For the early period our main source is the excerpts from the sixth-century *Magister Officiorum* Peter the Patrician, with descriptions of ceremonies of the fifth and sixth centuries. The poems of Corippus in praise of Justin II also give a vivid glimpse of the old palace on Justin's accession and an audience given to the Avars. Another important source, the *Kletorologion* or *Banquet Book* of Philotheos dates from 899. By this time the old palace was used only on special occasions and the everyday life of the emperors and court had shifted to newer buildings on a lower terrace beside the Sea of Marmara, centring on the emperor's Koiton, or private apartments, and the adjacent Chrysotriklinos, or Golden Hall. The use of the term Palace was now restricted in the sources to the precinct on the lower terrace (Bury 1907; Cameron, A. M. 1976; Oikonomides 1972: 81–235).

Thus by the tenth century such celebrated buildings of the old palace as the Chalke or Brazen Gate on the Augustaion, the Consistorion or audience hall, the Great Triklinos or dining hall of the Nineteen Couches, the Augusteus where imperial marriage ceremonies traditionally commenced, and even the Kathisma or imperial box on the Hippodrome, were no longer considered parts of the imperial residence. Like the Magnaura, the former Senate House on the Augustaion which was still used for grand occasions of state, the old buildings—now some 600 years old—were little more than museum pieces. The old halls were maintained, however, in a dubious state of repair for use on special occasions. It is this rambling ensemble of the old and new palace which figures in the multifarious compilation of the *De Cerimoniis* and which is often thought of as a functioning whole. But this is a distorted view which prevents one from appreciating the Byzantines' ingenuity in using the Palace—in particular the dilapidated ancient parts of it—for imperial ideological ends. It also obscures the historical reality. The emperors now went to the old palace only on special occasions. Rather, it appears that a number of high officials came to live in this area, just as in the earlier period they had had their mansions in the vicinity of the old palace, for example, the palace of Lausos on the other side of the Hippodrome. Theoktistos, regent for Michael III, built himself a mansion in the place called the Apsis (probably the Peristyle and Apsed Hall of the Walker Trust), and fortified it with an iron gate and a guard (Mango 1997; Bolognesi and Featherstone 2002).

By 969 the defence, and no doubt the maintenance, of the entire complex was perceived as unnecessary by the military emperor Nikephoros Phokas, and he constructed walls surrounding the newer Palace on the lower terrace, cutting it off completely from all the older buildings except the Kathisma, which was now the principal means of access from the city. The old main entrance, the Chalke, though restored and rebuilt in the Komnenian period, was now used only for ceremonial processions to and from Hagia Sophia. In fact, Phokas' walls presaged the eclipse of the Great Palace. The complex on the lower terrace, now sometimes referred to as the palace of the 'Boukoleon', survived intact until the Fourth Crusade, but the

Komnenian emperors preferred to live in the palace of the Blachernai which they expanded and embellished. During the sack of the city in 1204 the Great Palace was pillaged, and the Palaiologan sovereigns followed the Komnenians in residing at the Blachernai. However, according to the fourteenth-century ceremonial book of Pseudo-Kodinos, they went to the Great Palace—whatever was left of it—on such occasions as imperial coronations (Pseudo-Kodinos 1966: 252–63).

This continual clinging to the Great Palace is significant. It was preserved as long as possible in order to impart to the reigning sovereign the legitimacy and glory of the past. This conservative tendency, typical of the Byzantine government, is marked in the *De Cerimoniis*, our main source for the court: the greater part of it is filled with descriptions taken from older documents of obsolete ceremonies in the old buildings. It tells us frustratingly little about the everyday ritual in the actual Palace at the time of its composition. Such splendid structures as the Sigma-Triconchus exedra where, we know from the history of Theophanes Continuatus, the emperor Theophilos preferred to spend as much time as possible, or the Nea Church, built by Constantine VII's grandfather Basil I, are mentioned only in passing.

Central to the everyday court life by the tenth century was the Chrysotriklinos. Dating from the reign of Justin II, this octagonal hall was the interface between the private apartments of the emperor and the public parts of the Palace. Similar in form to the church of Sts Sergios and Bakchos or S. Vitale in Ravenna, the Chrysotriklinos, with its seven side vaults hidden behind curtains and eastern apse open to the central space, was contrived to invest the coming and going of the sovereign and his appearance to his subjects with appropriate solemnity. Here the emperor conducted routine functions such as promotions of officials, banquets, and, above all, the 'Daily Procession' when officials assembled in the adjoining halls of the Lausiakos and Ioustinianos to await possible summons by the emperor.

The orientation of the apse to the east was not the only element resembling a church. The apse contained an image of Christ, probably in mosaic, under which the emperors sat to receive the veneration of their subjects and guests. The main entrance was on the western side, which opened onto a terrace where there were the entrances to the halls of the Lausiakos and Ioustinianos.

The vault immediately to the left of the apse gave on to the chapel of St Theodore, which connected with the Phylax, or Treasury, of the Palace. The vault in front of St Theodore's served as a vestry. The central vault on the northern side gave on to the Pantheon, about which all we know is that it was big enough for at least one high official to wait in before ceremonies, and the vault immediately to the left of the western doors gave on the Diatarikion or steward's room, where the Papias, or doorkeeper of the Palace, had his quarters.

The central and westernmost vaults on the opposite, southern, side of the Chrysotriklinos gave on to the private apartments of the emperor and empress respectively. The remaining vault, just to the right of the eastern apse, is the

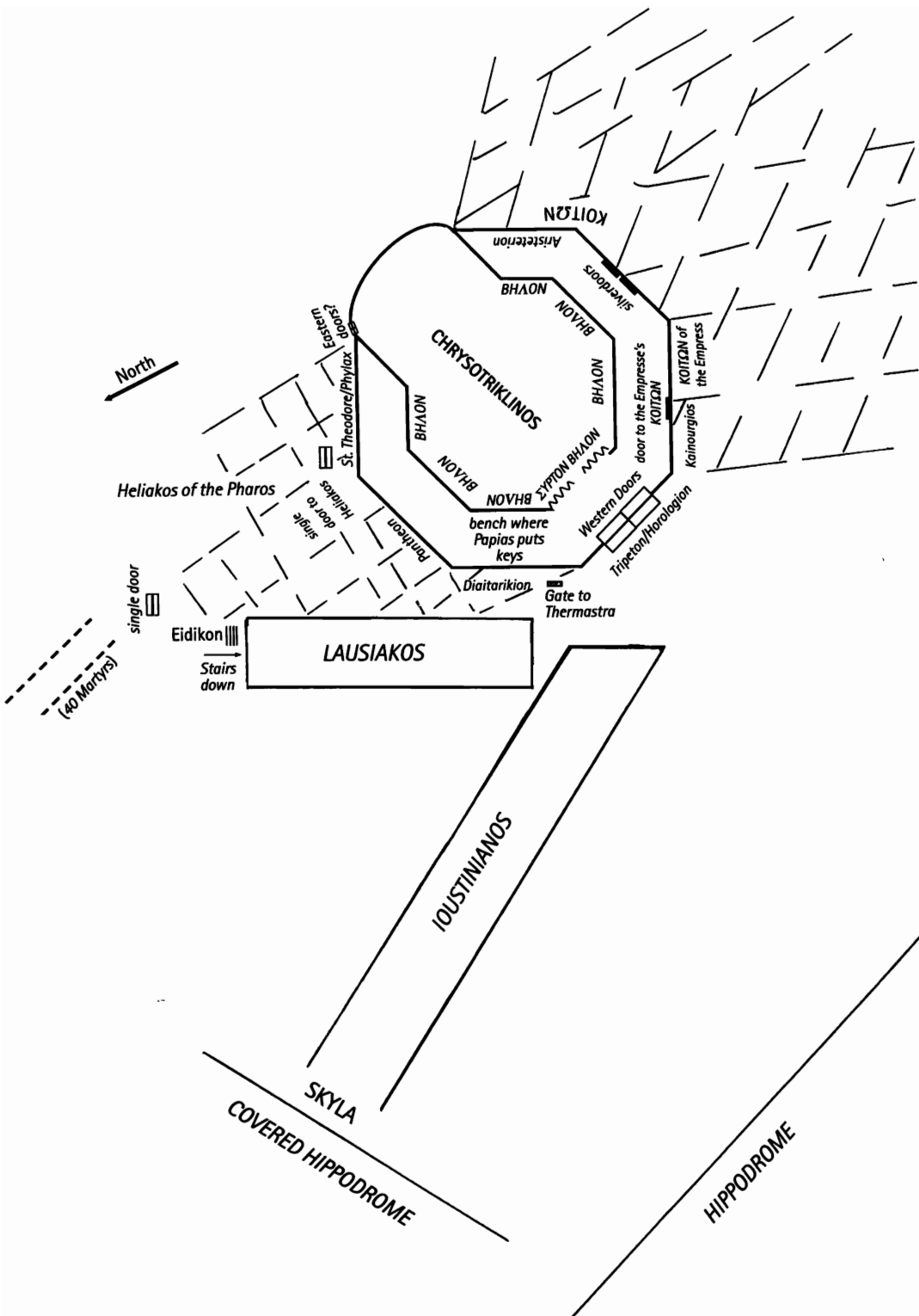


Fig. 2 Chrysotriklinos with surrounding buildings

probable location of Constantine VII's Aristeterion, or breakfast room, where other members of the imperial family, including the children, could come from the Koiton to join the emperor for dessert in the company of select guests at the end of banquets in the Chrysotriklinos (Featherstone 2005).

From the two comparatively scanty chapters of the *De Cerimoniis* on everyday ritual we learn that the Palace was normally opened every morning after Matins. The Hetairiarch, or chief of the Company of guards, first opened a complicated passage from the courtyard of the Daphne, in the old upper palace, leading to the Lausiakos, and then, together with the Papias, opened the western doors of the Chrysotriklinos. Then they opened the Ioustinianos, and passing through it, opened the gate on its opposite end which, through a porch called the Skyla, gave on to the so-called Covered Hippodrome. This latter was a part of the old upper palace, and the gate in the Skyla was the most direct entrance to the newer lower Palace. Corresponding in position with the so-called 'Stadio' of Domitian's palace on the Palatine, the Covered Hippodrome was not a race course at all, but a rectangular garden surrounded by galleries. It was here that imperial officials awaited the daily opening of the Palace and entered to take their places 'in procession', that is, in the order of their rank, on benches in the Ioustinianos. Courtiers defended their precedence in this 'procession' with fierce tenacity, and failure to rise from the bench when a more senior official passed by could be grounds for a charge of *lèse-majesté* against the emperor, a capital offence. The daily procession was the survival of the Roman *Salutatio Augusti* or, more particularly, the *Cottidiana Officia*, when the emperor greeted high officials. As in the case of its classical antecedent, however, we cannot know whether all imperial officials came for this procession every day: no particular officials are mentioned for weekdays. The attendance of even the highest officials—Magistroi and Patrikioi—is indicated on ordinary Sundays, but the procession was held on such Sundays only when the emperor so desired. Unfortunately, the *De Cerimoniis* tells us nearly nothing about where or how the everyday business of administration was conducted. There is mention of the daily opening of bureaus (*asekretia*) beside the Lausiakos, where the Logothete of the Course (*Logothetes tou Dromou*), or chief official for foreign affairs, awaits his summons by the emperor. We must assume that a fair number of officials were admitted to these bureaus each day (Winterling 1999: 117–38).

The procedure for the everyday procession was the following. At the end of the first hour, thus at about 7 o'clock, when all had taken their places, the head of the weekly rota of servants assigned to the Chrysotriklinos knocked thrice on the doors of the Koiton. This was as close as anyone but the servants of the bedchamber, the *koitonitai*, got to the emperor's private apartments. At the emperor's command, the *koitonitai* opened the doors and vested the emperor in a *skaramangion*, or coloured silk tunic. Entering the Chrysotriklinos, the emperor went into the eastern apse, bowed before the image of Christ and sat down, not on the main throne in the centre of the apse, which was left empty on ordinary days—a sort of imperial 'low

mass'—but on a golden sellion or chair to the left of it. He then summoned the Logothete, who entered through the western curtains drawn aside by the Papias. On entering the first time, the Logothete, as everyone else, fell to the floor in *proskynesis*, or obeisance—the salutatio had given way to the adoratio already in the late antique period. The emperor then commanded the Logothete to bring in whomever he desired to see. On non-feast days, when there was no special business, the Papias gave the *minsai*, or dismissal (from the late Latin *missa*) by shaking his keys at the end of the third hour, around 9 o'clock. On hearing this, the officials made their way out of the Ioustinianos to go home. A note states that the same order was followed when the Palace was opened in the afternoon, though no exact times are given. A further note informs us that when receiving foreign dignitaries the emperor sat on a purple-covered sellion to the right of the throne, as on Sundays, wearing a gold-bordered cloak with pearls and, if he desired, a crown. On Sundays, before the *minsai* were given the Artoklines or banquet-master read out the names of those invited to dine. Banquets were held in the Ioustinianos or in the Chrysotriklinos itself. The emperor sat at a table set apart from the others, the *apokopte*. With him sat only his family and the very highest officials such as the Caesar and Zoste Patrikia, who were most often his relations, and the patriarch. Other officials were seated at other tables in proximity to the emperor according to their rank (*De Cerimoniis* 1829: 518–25; Treitinger 1956: 84–92; Winterling 1999: 29–32).

This was the bare minimum of everyday ritual. On most days it would have been augmented by other ceremonies which, depending on their solemnity, were either performed completely in the lower Palace or involved going to Hagia Sophia as well. Lesser religious feasts were celebrated on the lower terrace, with a liturgy in one of the Palace churches, such as the Theotokos of the Pharos on the terrace beside the Chrysotriklinos, or St Basil's chapel in the Lausiakos. A banquet generally followed. Such personal celebrations as the emperor's birthday or the newly revived Brumalia were also confined to the lower terrace, with a ballet in the Sigma-Triconchus complex and a banquet in the Chrysotriklinos (*De Cerimoniis* 1935–9: II. 86–7; *De Cerimoniis* 1829: 599–607).

Promotions of all but the highest officials were performed in the Chrysotriklinos, for example those of a strategos, or, at a higher level, a Patrikios or a Zoste Patrikia. Like state receptions in the Magnaura and celebrations in Hagia Sophia on great feast days, the promotion of a Patrikios or a Zoste Patrikia involved the full assembly of all the officials. The Chrysotriklinos now took on a more solemn aspect. The emperor wore his crown and sat on the central throne, not a sellion at the side, and the cubicularii stood in a semicircle in the apse behind him. Beginning at the curtains before the western doors, the Papias censured the Chrysotriklinos with a thurible, and then censured the emperor. The officials were admitted according to their rank in a series of eight entrées or 'curtains'—so called from the drawing of the curtains to admit them—and performed the *proskynesis* under the eye of the Master of Ceremonies. When all had entered the candidate was brought in

to the emperor and invested in his or her office, whereupon the whole assembly acclaimed the emperor with the shout 'Many Years.' Then all went in procession through the old palace, and the emperor and the new Patrikios or Zoste Patrikia were acclaimed at set points by the circus factions. The procession continued to Hagia Sophia, where the new dignitary received communion and the blessing of the patriarch. A Patrikios would then be escorted home by the factions, whereas a Zoste Patrikia would proceed to the Magnaura, where she herself was the object of another ceremony of *proskynesis* by the wives of imperial officials admitted in eight 'curtains' according to their husbands' rank. She then returned to the lower Palace, where, being usually a member of the imperial family, she lived (*De Cerimoniis* 1935-9: I. 51-60; 63-6).

Now, we note here that the actual rite of promotion of a Patrikios or Zoste Patrikia was performed in the Chrysotriklinos. Likewise, foreign envoys were received there to conduct the real business of their visit, standing at a distance from the seated emperor. But their first audience was always held with great pomp in the Magnaura and followed by an itinerary through the old palace. As in the promotion of a Patrikios and Zoste Patrikia, however, these old buildings served as little more than a ceremonial backdrop on the way from the lower Palace to Hagia Sophia or the Magnaura. The same is true even on great feasts such as Easter and Christmas, when the emperor went in a grand procession, or *prokensos*, to Hagia Sophia, though every effort was made on these occasions to bring the old palace back to life. Very early in the morning all the paraphernalia—the Great (processional) Cross of St Constantine, the Rod of Moses, the Roman sceptres, the *ptychia* (whatever they were!), and all the rest—most of which were now kept in the Treasury beside St Theodore's, were taken out and set up in what was apparently their traditional place in the old Palace. The imperial crown and vestments were also sent up from the lower Palace and laid out in the Octagon beside the old Koiton on the courtyard of the Daphne. On this day the lower Palace was not opened as usual but all the imperial officials and the circus factions went directly, in their parade clothes, to set points in the old Palace along the itinerary to be followed by the emperor. The most important stops were the Augusteus, where the servants of the Chrysotriklinos and the Company of guards acclaimed the emperor; then St Stephen's Church beside the Hippodrome, where the emperor revered the Cross of St Constantine; then the Octagon, where the emperor was vested and crowned for the feast; then back through the Augusteus, where the Logothete was waiting to perform the *proskynesis*; then to the porch of the Augusteus, called the Golden Hand, where the emperor received the *proskynesis* of the magistroi and other high officials; then across the Onopodion for the *proskynesis* of the Droungarios of the Fleet; then to the Consistorium where another cross of Constantine and the Rod of Moses were set up and the Protasecretis and imperial notarii were waiting; then through the porticoes of the Candidati, the Exkoubita, and the Scholae, where the emperor was acclaimed in Latin—now generally unintelligible—by the imperial

guards who bore as many of the ancient banners and standards as could be kept in repair. Next came the Tribounalion, where the emperor was acclaimed by the circus factions. Then he proceeded through the Propylaion of the Holy Apostles to the Chalke Gate for more acclamations by the factions; and from there he went to Hagia Sophia for the liturgy (*De Cerimoniis* 1935–9: I. 3–28).

For state receptions in the Magnaura, imperial officials went directly at the first hour of the morning to the Magnaura, and the emperor went privately, as he always did when not taking part in a formal procession, through a system of corridors which brought him up from the lower Palace to the Magnaura. There, after the emperor had taken his place on the throne of Solomon, vested in cloak and crown, the assembly of officials would be admitted by the eight ‘curtains’, each preceded by ostiarioi, or porters, carrying wands. When the visiting foreigner was brought in and bowed down in *proskynesis* the organs would sound. And as the Logothete asked the questions prescribed by protocol, the throne’s automata came into action: lions on the steps up to the throne roared and wagged their tails, and birds sang in trees. The automata obligingly stopped for a time to allow the foreigner to speak, and then started again as he went out (*De Cerimoniis* 1829: 566–70).

Such is the reception reported by Liudprand, whose *Antapodosis* and *Legatio* are a rich source for the Byzantine Court; and the *De Cerimoniis* records three such receptions for Arab envoys and another for the princess Olga of Russia during the reign of Constantine VII. As in the case of other allied foreign sovereigns, Olga was apparently granted an imperial title: that of Zoste Patrikia; and, in accordance with the ceremonies for this rank, she received in turn the *proskynesis* of the wives of imperial officials admitted to a second reception ‘by curtains’ in the Ioustinianos, together with the empress Helena and her daughter-in-law, the wife of Romanos II (Liudprand 1997: 147–50, 187–218; *De Cerimoniis* 1829: 583–95; Tinnfeld 2005).

After such receptions or after the liturgy in Hagia Sophia, the emperor normally returned to the Koiton privately through the corridors, whereas the officials and foreign guests who were invited to dine made their way to the Palace through the old buildings on the upper terrace. By the tenth century banquets were almost always held in the Ioustinianos or the Chrysotriklinos, where we find the only mention of kitchens in the *De Cerimoniis*. On special occasions banquets might be accompanied by the choristers of Hagia Sophia and the church of the Holy Apostles, who stood behind the curtains of the side vaults of the Chrysotriklinos. The playing of organs marked the entry of the various courses of the meal. On great secular holidays there might also be a ballet, either before the banquet in the Sigma–Triconchus complex or in the Chrysotriklinos during the meal. On each of the twelve days of Christmas, however, ancient custom was preserved and banquets were held in the Triklinos of the Nineteen Couches, reclining in the Roman style. The organization of these Christmas banquets, with the complete list of the court officials and employees invited and where each one was placed in the hall, is

described in detail in the *Kletorologion* of Philotheos (Oikonomides 1992: 165–85; see also Oikonomides 1997).

Another part of the old palace where particularly ancient ceremonies persisted was the Kathisma in the Hippodrome. Six lengthy chapters in the *De Cerimoniis* describe in detail the procedure for races and the appearance of the emperor on such holidays as the anniversary of the City on 11 May. These chapters contain precious information, taken from older sources, concerning various ceremonies connected with the races and which incorporated late antique imperial ideology. But again, we must be wary of antiquarianism. For a true glimpse of the Hippodrome in the Middle Byzantine period the description of the races put on—or, we might say, staged—for Arab envoys in 946 is much more telling. Here, as in ceremonies elsewhere which have nothing to do with the Hippodrome, we see that the circus factions were now reduced to a purely ornamental function as chanters of acclamations and dancers. Moreover, the races themselves appear as little more than another pretext for the extravagant display of costume; there is an apparent disregard for sport, equal honours being given to the winning and the losing faction. All this would suggest that the Hippodrome, once a place where the ruler confronted the populace and the factions took a live interest in the races and issues of the day, had also become, by the tenth century, a sort of museum piece, with stylized ceremonies repeated at set dates in the year and to impress foreign visitors (*De Cerimoniis* 1829: 588–90; Cameron, A. D. E. 1976: 231–308; Dagron 2000; Mango 1981: 344–50).

Whatever the nature of the ceremonies of the Hippodrome, the Kathisma was included within Phokas' walls of 969 and races continued to be held until 1204, though in the Komnenian period the Hippodrome was also used for western-style entertainments such as jousts. Though conservative in character, Byzantine court ceremonial evolved and reinvented itself. True, in the later tenth century the Consistorion is still referred to as the 'hall where canopy hangs and the magistroi are promoted', as though such promotions were still performed there. But we note that the very name of the hall had been forgotten, not to mention its original function; and we cannot be sure of the continuity of this or other ceremonies. For his coronation in 963 Nikephoros Phokas omitted altogether the old palace and Hippodrome, which had figured at least partially in coronations since that of Leo II, and improvised a military acclamation at the Golden Gate outside the city copied literally from an account of the coronation of Leo I in 457. This was followed by a triumphal entry through the Golden Gate and procession along the Mese, amidst the acclamations of the populace, to Hagia Sophia for coronation by the patriarch. Phokas' choice not to commence his reign in the old palace, much of which his walls would soon eliminate, and to enter through the Golden Gate was perhaps connected with the reconstruction of this latter as a triumphal arch in this same period (*De Cerimoniis* 1829: 438–40; Mango 2000: 181–6).

The Great Palace has been described as a 'dam against the river of change'. The measures of Nikephoros Phokas diminished its role in imperial ceremonial, but this

was not enough for the Komnenian emperors who, fifty years later, moved the court to the Blachernai where it remained until the end of Byzantium and from whence Palaiologan ceremonial was passed on to western courts through the Pseudo-Kodinos (Kazhdan and McCormick 1997: 195–6; Pseudo-Kodinos 1966: 23–123).

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CHAPTER III.9.2

BUREAUCRACY AND ARISTOCRACIES

JEAN-CLAUDE CHEYNET

FROM THE BEGINNING TO THE MIDDLE AGES

THE medieval era in the strict sense begins in Byzantium with the reign of Herakleios. It was during his reign that the empire, after having supposedly triumphed forever over its eternal enemy, the Persians, succumbed in the East to the Arabs, who had long been known to the Byzantines but who now rallied round a new and dynamic religion, Islam.

Circumstances obliged the emperors to modify administrative structures in order to adapt to the new conditions: to increase military effort against the Arabs in the East and, to a lesser extent, against invaders in the West at the very moment when state finances suffered from the traumatic loss of the rich eastern provinces. The creation of the military themes and the transformation of the central administrative offices in Constantinople offer a brilliant example of how reforms were effected in Byzantium. The emperors took no revolutionary decision nor followed any concerted plan but, finding themselves in perilous circumstances, salvaged what they could of the old system. What was left of the professional army was dispersed throughout the provinces which still remained under the authority of

Constantinople, this being the only means of supplying and equipping the troops; thereafter, young soldiers would be recruited within the framework of the new territorial divisions. The thematic reform was completed in less than a century, though it cannot be associated with any imperial decision of precise date. In Constantinople, new offices and new actors emerged out of the old structures. For example, the *sakellarios*, at the head of the *Sakellion*, formerly a department of the *Sacrum Cubiculum*, became the chief officer of finance (Brandes 2002: 427–79; Haldon 1990: 376–402).

The composition of the ruling elite who led the armies and staffed the offices changed. The proto-Byzantine emperors, though not loath to bestow high civil or military office on their relations, generally preferred to promote commoners whose loyalty and abilities they appreciated and who, in return, owed them their fortune. The old landed aristocracy which subsisted by inheritance formed the Senate. After Herakleios the land tenure of this class was jeopardized by the loss of numerous provinces in the West as well as the East and by the ravages of Arab raids in Asia Minor. In Italy it all but disappeared, whereas in the East the old families of Constantinople appear to have survived the crisis of the seventh century because the capital and its hinterland were less affected by war. In the eighth century it seems that they stood in opposition to the troops recruited by the Isaurian emperors, and this political and social division would explain, though only partially, the division between Iconodules, whose leaders, such as Theodore of Stoudios, Tarasios, and Theophanes, belonged to these old families, and Iconoclasts, the staunch supporters of Constantine V and later Leo V (Cheynet 2000).

In the wake of Arab raids, which remained a danger for nearly two centuries, there emerged a new military class whose foundations were laid at the time of Leo III and Constantine V but which does not appear fully in the sources until the ninth to tenth century. The study of the evolution of the great families is facilitated by their adoption, practised with increasing frequency, of family names such as Melissenoi, Skleroi, Maleïnoi, Phokai, Doukai, and Argyroi, whereby they might capitalize on the glory of their ancestors. Amongst specific traits of these families one might mention the provincial origins which bound them to the local population. They defended this latter with efficiency; from it they recruited the soldiers and officers of their armies, and by means of it they acquired influence whereby they might compete with imperial authority. Another trait which marks them is their persistence in clinging to the rank of *strategos* once it had been obtained by a member of the family, particularly as professional training was acquired on the job, whilst accompanying a father or uncle. The list of *strategoï* of the Anatolic theme in the tenth century shows how the Phokai and their relations by marriage managed to monopolize this office, the most important in the empire after that of *domestikos* of the *Scholae*, excepting only the period under Romanos Lekapenos when they fell into disgrace (Dagron and Mihăescu 1986: 289–315). This hereditary tendency is typical of the era, for the emperors too did their utmost, with increasing success,

to found dynasties. This predisposition to transmit to one's family the offices of state, notwithstanding the absolute freedom of the emperor to name whomever he wanted to any office, explains the longevity of many families, despite the coups d'état which brought about changes of dynasty. The Melissenoi who made their appearance in the time of Constantine V still figured amongst the Constantinopolitan nobility in the fifteenth century.

However, this caste was not a closed one and any valiant warrior might make his way into it by the effort of his sword. This hope of promotion applied particularly in the case of foreigners, above all the Armenians, who were the most numerous until the tenth century. The empire received all 'nationalities', absorbing Persians, Arabs, and Slavs, provided they remained loyal to their new masters and converted to Christianity. Often, these foreigners had been local rulers in their own regions. In the course of one or two generations the newcomers were integrated by marriage, and by the end of the tenth century there were few aristocratic families that did not have Armenian or Georgian blood in their veins.

This aristocracy grew rich not only through the booty ever more frequently taken from the enemy, but also through rewards granted by the emperors in return for military exploits. Alliances by marriage served as a complementary economic strategy, for intermarrying predominated within this military elite. The practice of equal inheritance amongst children including, apparently, daughters, divided family fortunes in every generation, giving the emperors a means of pressure. The generosity of the latter, notably through appointment to offices with pensions for life, the *rogai*, could compensate for the spontaneous diminution of estates or, conversely, confiscations could weaken the power of overly turbulent generals. In order to reduce the risks of uncertain fortune, the aristocracy did not place all its riches in landed properties, despite its constant encroachments on free rural communities, but amassed treasures in coin, jewels, and precious cloths, of the sort that wives often received in dowry (Cheynet 1998). Such capital, a good part of it from the *rogai* distributed by the emperors, was movable and easy to hide, and could thus more easily escape the notice of imperial agents and remain immediately disposable in case of need, for example to raise troops during a revolt.

On the political plane, the shared desire of military leaders to enlarge imperial territory and thus to enrich themselves and reward their men did not prevent profound rivalries arising amongst various factions, even where matrimonial alliances had been made in an effort to calm old enmities. Thus the conflict between the Skleroi and Phokai marked the history of the tenth century and enabled Basil II finally to gain the upper hand.

The old families of Constantinople maintained an important position at court, favoured by their proximity to the emperor and their capacity to turn intellectual talents to good use in the wake of the cultural renaissance which began with the second period of Iconoclasm and flourished mainly in the capital. These families occupied posts in the central administration and the Church. This double

competence is illustrated well by the family of Photios which supplied a number of high civil servants and several patriarchs from the end of the eighth to the end of the ninth century. The longevity of this civil aristocracy, more difficult to identify because it adopted transmittable names only later, was in no way inferior to that of the military families.

The Constantinopolitan civil aristocracy and its provincial military counterpart were united in a common hierarchy organized round the emperor and which manifested itself at banquets given on great religious feasts or celebrations of great events. There the order of precedence was so complicated that the *atriklines* (banquet master) had to compose *taktika* (handbooks) and revise them at regular intervals, for the terrestrial hierarchy, a reflection of the celestial one, ought in no wise to be subject to confusion (Oikonomides 1972). The creation of new offices allowed the emperors to show favour to their supporters. Moreover, the strict distinction between titles and offices reserved for bearded men and those intended for eunuchs was no longer observed by the eleventh century.

This cohabitation at court did not, however, reduce misunderstanding between the civil aristocracy of the capital and certain military families of Asia Minor, as is shown by the vain attempt of Nikephoros Phokas to grant the status of 'martyrs' to officers and soldiers killed in combat whilst protecting Christians from Muslims.

THE REIGN OF BASIL II, A DECISIVE MOMENT

The expansion of the empire, which reached its peak in the first half of the eleventh century, and the resultant economic development caused a steep rise in the number of civil servants. The increased number of themes resulting from the division of earlier, larger districts and the vast territories conquered by military emperors entailed the multiplication of administrators, even if all the themes, especially the smaller 'Armenian' ones, did not have complete administrative structures. The emperors thus had more posts available for distribution, as well as more tax revenues with which to pay salaries and satisfy the ambitions of those appointed to them.

The reign of Basil II marked a real turning point in the transformation of the Byzantine administrative system and ruling classes, for it confirmed earlier developments and served as an obligatory point of reference for his successors. He sanctioned in a definitive manner the changeover to the professional army of the *tagmata*, thus ensuring the eventual disappearance of the thematic armies and the formation of a new hierarchy within the themes. Already, in the decades before

his reign, military officials complained that judges and revenue officials interfered in the themes, even oppressing the soldiers who spilled their blood for the safety of all. This preponderance of civil officials became accentuated, and by the eleventh century the *strategos* had given way to the judge (*krites*) as the head of the thematic administration.

Basil II, though he nearly lost his throne as a result of the great revolts of the aristocracy of Asia Minor, did not pursue a hostile policy towards this group. True, he took measures against the Phokai and Maleinoi who had led a war against him personally, but he favoured the emergence of other families, some of them already illustrious such as the Argyroi, others still hardly known, such as the Dalassenoi, the Kontostephanoi and, above all, the Komnenoi. It was in Basil's reign that the factions which struggled over the throne in the eleventh century began to take form, in particular the one which progressively built up around the Komnenoi. The conquest of Bulgaria restored the balance in the empire in favour of its European part and provoked the formation of a powerful group of military families around Andrianople, one of the main bases of operations against the Bulgars. With the exception of this group, the military aristocracy progressively lost contact with its place of origin, for it was obliged to take up residence in the capital in order to insure imperial favour and maintain social status. There the military families met those of the old civil aristocracy and frequently concluded alliances of marriage with them (Cheynet 1990).

Here we observe the first reshuffling of cards within the ruling class. Basil had sought to modify the composition of the aristocracy in Cappadocia with an admixture of Bulgarian and Georgian nobles, but time was too short for this effort to bear fruit before the Turkic invasion (Howard-Johnston 1995). After Basil's death, his successors, unsure of their thrones, attempted to win over the then flourishing economic elite of the capital by involving them in affairs of state. They distributed offices which gave the holders access to the Senate at a time when this body was invoked to assure successions to the throne. Provincials, the best example being Michael Attaleiates, benefited from social mobility based on talent at a time of the development of the schools of Constantinople. The emperor Constantine Monomachos even founded a School of Law intended for the formation of civil servants belonging to what we would today call the 'middle classes'. As a result of this enlarged recruitment new family names made their appearance as recorded in the earliest preserved archival documents and on seals. Nevertheless, those who had long occupied posts in the central government no doubt managed to profit the most from the new possibilities. This explains the privileged position of the Chrysobergai, Kataphloroi, Radenoi, Rhomaioi, and others. Finally, several families of the military aristocracy, once established in the capital, turned to the lucrative positions of judge and, above all, administrator (*episkeptites*) of public property, now quite abundant since, under Basil, the state decided to take over the exploitation of numerous hereditary estates in conquered lands as well as those confiscated

during the civil wars. This reconversion was by no means, at this point, a sign of decline (Kazhdan and Ronchey 1997; Cheynet 2000).

THE FAMILY SYSTEM OF THE KOMNENOI

Dynastic troubles in addition to the Norman, Pecheneg, and Turkic invasions and the resulting financial and monetary crisis caused a new and unforeseen upheaval in the last third of the eleventh century. In 1081 Alexios Komnenos seized power and founded a dynasty which was to endure for more than a century and carried on, to a certain extent, until the end of the empire, for the Angeloi, Lascarides, and Palaiologoi were all branches of this enormous family.

The territorial amputation of the empire, which lost the greater part of Asia Minor, was felt at several levels. It entailed the diminution of the administration together with a reduction of the number of great offices in the capital and loss of many positions in the fisc from which the Constantinopolitan aristocracy had derived its fortune. It likewise weakened the economic and, consequently, social status of all those whose property was situated in Asia Minor and who had not managed to transfer part of their assets to Europe.

Alexios Komnenos seized the occasion to restructure the aristocracy around his own family. It had long been the practice—longer than was formerly thought—that emperors placed their relations in sensitive positions in order to ensure their own security. But under the Komnenoi this practice was institutionalized in a system to such an extent that the high military aristocracy and, to a lesser degree, the civil aristocracy as well, became the apanage of one single family. This monopoly resulted in a reform of the system of offices whereby the recently created title of *sebastos*, on the basis of which a whole new hierarchy was composed (*sebastokrator*, *protosebastoi*), implied connection with the family Komneno-Doukas. Henceforth one's place in society depended on the degree of one's relation to the emperor, as can be seen from lists of lay participants in councils held under Manuel Komnenos where nephews of the emperor are placed in the order of their fathers' date of birth. All those who had the misfortune not to have concluded a marriage alliance with the Komnenoi before the reign of Alexios found themselves marginalized. In the twelfth century admission to the imperial family marked the success of one's career. The ranks of the elite were closed in comparison with earlier centuries even if, in order to assure a certain quality of command in the armies, a number of very brilliant officers were accepted from without; but these latter were few indeed. It was also in this manner that Franks and Turks joined the high aristocracy (Magdalino 1993).

The emperor kept close control of his enormous extended family whose incomes he supplied by the distribution of vast *pronoiai* (estates) for life, thereby avoiding

the rapid diminution of public funds. But this very personal system had two drawbacks: it was weakened if the emperor did not have a strong personality or if his legitimacy was contested, and it neglected to a great extent the regional aristocracy. This latter benefited from the indisputable boom in the provinces, but felt less concerned by the fate of Constantinople and its rulers, though it still constituted the essential link in ensuring the loyalty of the indigenous populations. It would be an exaggeration to say that there was no possibility of exchange between these two strata of the aristocracy. For example, at the end of the twelfth century the Sgouroi, who had their roots in the Peloponnese, were represented in offices of state in Constantinople. Nevertheless, we can understand why, after the death of Manuel Komnenos, the decline was so rapid and, after the catastrophe of 1204, the inhabitants of the provinces which remained in Byzantine hands did not react in a concerted manner to save what remained of the state or to drive out the Latins.

The Komnenoi were concerned for their popularity in the capital, even if the seizure of power by Alexios and the pillage that it had occasioned were not soon forgotten. The emperors took care for the well-being of the civil servants who filled the offices of the palatine and patriarchal administration. These latter received the once glorious titles of *nobelissimos* and *kouropalates* and could always easily find instruction which they could use in the exercise of their office, in law or rhetoric, or, for those intent on an ecclesiastical career, in the patriarchal school. They supplemented their income by offering themselves in service to important figures at court, composing for them bridal songs, funeral odes, or accounts of their martial exploits. The greatest historian of his time, Niketas Choniates, is a good illustration. Arriving from the Anatolian provinces, after the example of his elder brother Michael who had become metropolitan of Athens, Niketas received a good education and became a civil servant, starting in a minor position and finally progressing to logothete of the *sekreta*, a position which did not, however, prevent him from criticizing the Komnenoi and Angeloi in his *Histories*.

This Constantinopolitan elite was disturbed by the increasing ascendancy of the Latins living in the capital, more so than the provincials or relations of the emperor who in fact used the intermediary of western merchants to get rid of their agricultural surplus. Since the Constantinopolitan aristocracy staffed the higher levels of the Church, they were sensitive to the intransigence of the positions of Rome and Constantinople, and this contributed to their mistrust towards the Latins, though one cannot say for sure that the crises of 1182 and 1204 were inevitable.

THE FINAL TRANSFORMATION (1261–1453)

After 1204 the empire again changed size and was reduced in territory to the equivalent of several themes of the Macedonian period, even if, during two decades

of the reign of Michael VIII Palaiologos, the Byzantines perhaps imagined that they had returned to the age of the Komnenoi. The emperors of Nicaea had managed to adjust the staff of their administration to their resources, though they never completely overcame the differences which separated the refugees from Constantinople, with their nostalgia for the capital and their lost palaces, and the indigenous elite who appear to have been content in their Nicaean prosperity.

Michael VIII, profiting from the prestige of the reconquest of Constantinople, managed to keep a hold on the Byzantine elite (Laiou 1973), but beginning with the reign of his son Andronikos II the emperors were no longer able to oppose the demands of the powerful, in particular with regard to the hereditary transmission of *pronoiai*, whereby their resources were drained. They were also powerless to limit the autonomy of cities where the aristocracy traditionally lived. The civil wars between Andronikos II and his grandson, and above all that waged by John VI Kantakouzenos, elicited a strong reaction from rich landowners and took a violent turn at Thessalonike with the movement of the Zealots. The emperor had hardly any authority except that over his close family and his own house. When the last emperor, Constantine XI, came from the Morea to Constantinople to reign over an empire reduced to the capital, he was accompanied by loyal relations and servitors who had assisted him in the Morea.

After the Serbs and Turks had taken nearly all the empire's lands, the landed aristocracy was forced to transform itself and, for the first time, illustrious names appear amongst the merchants of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Well before this, the most illustrious inhabitants of the empire had used front-men in order to make money in crafts and trading. Amongst the rare cases where the names of owners of Constantinopolitan shops have been preserved for the tenth century, we note that most of them belonged to the aristocracy. What changed in the last century of Byzantium is that trade became nearly the only resource available to nobles and even civil servants who, like a certain Patrikios under John VI Kantakouzenos, took advantage of their fiscal functions to buy the peasants' surplus (Oikonomides 1979). Conversely, rich merchants entered into the service of the emperors, the best example being that of the family Notaras, originally from the busy port city Monemvasia (Matschke 1995). The last representative of this family, the grand duke Luke, became the chief minister of Constantine XI and would even have been charged by Mehmet II with the leadership of the Greek community of Constantinople if negotiations had not broken down, with the result that he and his sons were executed. Relations with western merchants were ambivalent. On the one hand, there were many who cooperated with the Latins. Some, like the Notaras, even preferred to place their fortunes in safety in Venice or Genoa. But on the other hand the Latins took care to keep the most important transactions for themselves and to limit any competition.

As we have seen, the fate of the aristocracy was closely tied up with that of the empire. When Andronikos I Komnenos, through personal ambition, decimated this class, he contributed to the weakening of the state; this at a time when external

difficulties had greatly increased. The aristocracy's continuity was dependent on the sovereign. Drawn almost exclusively from this elite, civil servants were appointed by the emperor as he wished, though there was always the need to consider the importance of certain families and to avoid needlessly offending those with influence amongst the soldiers and the population, both in the capital and in the provinces.

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CHAPTER III.9.3

CLERGY, MONKS, AND LAITY

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CLERGY

THE word clergy (*kleros*) originally referred to all Christians, who formed part of God's inheritance or *kleronomia* (1 Pet. 5: 3). Later the term was used to indicate those who were appointed to serve and minister to the laity, or ordinary members, within the Christian Church. In the earliest period (1st–2nd centuries CE) a threefold structure, made up of bishops, presbyters, and deacons, emerged quickly, but it is clear that some other ministries, such as prophecy, teaching, and healing, could be carried out by lay members of the Church (1 Cor. 12: 27–31). The latter offices were abandoned in the course of the second century, probably in response to abuses and to heresies such as Montanism which involved charismatic teaching and prophecy. During the second and third centuries, increasing recognition was given to the bishop as the primary source of unity and authority within the Christian Church. Irenaeus of Lyons (d. c.200) stressed the importance of apostolic succession in the ordination of bishops in the Church, while Cyprian (d. 258) affirmed, 'Where the bishop is, there is the Church' (*Ep.* 66. 8). It is clear that, whatever other functions presbyters and deacons fulfilled during the first three centuries, bishops were invested with the authority to oversee Christian communities, to administer the sacraments, and to uphold orthodox doctrine both by preaching and by attending ecclesiastical councils (Rapp 2005).

In the course of the fourth century, with the adoption of Christianity as an official religion by Constantine I and subsequent emperors, the organization of the secular Church was further codified. Episcopal dioceses followed the division of Roman territories into political provinces; thus the major city in each province became the seat of a metropolitan, or head bishop, who had authority over other bishops within his area. The bishops of cities which boasted apostolic origins, or which had played a particularly important part in the early establishment of Christianity, including Rome, Alexandria, Antioch, Jerusalem, and, after 381, Constantinople, became pre-eminent among their colleagues and by the sixth century were known as 'patriarchs' (Justinian I, *Nov. CXXIII.3*). The term 'bishop' remains the generic term throughout the Byzantine period, however, in spite of the use of honorific titles such as 'patriarch', 'metropolitan', and 'archbishop'. An elaborate hierarchy of bishops began to be established, beginning with the patriarchates: thus Constantinople, as capital of the eastern empire, took Alexandria's place as second after Rome (Council of Constantinople I, canon 3). Metropolitans of major cities were next in importance, while the bishops under their jurisdiction themselves followed lists of precedence. These hierarchies were upheld in documents such as the *Notitiae Episcopatumum* which were compiled from the seventh century onwards; such texts were subject to constant revision in response to political and ecclesiastical developments (Darrouzès 1981). The order in which bishoprics were listed in these documents dictated placement in liturgical and imperial ceremonies, signatures on the Acts of Church councils, and other official expressions of the ecclesiastical hierarchy.

In the middle and later periods of Byzantine history, the threefold hierarchy of the clergy, comprising bishops, presbyters or priests, and deacons, remained in place along with the minor orders of subdeacons, deaconesses, readers, and others. The various orders were distinguished not only by the balance of priestly versus ministerial functions in their responsibilities, but also by the method of ordination. The numbers of clergy at any given time are difficult to establish, but sources such as the Acts of Church councils provide some clues. The clergy attached to Hagia Sophia in Constantinople included more than 600 in the seventh century; in an attempt to decrease this the emperor Herakleios established maximum numbers for each order from priest to doorkeeper. After the military losses in the course of the eleventh century, refugee members of clergy from lost territories of the empire became an increasing burden on Church finances in the capital city (Hussey 1986: 321–2). It is clear that in the changing circumstances of the later Byzantine world, earlier canons such as that forbidding the movement of clergy from their dioceses became increasingly difficult to uphold.

All clergy were subject to the jurisdiction of a bishop, archbishop, metropolitan, or patriarch who would regulate their way of life with reference to ecclesiastical law. Canons of Church councils, later commentaries, and imperial legislation established the rules by which clergy were expected to carry out their duties. Many of the canons which became authoritative within the Church were affirmed in the Council

in Trullo (691–2) which also repudiated a purportedly early document which was actually compiled in late fourth-century Syria, called the *Apostolic Constitutions*. Canons of the Council in Trullo concern such matters as the approved age for ordination into the various orders of the clergy, celibacy and marriage, which occupations clergy may enter into in addition to their ecclesiastical duties, how often they should preach, clerical dress, and many others. On the subject of celibacy, the Council recommends this only as a voluntary option on the part of all clergy except bishops. Marriage could take place only with certain classes of women, however (excluding widows, prostitutes, actresses, and servants), and it should in theory take place before ordination to the subdiaconate. It is interesting to note that the canons dealing with the marital status and occupations of clergy, especially in the higher orders, stress the issue of ritual purity more than the ethical implications of personal behaviour. The last canons to emerge from an ecclesiastical council were published by the patriarch Photios in 879–80; after this commentaries of canon law continued to be compiled, especially in the twelfth and fourteenth centuries.

The Ranks of Clergy

1. *Bishop*

As stated above, the term ‘bishop’ applies to patriarchs, metropolitans, archbishops, and bishops (both suffragan and assistant bishops or *chorepiskopoi*) throughout the Byzantine period. After the ‘ecumenical’ patriarch of Constantinople, who after the seventh century occupied the only remaining patriarchal seat under Byzantine rule, metropolitans held the second highest rank in the Orthodox Church. Patriarchs were elected by the standing synod in Constantinople, which presented three names to the emperor. He was entitled to choose one of these, or, if unable to accept any of the candidates, to choose the new patriarch himself.

The title ‘archbishop’ emerged in special cases, for example in important cities such as Athens which did not possess a metropolitan. Autocephalous archbishops belonged to a separate category, usually as a result of the division of an ecclesiastical province into two parts. If the existing metropolitan refused to share power and property, the bishop of the second city might be offered this honorary rank. He remained under direct supervision of the patriarch and without suffragan bishops of his own. *Chorepiskopoi* (literally ‘country bishops’) were assigned to rural communities and were subject to a bishop in a nearby city. After the fourth century, the powers and functions of *chorepiskopoi* were gradually restricted and they were allowed only to ordain clerics of the lower orders. After the second Council of Nicaea (787) which prohibited them from ordaining even readers (*anagnostai*) without episcopal assent (canon 14), this separate episcopal rank began to disappear (Jugie 1904).

According to canon law (Nicaea I, canon 49), bishops were elected by the suffragan bishops of a given province who were asked by their metropolitan to select three names. He would then select and consecrate one of these candidates. It is likely that Justinian I encouraged the lower clergy and leading citizens to participate in the election of bishops, but the involvement only of bishops was reaffirmed by the second Council of Nicaea (787), canon 3. From about the ninth century onwards there is increasing evidence that episcopal elections frequently took place in Constantinople, contrary to canon law, owing to the constant presence of metropolitans in the capital city. Efforts were made in the eleventh century to stop this practice, but it was eventually sanctioned in 1072 by the patriarch John Xiphilinos.

From about the fourth century onwards, bishops were expected to be celibate; if married already they could separate from their wives, making provision for them in a suitable convent. Whereas many bishops were drawn from a monastic background, some came from a lay, professional sphere and were powerfully connected. A reasonable standard of education was expected; bishops should at least be capable of reading the canons, scriptures, writings of the Fathers, and should have learned the Psalter by heart. Canon 19 of the Council in Trullo suggests that standards of education were falling among clergy by the late seventh century; nevertheless, bishops would be expected to preach in accordance with traditional theological and rhetorical standards. Priestly functions, including the celebration of the Eucharist and the administration of the sacraments represented the primary duties of bishops; in addition to these, however, bishops were responsible for all of the institutions and officials providing service to the community in their dioceses, for overseeing the administration of Church property and finances, judging in ecclesiastical courts, and attending both local and ecumenical councils. Bishops were assisted in all of these spheres by lower clergy and assistants, whose various functions are described below.

2. *Priest or presbyter (presbyteros, 'elder')*

In the early Church, priests or presbyters served as advisers, teachers, and ministers who assisted the bishops to whom they were assigned. As Christianity spread in the course of the fourth century, priests were increasingly put in charge of parishes and allowed to celebrate the Eucharist. Priests were also allowed to preach in liturgical celebrations although their sermons must follow that of the bishop if he should be present. In the course of Byzantine history priests could be appointed either to the public, 'catholic' parish churches under the direct jurisdiction of bishops or to private foundations, still subject to a bishop's approval. Although priests were usually provided with small stipends from their episcopal dioceses and fees from their parishioners, they tended as a class to maintain secular professions as well. Imperial laws and the Acts of successive Church councils attempt to regulate the types of employment undertaken by priests, but all ecclesiastical sources, including

later interpreters of canon law, acknowledge the right of priests to earn a living in the world, as well as in the Church (Constantelos 1985). Educational requirements for priests were not rigorous; they were expected to possess a basic knowledge of Christian doctrine, the canons, and to lead a blameless life. The minimum age for men's ordination to the priesthood was 30 years of age (Justinian, *Nov. CXXIII*; Trullo, canon 14). Priests were never, at any period in Byzantine history, required to be celibate, although they were expected to have entered matrimony before ordination to the subdiaconate.

3. *Deacon* (diakonos, 'servant')

Although fulfilling an important function in the Church, from earliest times and throughout the Byzantine period, deacons were restricted to pastoral and auxiliary roles in their ministry. Deacons assisted the priest or bishop at the Divine Liturgy, baptisms, and other sacraments. At the same time, certain passages in liturgical texts suggest that the deacon symbolically represents the laity in its supplications to God. Various administrative and pastoral jobs were delegated to deacons from an early period; they helped bishops to dispense charity to the community, manage the diocese's finances and property, and to deal with other official business (Laodikeia, canons 21, 23, 25). Deacons were subject to the authority of both bishops and priests, but they came to exercise considerable power, especially in the patriarchate of Constantinople. The number of deacons serving at Hagia Sophia was limited to 150 in the seventh century; later this number probably declined. Deacons could be ordained from the age of 25 years and like priests, they could be married.

The Lower Orders

4. *Deaconess* (diakonissa)

The office of deaconess is hinted at already in Paul's Epistle to the Romans in which he refers to Phoebe, a 'deacon' of the Church at Cencreae (Rom. 16: 1–2). It may be that Paul was not referring to an official order, but simply to someone whom he regarded as a 'servant' of the Church. Other early sources which mention female deacons include Origen, commenting on the passage in Romans cited above, the third-century *Didascalia*, and the late fourth-century *Apostolic Constitutions*. It is clear in many of these sources that deaconesses were bound by a vow of chastity; the order could include not only virgins, but also widows. The office is mentioned officially in canon 19 of the Council of Nicaea (325). The deaconess's chief liturgical role was to assist at the baptisms of women; she also acted as a mediator between women parishioners and their bishops, kept order among female members of the congregation, and ministered especially to women. The office disappeared in the

West after the decline of adult baptisms in the Church; in Byzantium it seems to have survived until as late as the eleventh century. The minimum age for ordination of deaconesses was originally 60, but this was later reduced to 40 (Chalcedon, canon 15; Trullo, canon 14).

5. *Subdeacon*

The rank of subdeacon provided a stepping-stone to that of deacon; its duties were similar to those of the deacon. Marriage must take place before ordination to the subdiaconate, as in the case of the upper three orders of clergy.

6. *Reader (anagnostes)*

A reader is a member of the lower clergy with the responsibility of reading, usually from the ambo, passages from the Epistles and the Old Testament prescribed for offices and the Divine Liturgy. Along with other members of the minor orders, readers were ordained by the sign of the cross (*sphragis*) rather than by the laying on of hands (*cheirotonia*) by the bishop which was required for the upper clergy.

7. *Other minor orders*

Other members of the minor clerical orders included doorkeepers, exorcists, cantors, and widows. All of these officials helped in either liturgical, administrative, or pastoral functions. Most would have received payment from their dioceses, or, in the case of private foundations, from their donors, but it is likely that most would have been engaged in secular professions in order to supplement their incomes.

8. *The major officials of Hagia Sophia*

A large body of ecclesiastical officials served the patriarch and were connected permanently with the Great Church of Hagia Sophia in Constantinople. These included the *Synkellos*, or patriarchal assistant, the Great *Oikonomos*, or finance minister, Great *Skeuophylax*, or keeper of the liturgical vessels, Great *Sakellarios* or treasurer, and many others. These officials were mostly taken from the ranks of the clergy, especially the diaconate. Their responsibilities and status had nothing to do with their ecclesiastical status since their services were seen as 'external' to their liturgical functions. The power and influence of the various posts changed in the course of time; in the period after 1261 the patriarch increasingly made use of special officials, called exarchs, in order to bypass the *Oikonomos* (Hussey 1986: 316).

MONKS AND NUNS

Tradition has it that monasticism began in Egypt and spread north and westwards in the course of the fourth century CE (see also below, III.11.5 Monasticism and monasteries). In fact, it is likely that the movement had its roots more generally in the pious and celibate ways of life chosen by individual men and women in urban as well as desert settings from the apostolic period onward. Such vocations seem to have involved either a private or public promise to remain a virgin; early fourth-century Church councils suggest that this was regarded as a binding contract similar to a marriage vow (Elm 1994: 26–7). The departure into the Egyptian desert of such early monastic figures as St Antony (born around 250) thus emerged in a culture in which single-minded commitment to prayer, celibacy, and separation from the rest of society were already seen as options available to both male and female members of the laity.

Three versions of monastic life emerged in this early period and remained important throughout the Byzantine period: the eremetical (solitary), the coenobitic (communal), and a mixture of the two that is best exemplified in the *lavra* system which developed first in both Egypt and Palestine. The eremetical way of monastic life could be quite unregulated, as in the case of Egyptian *gerontes* of the late third and fourth centuries, or it could be attached to and subject to the rules of a coenobitic monastery. This category in its widest sense included men and women who attempted to live out the Gospel teaching which advises those who wish to perfect themselves to give their property to the poor and to follow Christ (Matt. 19: 21). By the early fourth century, especially in Egypt, men and women who had exiled themselves from the rest of society by living in deserted regions set an example of extreme asceticism and dedication to prayer. Many lived in close proximity to each other, as at Scetis and Nitria, but solitude as the distinguishing feature of this way of life remained an ideal. The coenobitic system appeared first in the monasteries established by Pachomios and Shenoudi, who stressed the importance of equality and obedience among monks, all of whom should be under the jurisdiction of a monastic superior. Ecclesiastical leaders such as Basil of Caesarea, Eustathios of Sebaste, and Gregory of Nazianzos are credited with promoting coenobitic monasticism in Asia Minor. Basil wrote two sets of Rules, the Longer and the Shorter, which influenced Byzantine monasticism thereafter. The *lavra*, in which the eremetical and coenobitic ways of life could be combined, was usually composed of a number of central buildings including a church, refectory, bakehouse, and storerooms, as well as a number of solitary cells in which monks would live as solitaries during the week, only coming together on Saturdays and Sundays to participate in liturgical services and to replenish their supplies. These institutions originated as groups of disciples surrounding a charismatic spiritual leader. It is clear that all three styles of monastic life survived in various forms throughout the Byzantine centuries, with

many later monasteries supporting solitary monks even though these institutions remained primarily coenobitic.

THE LAITY

The term 'laity' (taken from *laos*, meaning 'people') refers to all members of the Christian community who are not ordained as clergy. Originally this included monastics, both male and female, who had dedicated their lives to God but were not authorized to administer the sacraments unless they had also been ordained to a clerical office. By the fourth or fifth centuries, however, monks began to be viewed as a separate category from clergy and laity; between the latter, a symbolic division became increasingly apparent. After the earliest period, the laity became spectators in liturgical celebrations as members of the clergy and the choir recited the assigned prayers, hymns, and readings. They represented a receptive (although sometimes unruly) audience to whom bishops and priests delivered homilies, although after about the seventh century it is difficult to determine how much they understood of the increasingly high-style festal sermons which survive. The most personal contact between the laity and the clergy took place in the sacraments administered during the course of an individual's life; although not codified at any date into a precise number as in the West, these usually included baptism and confirmation, confession, communion, marriage, and holy unction during illness or at the time of death.

The daily lives of lay Byzantine Christians would have been affected to a large extent by their faith and participation in the life of the Church. It is likely, judging from the many churches and monasteries which existed throughout the empire and the largely religious nature of the surviving literature and artefacts, that Orthodox Christianity constituted an important part of people's sense of identity and world-view. This would have been reinforced by the daily and weekly liturgical celebrations, religious festivals, participation in the sacraments, and veneration of saints, relics, icons, and other manifestations of divine power in the world. The laity would also have shared a set of Christian ethics in their approach to poorer and weaker members of society, ascetic disciplines such as fasting, and morality.

Little is known about lay church attendance throughout the Byzantine period or about how the various social and gender groups were disposed within the church building. Emperors, although officially laymen, were allowed into the sanctuary and assisted during the celebration of liturgies. They and their courts were also expected to play an important role in religious and imperial ceremonies carried out in the imperial palace and in processions throughout Constantinople. According to

John Chrysostom, who preached in the late fourth and early fifth centuries, wealthy citizens, including both men and women, attended church regularly, accompanied by their personal slaves. The middle and poorer classes, including professionals, artisans, and labourers, also attended as often as their jobs permitted, although this might be on a weekly rather than a daily basis. It is clear from Chrysostom's sermons, however, that the poorest members of society, including beggars and disabled people, remained outdoors, receiving charitable donations before and after church services (Mayer and Allen 2000: 36–7). It is likely that similar patterns of attendance persisted in later periods, although such detailed evidence is mostly lacking.

The Byzantine laity could also participate in Church life in ways that went beyond its organized services, celebrations, and sacraments. Wealthy individuals, both male and female, regularly dedicated property for the foundation of churches, monasteries, and charitable institutions. Many of these lay benefactors endeavoured to keep some control over the organization and management of these foundations, for both spiritual and material reasons. The interaction between the clerical, monastic, and lay spheres was constant owing to their mutual interdependence throughout the Byzantine period. In return for patronage, protection, and property, monastics and clerics could offer the lay faithful their prayers, spiritual guidance, refuge, and the hope of spiritual salvation. Confraternities or brotherhoods (*diakoniai*) also offered lay Orthodox Christians opportunities for religious involvement. Most of these associations, which could be composed of male and female laymen and clerics, assigned themselves duties such as organizing the veneration of a particular icon or cult, caring for the sick, or arranging processions. There is evidence that confraternities existed in Byzantium from as early as the sixth century until the end of the empire, although they may have declined during the period of Iconoclasm.

Although clergy, monks, and the laity represent distinct groups in Byzantine society, it is clear that they interacted in ways that were mutually beneficial. Although they wore distinctive clothing, were barred from certain professions, and possessed privileges such as exemption from certain taxes and military service (Elliott 1978), all clergy except bishops lived in the community and usually married, unlike clerics in the West. Monks and nuns, although theoretically confined to their monasteries, in fact served the community in a variety of ways and in turn were dependent on the patronage and protection of their founders or owners. The extent to which spiritual ideals such as solitude and prayer were shared by the whole of society ensured that monasteries remained influential and well populated. Finally, it is striking that the Orthodox Church consistently upheld the importance of the laity as an active, contributing group within this largely Christian society. The laity as 'a royal priesthood' (1 Pet. 2: 9) was always seen by the Byzantines as the foundation of the Church, served by the 'professionals' who would represent them before God.

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III.10. THE STATE

CHAPTER III.10.1

STRUCTURES AND ADMINISTRATION

JOHN HALDON

THE Roman and Byzantine state organized its resources through a hierarchy of administrative structures. The most important was the praetorian prefecture, through which the land-tax assessment was calculated, collected, and redistributed. Each prefecture comprised a specific territory, although they were reorganized and redistributed on several occasions. At the beginning of Constantine's reign there were three major prefectures: Oriens (stretching from Moesia and Thrace in the Balkans around to Upper Libya in Africa); Illyricum, Italy, and Africa; and the Gauls, including Britain and Tingitana in North Africa. By the 440s these had been rearranged into four prefectures: the Gauls, Italy, with North Africa and parts of Illyricum; and the East (Oriens). The Gallic, Italian, and much of the North African prefectures were lost during the middle and later fifth century, leaving Illyricum and Oriens only, but with Justinian's reconquests new prefectures for Italy and for Africa were established. Each prefecture was subdivided into dioceses (*dioecesaes*, 'directorates'), under a deputy (*vicarius*) of the praetorian prefect; and each diocese was divided into provinces under provincial governors. The lowest unit of administration was then the city (*civitas* or *polis*) each with its district (*territorium*) upon which the assessment and collection of taxes ultimately devolved (Jones 1964: 366–454; Stein 1968: 39–50; Kelly 1998: 162–9).

The prefectures, through their diocesan and more particularly their provincial levels of administration, were responsible for the major public taxes and for the

administration of justice, the maintenance of the public post, the state weapons and arms factories, and provincial public works. Two other finance departments, that of the sacred largesses (*sacrae largitiones*, responsible for bullion from mines, minting coin, state-run clothing workshops, and the issue of military donatives) and the *res privata*, under its *comes* (responsible for the income derived as rents from imperial lands) complemented the prefecture in managing fiscal resources. During the course of the sixth century the sacred largesses and the private finance department continued to evolve: the various estates administered by the latter were organized into five sections, each independent (including the original *res privata*), responsible for different types of estate and expenditure, while the diocesan level of the activities of the sacred largesses was gradually subsumed by the provincial level of the praetorian prefectures. Under Herakleios in the late 620s, mint production was radically centralized, and over the following twenty or so years, the *sacrae largitiones* disappears as a separate department, while the praetorian prefecture of the East (that of Illyricum disappeared as imperial control over most of the Balkans was lost) was broken up, so that each of its subsections became an independent bureau, each under its own *logothete*, or accountant, placed directly under the emperor and a senior officer at court, often the *sakellarios* (Jones 1964; Hendy 1985: 395–420; Barnish 2000: 170–81; 193–203).

The changes which occurred in the administration and structure of the departments of the sacred largesses and the private finance department (*res privata*) during the course of the sixth century prefigured changes throughout the whole administration following the drastic shrinkage of the empire in the middle of the seventh century. By the middle of the eighth century, a *logothete* for the general finance office (*genikon logothesion*) was responsible for the land tax and associated revenues; similarly a department for military finance (*stratitikon logothesion*) dealt with recruitment, muster-rolls, and military pay; while another department, the *idikon*, or special *logothesion*, dealt with armaments, imperial workshops, and a host of related miscellaneous requirements. The various departments which were once part of the *res privata* became similarly entirely independent and placed under their own officials. The public post, previously under the *magister officiorum*, the master of offices, became independent under its own *logothete*. Other departments that had originally been part of the imperial household, such as the sacred bedchamber, evolved into specialized treasuries and storehouses for particular state needs, while the bedchamber itself, known as the *koiton*, evolved its own personal imperial treasury for household expenditures. The substructures of the older provincial administration and the names of the provinces survived within the *themata* until the early ninth century, although dioceses disappeared. Each such district was supervised in terms of tax assessment and collection by a ‘director’ or ‘manager’ (*doiketes*) with a staff of officials for the province and for the central *sekretion* or bureau at the capital. By the 830s and 840s the Late Roman provinces had been eclipsed by a more up-to-date structure, headed in each *thema* by a *protonotarios*

or chief notary, responsible to his chief in Constantinople for running the thematic fiscal administration. Each theme also had a judge or *krites* responsible for civil administration and justice; and a *chartouarios*, responsible to the military finance department at Constantinople for the maintenance of military registers and related issues. They were all under the nominal authority of the *strategos*, the general, successor to the older *magistri militum*, but retained a degree of autonomy. This structure, which developed quite slowly and seems to have been completed by the time of Theophilos (829–42), remained in place until the late eleventh century (Bury 1911: 18–20, 36–114; Hendy 1985: 424–9; 619–62; Haldon 1997: 180–207).

The problems faced by the government after the loss of the eastern provinces to Islam in the 630s and 640s are reflected in the crisis measures it adopted to deal with them, and in particular by the temporary transformation in the role of officials called *kommerkiarioi*, the earlier *comites commerciorum* (supervisors of the production and sale of silk—a state monopoly—and customs officials dealing with imports and exports of precious goods); from the 660s until the 730s these seem to have acted also in connection with supplying the provincial armies. From about 730–1 institutions called imperial *kommerkia* appeared, fulfilling a related but more limited function until the first decades of the ninth century, when the establishment of the thematic *protonotarioi* and the system of supplying the armies which they administered from their *themata* made them redundant. The *kommerkiarioi* reverted to the role of customs officials controlling trade and exchange activities with regions outside the empire (Haldon 1997: 233–44; Brandes 2002: 48–62; 239–426).

After the early ninth century the more regular system managed by the thematic *protonotarioi* (which had been developing probably since the middle of the eighth century) was made permanent. But with the expansion of the empire and the offensive warfare which predominated in the later ninth century onwards this system too began to change. The marginalization of the thematic militias, as they had become, meant that the partially ‘self-supporting’ theme armies were more and more replaced by professional mercenaries; these were maintained both by the collection and delivery of supplies as before, but in addition were often quartered on the provincial populations, whom they were permitted to exploit in terms of accommodation, food, and other necessities, thus placing an increasingly heavy burden on the tax-payers. During the second half of the eleventh century this placed increasing strains on the taxation system and on the producing population (Hendy 1989; Harvey 1989: 80–119; Angold 1984: 8–9, 59–70).

One significant difference between the late Roman and later Byzantine structures is that emperors had from the middle or later seventh century, in theory at least, a direct oversight over the affairs of many departments, rather than having everything channelled through a few high-powered officials such as the master of offices or the praetorian prefects. Administration can be broken down into several areas of competence: state finance, justice and prisons, transport and the

post, the imperial household, provincial military and palatine military. Each set of departments (*sekreta*) had its own staff, some substantial (as with the department of the general treasury, *genikon logothesion*, for example, whose bureau had some eleven different grades, including subsections for each *thema* and many other finance-related activities), others very small (as with the *orphanotrophos*, the curator of the great imperial orphanage and its estates, whose department had just three grades and a limited number of subdepartments for the different estates). Complex interrelationships connected many sections, as did the overlapping nature of the competences of many departments. The central role of the imperial household needs to be underlined, both because access to the emperor was through one or another household department, and because the distinction between public, palace, and private (family) treasuries was never very particularly observed. This meant that state funds often flowed into what were essentially private hands, while the imperial family or the emperors themselves often invested funds drawn from their personal revenues in state-related ventures (Bury 1911; Oikonomides 1972: 21–4, 281–90; Winkelmann 1985).

A key aspect of the structure of imperial administration was the system of precedence embedded within it. While this was always fluid, with new titles being introduced at times, with shifts in status between different ranks, and in particular with the relationship of any individual to the emperor being of crucial significance in determining what position they attained and how that was described through the system of titles, a certain regularity in these relationships did exist, and is described in a variety of documents dating from the Late Roman period through to the Late Byzantine period. By the tenth century this system had settled down and it became possible to draw up lists of precedence by which imperial ceremonial, public meals, processions, and so forth could be regulated. The master of ceremonies, the staff of the imperial palace, and the prefect of the city all played a key role in the maintenance and observance of tradition, although ‘tradition’ was itself constantly evolving (Oikonomides 1972; Winkelmann 1985: 15–42, 66–8).

A career in the state administration was attractive because of the potential for illicit as well as regular rewards, and could be achieved through various means. Before the collapse of the middle of the seventh century, study of the law was always a good qualification for court posts as well as provincial positions of authority and responsibility, although a general acquaintance with traditional classical scholarship was sufficient. During the later seventh and eighth centuries this changed, and it seems that many provincial officials were entirely ignorant of the law and of the administration of justice. But literacy was generally the norm, since this was a literate and record-keeping state administration which depended upon the transmission of vital information in written form, not just between officials, but from one generation to the next. By the tenth and eleventh centuries knowledge of the law was once again an important part of the education of senior officials. In theory, all posts were open to all persons, but in practice, the system was heavily

inflected by the existence of a powerful social elite and the networks of patronage which were a part of any medieval society. The administrative hierarchy was graded according to military and non-military posts, as well as, by the tenth century, ranks normally held by eunuchs and non-eunuchs, although the system was by no means exclusive or rigid (Winkermann 1985; 1987: 98–142; Weiss 1973).

Officials were inducted into their posts by a formal ceremony at which they received the signs of their office—a ceremonial military girdle and a robe or other garment specific to their department and rank—and during which they swore an oath of loyalty to the emperor and declared their orthodoxy. By the ninth century the great majority of junior posts were conferred by the award of a token of office, so that the emperor did not need to be present. Senior posts, in contrast, which were of greater significance to the emperor and whose holders were often directly chosen by him, were appointed by word of mouth at a ceremony formally conducted by the ruler and during which the official or officer, if the post was military, did formal obeisance to the emperor. Such ceremonies applied to the clergy of the Constantinopolitan churches also, since they, too, were members of this hierarchy of state positions. Promotion depended upon a regular rhythm of movement within each department; during the eighth and ninth centuries, for example, thematic commanders were rotated fairly frequently, sometimes across to an alternative post, sometimes upwards. Where the move was from one post to another comparable one, however, the incumbent would sometimes receive a higher-ranking title, so that salary and social standing would rise accordingly. If all went well, an individual of reasonable talents could expect to rise to a fairly senior position by the end of his career and, if he came to the attention of the emperor or another powerful senior official, perhaps even become a senior minister or official himself. Salaries rose incrementally with promotion, and upon retirement, officials received an enhanced sum, together with certain judicial privileges and sometimes fiscal exemptions. Some administrative officials, especially in the period from the tenth century, sold their posts in advance of their retirement as a means of putting a sum aside; while the ‘aristocratization’ of the bureaucracy from the tenth century on also altered the way the machinery of state functioned (Oikonomides 1972; Winkermann 1985; Lemerle 1967; Cheynet 1990).

The administrative structures of the empire underwent a series of fundamental changes during the reign of Alexios I Komnenos, which set the pattern for the government of the empire until its demise in 1453. The whole fiscal and financial administration of the court and empire was placed under a single senior official, the *megas logariastes*, or Grand Logariast. The *vestiaron* or public wardrobe, and the *oikeiaka*, the department responsible for state fiscal estates, with several subsections, now became the central fiscal administrative departments, although the old *genikon*, or general, treasury survived with provincial fiscal responsibilities. The great estates managed by various charitable institutions, such as the imperial orphanage (*orphanotropheion*) under its director, the *orphanotrophos*, became

increasingly important resources to the government, and their enhanced role is clear in the status of their senior officials during the twelfth century. The *dromos* or public postal and transport system, essential to the logistics of the imperial armies as well as to the business of the state, continued to exist, managed now through the imperial chancery of which the *logothete* of the *dromos* was a member. Associated with this department, however, were also the imperial stables under their *chartoularios*, to which were attributed now large estates known as *chartoularata* or (along the coasts, and under the authority of the *megas doux*, the Grand Duke in command of the imperial navy) as *oria*, fiscal lands whose revenues or produce were intended for the support of the armies and navy. The remaining administrative departments, or *sekreta*, were placed under a single senior supervisor or manager, the *logothetes* of the *sekreta*. Imperial control was exercised through a series of palatine officials and bureaux, the most important of which was the imperial chancery, headed by an official entitled *protasekretis*. A particularly important official was the so-called *mesazon*, literally ‘intermediary’, a personal assistant to the emperor who acted in effect as a chief minister (Magdalino 1993: 228–37, 266; Kazhdan and Epstein 1985: 62–73; Angold 1984: 126–33; 225–8).

Justice was administered by a series of central courts also headed, by the middle of the twelfth century, by the *protasekretis*. He was accompanied by a new official created by Alexios I, the *diakaidotes*, who had his own court, and by the Grand *Droungarios* (originally commander of one of the imperial palace units, the *vigla*, or Watch), who continued to preside over the so-called court of the Velum, or Covered Hippodrome. The emperor’s security was in the charge of the palace guards units, which also formed the core units in any imperial military expedition, the most important units being the *Hetaireia*, the Varangians, and two small units of guards for the imperial treasuries, the *vestiaritai*. Manuel I established a new unit, the *Vardariotai* (originally from Macedonia and Thrace). In addition, the emperors also attached to their retinue smaller and more temporary groups of soldiers, often foreigners. The Grand Domestic of east and west, attached to the court but frequently in the field, were the commanders of the eastern and western units, or *tagmata*, of the field armies (Magdalino 1993: 261–5; Angold 1984; Oikonomides 1976; Hohlweg 1965; Ahrweiler 1960: 89 ff.).

With the gradual recovery of the empire under the Komnenoi, old *themata* were re-established, although functioning on slightly different principles, since the term *thema* now meant simply a province, without any direct military implications. By the 1180s there were thematic provinces from Chaldia and Trebizond in the east, on the Pontic coast, westwards through the districts of Paphlagonia/Boukellarion, Optimaton, Nikomedeia, Opsikion, Neokastra, Thrakesion, Mylasa/Melanoudion, Kibyrrhaiotai, and Cilicia. The forces stationed in each of these regions were commanded by ‘dukes’—Byzantine *doukes*—who were also the governors of their districts (Angold 1984; Magdalino 1993; Hohlweg 1965: 45–82; Kühn 1991: 168–9).

After 1204 the successor states attempted to salvage the remains of the structures of the twelfth century with which they were familiar. Most successful in this respect appears to have been the Empire of Trebizond which maintained an effective separate existence until 1461. But the emperors at Nicaea likewise reconstructed an effective imperial administration based on the Komnenian arrangements, although in a somewhat simplified and reduced form, consistent with its reduced territorial extent and administrative complexity. The most significant change was the increasingly personal, household nature of imperial administration, a result of several factors. First, the sack of 1204 appears to have destroyed the bulk of the central records in the palace archives and government departments, so that while provincial copies in all probability survived, the emperors were heavily dependent upon the know-how and knowledge of the system of their closest advisers. Second, the emphasis under the Komnenos dynasty had already been tending towards government through senior officials connected directly, through marriage or other relationships, with the imperial family. This was then given new emphasis by the central role of the small group of senior officials and the *mesazon* under the new circumstances, which meant that expertise was available, but in a greatly concentrated form, through which new methods of administration and central records had to be created. Government thus became even more than before a matter within the imperial household, more akin to the governments of some of the western powers such as Angevin England than the formerly impersonal and bureaucratic eastern Roman tradition (Nicol 1984: 217–22; Zakythinis 1975: 46–145, 227–44; Angold 1975: 147–236, 239–96; Laiou 1972: 3–5, 114–21, 123; Nicol 1972: 23–41, 45–51, 114–17; Ostrogorsky 1968: 422–7, 442–4, 481–3).

When the Nicaean emperor Theodore I Laskaris thus came to organize his regime, he was heavily dependent upon this small group of senior household officials, developing the remaining elements of an imperial administrative apparatus piece by piece thereafter. The key figure was the *mesazon*, who acted as coordinator of government operations and had a much more formal position in the system than under the Komnenoi. Financial affairs were centred on the imperial wardrobe, the *vestiariion*, and the rest of the imperial administration was managed through the different departments of the household and chancery. One result of this slimming down was that the older bureaucracy, with the different departments or *sekreta*, did not reappear, and government was in effect reduced to the imperial household and its secretarial staff.

After the restoration of the empire with the recovery of Constantinople in 1261 this became the pattern of imperial administration until 1453. But it was constantly evolving. There was no formally constituted superior court under the Laskarids, for example, justice being administered on an *ad hoc* basis through the imperial court. The emperor Michael VIII Palaiologos established a special judicial tribunal known simply as the imperial *sekretion* to fulfil this function. By the same token the imperial

chancery officials such as the *epi tou kanikleiou* or the *mystikos* appear to have served in a purely personal capacity until well into the reign of Theodore I, when a more formal organization of an imperial chancery appears to have developed, largely modelled on the Komnenian structure but with duties and functions more suited to the new conditions. The imperial household dominated government and military administration. There were a number of senior officials endowed with particular responsibilities at court but to whom the emperor regularly entrusted provincial military commands, command of the field army, or some other special duty, including that of provincial governor. All the leading household officials—the *protovestiaros* (associated in fact with court ceremonial rather than with the wardrobe), the *parakoimomenos* (chamberlain), the palace butler (*pinkernes*), the *protostrator* or *protasekretis*—might be thus seconded away from the court for particular tasks. There was always a considerable overlap in actual duties as the emperor entrusted particular individuals with tasks for which he felt them especially suited (Angold 1975: 151–81; Zakythinis 1975: 90–124; Nicol 1972; Matschke 1971: 38–57, 74–95).

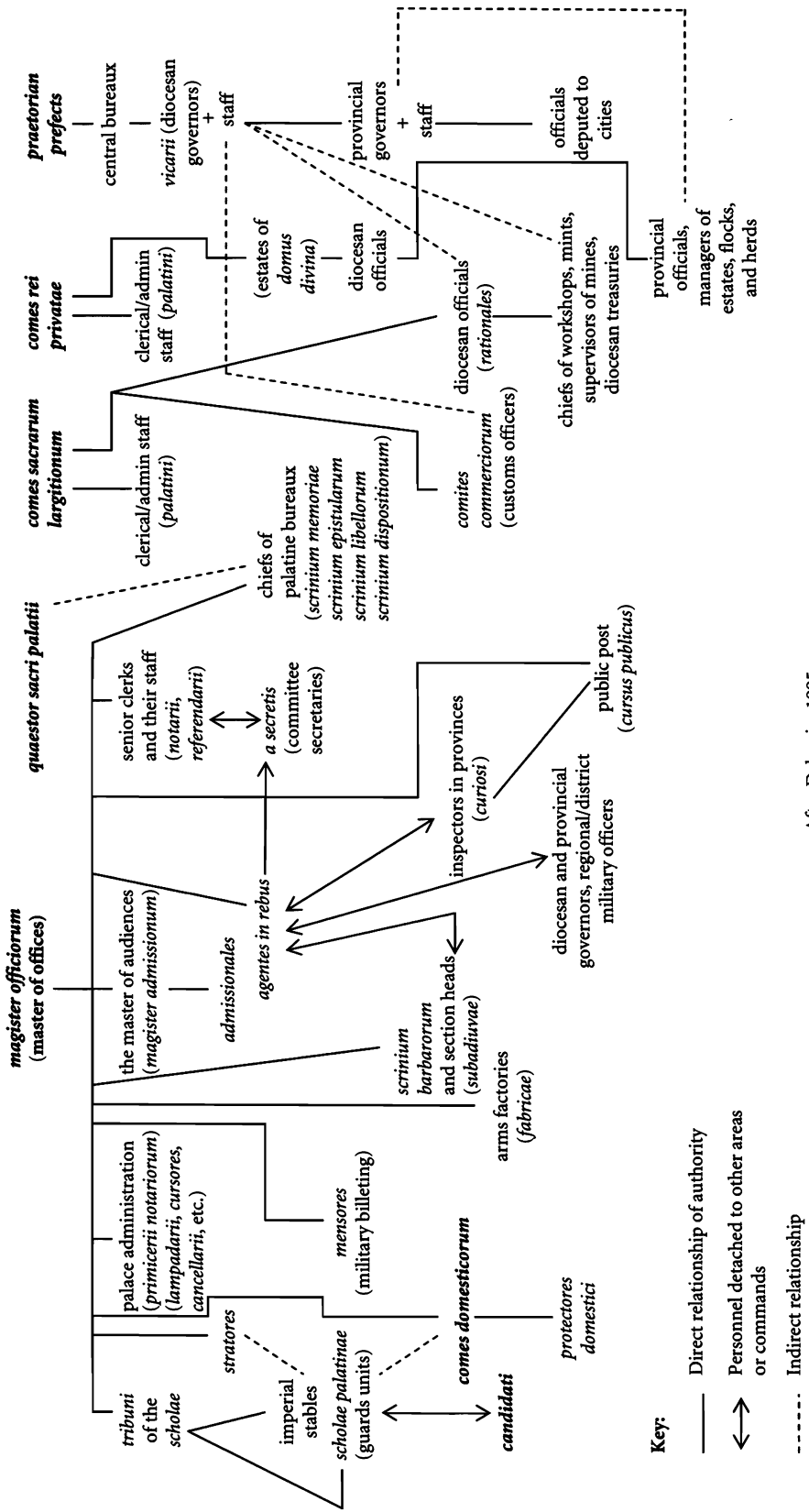


Fig. 1 The imperial and fiscal administration, c.560

After Delmaire 1995

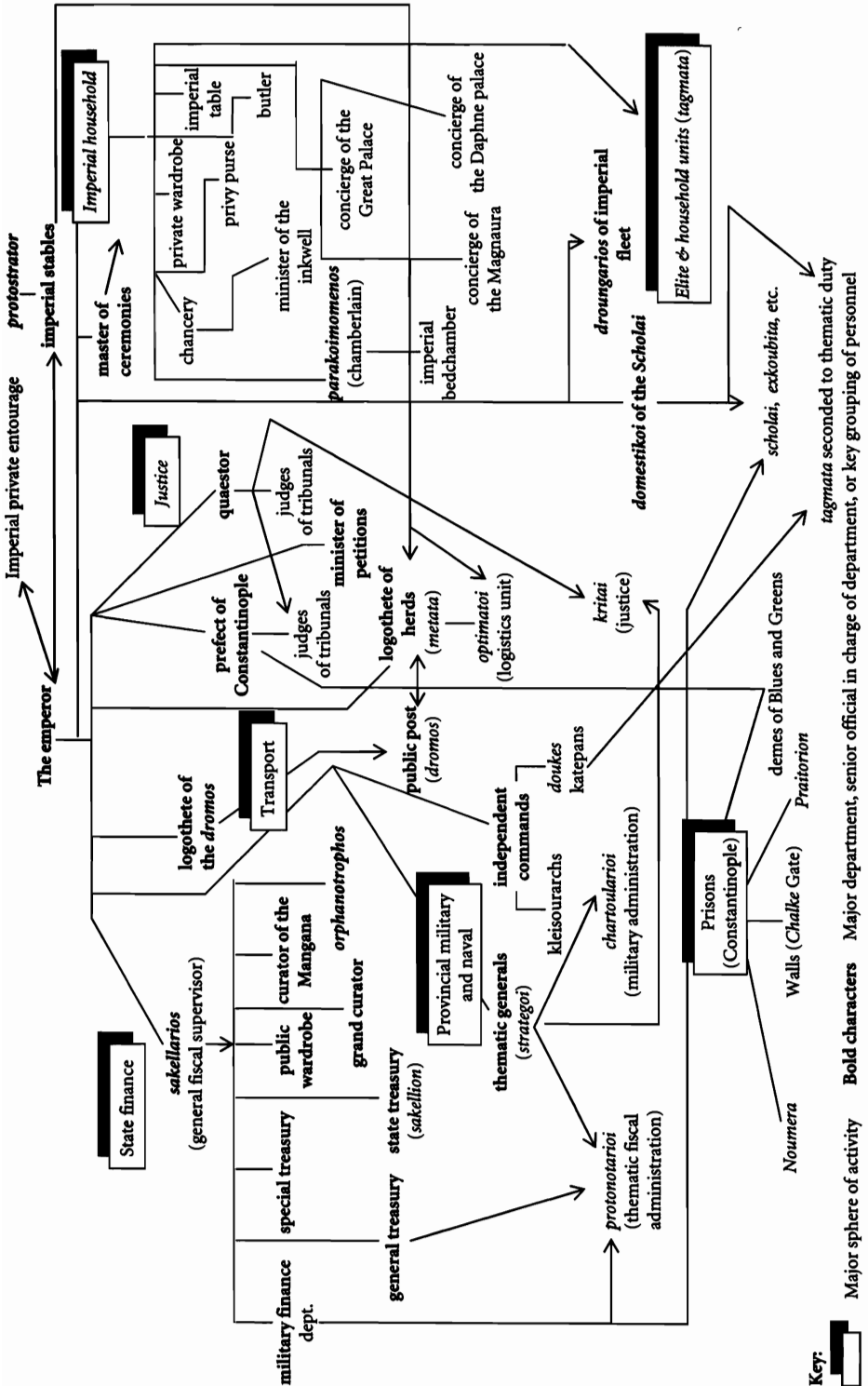


Fig. 3 The imperial administration, c.700-1050

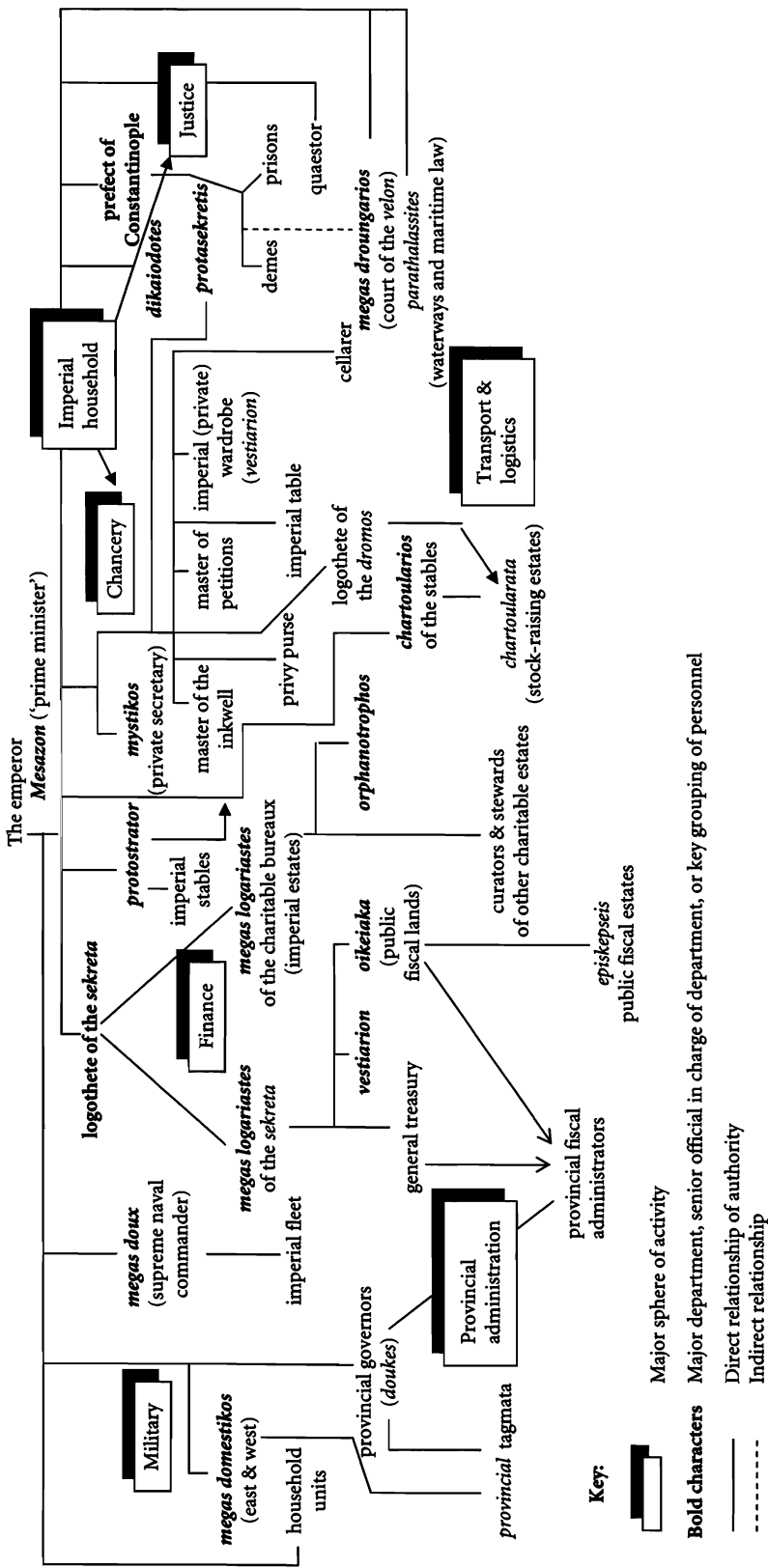


Fig. 4 Court and administration under the Komnenoi and Angeloi, c. 1081–1204

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CHAPTER III.10.2

THE ARMY

JOHN HALDON

THE armies of the fifth and sixth centuries can be divided into two branches: stationary frontier units known as *limitanei* (largely older legions and auxiliary units), and mobile forces, called *comitatenses* (chiefly units established during the later third and fourth centuries). Such formal divisions were somewhat artificial: there was a great deal of cross-posting, while many field units were established in their garrison towns more or less permanently. The mobile forces were grouped into divisions under regional commanders or *magistri militum* ('masters of the soldiers'), each covering a major defensive hinterland, with the *limitanei* placed under their overall authority. In about 600 CE there were eight such major divisions, including two near Constantinople. The *limitanei* were placed under *duces*, and in the 560s there were some twenty-five such commands covering the frontiers and their hinterlands. Naval units for maritime and riverine operations were stationed at key Balkan and Syrian ports, the former part of a special arrangement established by Justinian known as the *quaestura exercitus*, whereby naval and land forces along the Danube were supplied and provisioned from the Aegean region by sea (Dixon and Southern 1996; Elton 1996; Jones 1964: 607–86; Lee 1998; Whitby 2000).

This arrangement evolved out of changes which took place in the third century. It worked fairly successfully until the great war with the Sassanid Persian kingdom from 602 to 626, but failed to resist the pressures which resulted from the early Islamic conquests and the disastrous loss of tax revenue and resources from the eastern provinces between 634 and 642. The government responded by withdrawing the various field armies back into the core territories between 637 and 640, mostly in central and western Asia Minor. There, they were billeted across Asia Minor, and a process was begun whereby the groups of provinces occupied

by each field army came collectively to be known by the name of that army. The field forces themselves were gradually transformed into provincialized militia-like forces, each with a central core of professional soldiers, and their provinces evolved into military regions, known by the ninth century as *themata*, each under a general (*strategos*), who had eventually, by the later ninth century, also a supervisory authority over the civil and fiscal officials in his district. Later *themata* received purely geographical names. The civil administration subsisted in an increasingly altered form until a series of measures to recognize the sort of changes which had occurred was undertaken, and the military and civil/fiscal arrangements were harmonized. The difference between mobile field units and stationary frontier forces vanished.

The process of localization which took place reduced much of the field army in each region to little more than a militia, while scarce resources meant that the government encouraged soldiers with landed property to provide some of their weapons and equipment from their own resources. The result was the evolution by the tenth century of a distinct category of 'military lands', which had a specially protected status and were regarded by the government as the basis for the recruitment of the provincial armies. Thus the armies of the later eighth century and after consisted of several categories of soldier: regular professionals (the core of the thematic forces), the militia-like majority, full-time 'professional' regiments (imperial units or *tagmata*) at Constantinople, foreign mercenaries (Khazars, Kurds, Turks, and others). Imperial naval forces were likewise completely restructured over the same period, with the establishment of several provincial fleets for coastal defence, since Arab warships had begun to pose a serious naval challenge to the empire from the 650s (Haldon 1997: 208–53 and 1999: 79; Whittow 1996: 113–25).

Soldiers were supported by various means. From the fourth until the seventh centuries all units were issued with rations, although from the later fifth century in the East these could be commuted into cash, so that regimental commissaries bought provisions and other needs at local markets or direct from the producers, before issuing them to the soldiers. Mobile units drew supplies from the revenues of the provinces affected by their presence, in return for issuing receipts against the following year's tax demands. These arrangements were made by the administration of the praetorian prefecture, in order that military supplies could be taken into account when making the regular tax assessment. For forces passing through a region, the administration was informed in advance, so that supplies could be provided along the route of march. Equipment, including clothing, as well as mounts and weapons, was provided by levies in kind and from state workshops. There were several arms factories in towns throughout the empire. At the end of the sixth century weapons and clothing could be purchased by the troops with a special cash allowance. Military horses were provided by levy and purchased at fixed prices, some from imperial stud-farms. Supplies such as iron-ore, wood, and charcoal were similarly provided by levy.

The crisis of the second half of the seventh century meant changes to these arrangements. Much of the burden of supporting the armies was transferred directly onto local populations. Cash payments were reduced to a minimum, and troops were largely supported by levying supplies directly from the population in their areas. The wide distribution of soldiers facilitated this, resulting in an increasing dependency on soldiers' households for provisions and even weapons. By the later eighth century, many provincial soldiers were called up for only part of the year. Weapons, military clothing, and mounts and pack-animals continued to be raised by levies. Yet in spite of these shifts the provisioning and supplying of the armies, particularly those on campaign, remained very similar to that operated before the 650s, and by the ninth century it was a shrunken and transformed but still essentially Late Roman structure which operated (Haldon 1999: 139–48).

The structures which evolved during the seventh and eighth centuries are collectively referred to as the 'theme system', although the term *thema* appears in no contemporary source before the early ninth century, the military provinces being referred to generally as 'commands' (*strategiai*). The offensive warfare of the period from the mid-ninth century, however, had important consequences for these arrangements. The thematic militias were not suitable for offensive operations, and so regular field armies with a more complex tactical structure, specialized fighting skills and weapons, and more offensive spirit began to evolve, partly under the direction of a developing elite of provincial landed military officers. Full-time professional units played a growing role as the state began to commute thematic military service for cash payments, which were then used to hire mercenaries. The result was a colourful and international army—remarked on by outside observers—consisting of both indigenous mercenary units as well as Russians, Normans, Turks, and Franks, both infantry and cavalry. Perhaps best-known among these are the famous Varangians (Russian and Scandinavian adventurers and mercenaries), first recruited during the reign of Basil II. Among their most notable leaders was Harald Hardrada, later king of Norway (1046–66) until he met his death at the hands of the English king Harold Godwinsson at the battle of Stamford Bridge in 1066. Harald fought with the Varangians from 1034 until about 1041 (*ODB* 902).

New tactical and strategic command structures evolved. New military districts evolved, beginning with the conversion of former *kleisourai* (small frontier commands) to *themata* along with the incorporation of conquered regions as *themata*, usually quite small and based around key strongholds. As ever larger and militarily more effective detachments of the imperial *tagmata* and similarly recruited mercenary units were established along the frontiers from the 970s, larger commands developed, each under a *doux* or *katepano*, independent of the local thematic administration, forming a screen of provinces protecting the old *themata*. Similar arrangements were established in the Balkan and western provinces (McGeer 1995: 197–224; Haldon 1999: 74–85).

But offensive and successful warfare also had negative results. The overestimation of the empire's military strength and the neglect of defensive arrangements by the central government, as it attempted to neutralize the power of the provincial (military) elite, weakened its capacity to respond flexibly to external threat or attack. The thematic forces faded into insignificance; the mercenary armies began themselves to exploit the political divisions within society and take sides, leading to civil war and the collapse of the defensive structure of the empire. The result was the defeat at Manzikert, the civil wars which followed, and the loss of central Anatolia to Turkic pastoral nomads (Kühn 1991; Haldon 1999: 85–93 and 2003; Vryonis 1971).

Major military and fiscal reforms under the emperors of the Komnenian dynasty after 1081 re-established a properly paid and trained regular army. Foreign mercenary units continued to play a prominent role, but the recruitment of indigenous Byzantine units specializing in a variety of arms restored the ability of the imperial armies to fight external enemies on their own terms. This was partly based on the raising and maintenance of troops through the provision of grants of revenue (*pronoia*) to certain individuals in return for the provision of trained soldiers, both infantry and cavalry. Increasing western influence, in the form of the introduction of weapons such as the crossbow and the adoption of western heavy cavalry tactics, differentiate this period from the preceding century. In respect of strategic management, while the term *thema* was still used, it meant merely 'province', and the system of ducates inherited from the later tenth and eleventh centuries constituted the basic pattern of military commands (Birkenmeier 2001: 30–3; Kühn 1991: 168–9; Haldon 1999: 94–8).

By the end of the reign of Manuel I (1143–80), the restored *themata* of Asia Minor stretched from Trebizond on the south-eastern stretch of the Black Sea coast westwards through Paphlagonia and around the western edges of the central plateau down to Cilicia. The armies based in these regions were under *doukes* who usually held both military and civil authority; while the fortresses and towns were administered by imperial officers called *prokathemenoi* aided or supported by a *kastrophylax*, or 'fortress warden'. The construction and garrisoning of fortresses and the maintenance of a standing army was expensive, however, and proved ultimately too much for the imperial exchequer. As the structural weaknesses within the Komnenian system of administration and rule were revealed following Manuel I's death in 1180, the intervention of the Normans of Sicily in the Balkans, and the Fourth Crusade, finally put an end to any hope of a Byzantine recovery in Asia Minor. Nevertheless, the rulers of the empire of Nicaea built their own system on these Komnenian foundations, and to it they owed much of their success in throwing back and holding the Turkish advance in the region for a while. But the system of *themata* with military units based in them under *doukes* required continuous expenditure, and the Palaiologan emperors could afford it for only a short while. The degree of reliance upon foreign mercenary units depended at first upon the circumstances. The Nicaean emperors had employed considerable numbers of

Latin mercenaries (chiefly cavalry) and this practice certainly continued, although a difference soon appeared between the salaried Latin mercenary troops, on the one hand, and the individual Latin knights granted *pronoia* revenues, on the other. Locally recruited units, both mounted and foot, garrisoned the frontier and other fortresses, were paid a small salary and supported by a variety of fiscal privileges. In the later thirteenth century, the main distinction between the field armies and the provincial garrison troops was that the former were recruited on a mercenary basis or supported by *pronoiai*, whereas the latter were supported primarily through fiscal exemptions. But there is increasing evidence for the decline of the Latin mercenary element and its replacement by Turks, who played a more prominent role thereafter, many of them referred to as *Tourkopouloi*, a term used to refer to the offspring of christianized Turks (Birkenmeier 2001: 156–68; Bartusis 1992: 137–212).

As resources became straitened more and more soldiers of the field armies were supported through *pronoiai*, thus slowly eliminating the distinction between field troops and garrison units. From the later thirteenth century the sources mention various special categories of soldier, employed as soldiers for the revived fleet established under Michael VIII, and distinguished by their conditions of recruitment and service: the *Gasmouloi*, originally persons of mixed Greek and Latin race, were paid as mercenaries; the *Tzakones* or *Lakones*, drawn from the southern Peloponnese, served as light-armed troops on a similar basis. Another group, referred to as *Thelematarioi*, or ‘volunteers’, served on the basis of grants of land given by the emperors, in the region of Constantinople; while the *Prosalentai* appear similarly to have been given lands in certain coastal regions and islands to support their service as oarsmen in the imperial ships.

By the early fourteenth century, the commanders of provincial armies and administration were entitled *kephale*, ‘head’, and the regions they controlled were referred to as *katepanikia*, usually comprising a fortress and its hinterland. The older *doukes* and *prokathemenoi* with their *themata* disappeared as the empire shrank and its territorial structure adjusted and evolved accordingly. The fiscal administration remained independent and under direct central control.

The armies of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries were a motley body: allied soldiers from neighbouring territories, such as Serbs, Bulgars, Alans (the latter from the northern Caucasus), and Cumans (Turks), peasant militias in the provinces serving on the basis of tax exemptions; foreigners who were given land in return for military service (the arrangement by which the Cumans were recruited in the early fourteenth century, for example); foreign mercenary companies, such as the Catalans; and holders of *pronoia* grants of varying size. From the 1320s and especially the 1330s Turkish soldiers from the various allied emirs of Asia Minor were employed in Byzantine campaigns in Europe and, since most of Asia Minor except for a few coastal cities had been lost, the only practicable strategy for the region was one of containment and diplomacy. By the late fourteenth century Turkish ‘allies’

dominated, while the erstwhile Serb and Bulgar allied forces had virtually ceased to operate on the Byzantine side, a change emphasized by the beginnings of the Turkish (Ottoman) occupation of the Balkans, beginning with Gallipoli in the 1350s (Bartusis 1992: 137–90).

The frequent civil wars in the last century of the empire's history served only to drain its resources and make it almost entirely dependent upon foreign armies for its survival and for the authority of the emperors at Constantinople. By the 1360s the imperial forces were counted in hundreds rather than thousands, although the names of some of the older formations still appear in the narrative sources, and it has been assumed that they survived, in a reduced state, until the fall of the capital in 1453. But most 'Byzantine' armies were dominated by Italian or Turkish forces, serving either as allies or mercenaries. The army which fought to defend the capital against the forces of Mehmet II in 1453 was probably typical: some native soldiers, Italians from several cities (Genoa, Venice, and others), Cretans, islanders from Chios. There were perhaps some 7,000–8,000 altogether, of whom possibly as many as 5,000 were Byzantines. All such estimates are based on the often contradictory information given in the sources, many of them eyewitness accounts; but this reasonable estimate gives some idea of the situation of the empire in its last days, bearing in mind the fact that many of the foreigners as well as the Byzantines were effectively serving as volunteers (the Venetians, for example, were present to defend their own quarter and interests) (Bartusis 1992: 120–35, 258–70; Runciman 1965).

The empire's naval forces were relatively limited in the later Roman period. Small flotillas were based along the Danube; there was a fleet based at Ravenna, and a flotilla at Constantinople. The *quaestura* established by Justinian did not survive the changes of the first half of the seventh century, although the Aegean regions continued to be the source of men and ships. In the later seventh century the maritime corps known as the 'ship troops', or *Karabisiarioi*, appears, probably the surviving element of the *quaestura*. In view of the enormous threat posed by Arab sea-power from the 660s, this unit evolved into the central element in the provincial naval power of the middle Byzantine state. A fleet attached to the region of Hellas also evolved, certainly by the 690s. At the same time, the imperial fleet based at Constantinople was probably expanded, and was involved in many actions with Muslim war-fleets from the 650s on, being instrumental in the defeat of the sieges of the period 674–8 and 717/18 (Ahrweiler 1966; Haldon 1997: 212–20; *ODB* 663–4, 1444; Pryor and Jeffreys 2006: 19–34).

As the empire recognized the need for effective fleets, it expanded its naval resources. By about 830, there were three main naval *themata*: of the Aegean, of Samos, and the Kibyrrhaiotai, in addition to the imperial fleet, and the small fleets of Hellas and the Peloponnese. In the west, the loss of Carthage in the 690s and of the North African coast deprived the empire of its naval bases there. Sicily may have continued to support imperial naval activity, and there is a little evidence for

imperial naval activity in the Balearic Islands. But from the late 840s, the Balearics also provided shelter for pirates and raiders, and by the early ninth century the empire seems to have lost interest in the western Mediterranean. The failure adequately to support the fleet when Sicily and then Crete were invaded in the 820s proved costly, since the latter in particular rapidly became the source of constant maritime raids on the empire's coastal lands.

Emperors from the time of Basil II found it cheaper to call upon allies and dependants, such as Venice, to supply warships, than to pay for an expensive standing fleet at Constantinople. The result was that the imperial fleet was considerably reduced in numbers during the eleventh century, while the empire became increasingly dependent on non-Byzantine powers, whose interests were often potentially hostile to those of Byzantium (Pryor and Jeffreys 2006: 34–122).

The imperial navy underwent a brief recovery under Alexios I. After his first few years he reorganized the command structure of the fleet, establishing a new supreme commander—the *megas doux*—and amalgamating the remnants of the provincial fleets and the imperial flotilla at Constantinople. Some effort was spent on re-establishing a respectable imperial naval presence in the Aegean and Adriatic. Special naval impositions on the Aegean islands for the provision of a certain number of warships and sailors, or provisions and supplies in money or in kind, were made to support the imperial fleet. But the emperor Manuel allowed these obligations to be commuted. Mercenary sailors and ships, as well as allies, continued to play a central role, but Manuel's successors allowed the fleet to decay once more. By the end of the twelfth century the empire was helpless against the overwhelming naval force that could be assembled by Venice or the other major maritime Republics of Italy. Only briefly, with a short-lived reform under Michael VIII, was any attempt made to establish once again an independent imperial naval power, but this foundered in the lack of resources from which the empire suffered, compounded in the first half of the fourteenth century by the disastrous civil wars which took place (Ahrweiler 1966; Birkenmeier 2001; Haldon 1999: 79, 94–7; Bartusis 1992: 44–5, 58–61).

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CHAPTER III.10.3

REVENUES AND EXPENDITURE

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UNTIL the last two centuries of the empire's existence, the greater part of the state's income was derived from agrarian and related production. The amount of revenue derived from trade and customs varied by period—it may have been substantial at times, such as during the sixth or eleventh and twelfth centuries, but was always outweighed by revenues generated from agriculture. The exact proportion between these two sources is impossible to assess, for lack of quantifiable data. By the later thirteenth century, however, the territorial shrinkage of the empire gave to trade a greater significance, hence the relative weakness of the Byzantine state in the face of competition for just these resources from, among others, the Italian mercantile cities (Matschke 2002).

A fundamental principle of late Roman and Byzantine taxation was to ensure the maximization of exploitation and hence of revenues. In the later Roman period this had been achieved by a system whereby land registered for taxation but not cultivated was attributed for assessment to neighbouring landlords, a process known as *adiectio steriliium*. Tax was assessed according to a formula tying land—determined by area, quality, and type of crop—to labour power, a formula referred to as the *capitatio-iugatio* system. Land that was not exploited, either by agriculture or for pasturage, was not taxed directly. The tax burden was reassessed at intervals, originally in cycles of five, then of fifteen years, although in practice it took place far more irregularly. The basis for these assessments were cadastral records, which at

least up to the later sixth century and probably beyond facilitated a yearly budget. From the seventh or eighth centuries a number of changes were introduced. Each tax unit was expected to produce a fixed revenue, distributed across the tax-payers, who were as a body responsible for deficits, which they shared. The tax-unit—the community, in effect—was jointly responsible for the payments due from lands that belonged to their tax unit but were not farmed, for whatever reason. Remissions of tax could be requested or bestowed to compensate for such burdens, but if the community took over and farmed the land for which they had been responsible, they had also to pay the deficits incurred by the remission. During the same period, the cities lost their role as crucial intermediaries in the levying of taxation, which was now devolved for the most part upon imperial officials of the provinces and upon the village community, or *chorion*, which represented a fiscal unit in itself (Kaplan 1992: 89 ff., 95–100, 186 ff.; Oikonomides 1996: 24–41, 46–66; Lefort 2002: 279 ff.).

The basic principles of these arrangements, including communal responsibility for untilled land, did not change after the period of transformation in the later seventh century, although the process through which the state met its target income evolved. This included the ending of the connection between the land tax and the poll tax: instead of a combined *capitatio-iugatio* assessment, the land tax, or *kanon*, was now assessed as a separate item, with the replacement for the poll tax, known as the *kapnikon*, or ‘hearth’ tax, raised on each household. These changes may not have happened overnight, and there is no imperial legislation to give us a clue as to when and how they occurred; but they had been completed by the middle of the ninth century, and probably long before (Haldon 1997: 173–207; Brandes 2002; Oikonomides 1996). The middle Byzantine system involved by the tenth century at the earliest accurate records and statements of individual properties. The Byzantine Empire developed one of the most advanced land-registration and fiscal-assessment systems of the medieval world, as well as one of the most sophisticated bureaucracies for administering it.

The regular taxation of land was supplemented by a wide range of extraordinary taxes and *corvées*, including obligations to provide hospitality for soldiers and officials, maintain roads, bridges, fortifications, and to deliver and/or produce a wide range of requirements such as charcoal or wood. These continued unbroken through the middle and later Byzantine periods, although their Latin names were mostly replaced with Greek or Hellenized equivalents. Certain types of landed property were always exempt from many of these extra taxes, in particular the land owned or held by soldiers, and that held by persons registered in the service of the public post, in both cases because they depended to a degree on their property for the carrying out of their duties. In addition fiscal officials exacted a range of often very exorbitant fees from the taxpayers as part of their contract with the government, fees which appear to have multiplied in number and intensity from the tenth century onwards, and which became crippling in the later twelfth century

as the central administration began to fail to pay its officials regularly (Harvey 1989: 102–11; Oikonomides 1996: 76 ff.). Commercial revenues raised in towns and cities could at times be significant but, as we have said, were only at the very end of the empire a match for those derived from agriculture (Harvey 1989: 226–43; Dagron 2002).

Although the basic land tax and the accompanying hearth tax became the fundamental elements of the tax system, it was complicated by the addition of a vast range of extra and incidental impositions: quite apart from the extraordinary taxes in kind or services mentioned already, government tax officials began to add more and more extras to their demands, in the form of fees for their services and demands for hospitality (which could then be commuted for money), so that the system became immensely ramified. By the eleventh century the additional taxes and demands of individual tax-collecting officials often outweighed the regular land tax by a considerable margin. After the 1060s, depreciation of the precious metal coinage combined with bureaucratic corruption led to the near collapse of the system (Harvey 1989: 97–9, 105–14; Oikonomides 1996: 85–121, 143–5; 2002: 1019–26).

Fundamental modifications were not made until the early twelfth century when the emperor Alexios I was forced by inflationary pressures and the complexity and *ad hoc* nature of the old system to introduce important changes. The older charges were rationalized, standard rates were established, and the bureaucracy was trimmed (Morrisson 1979; Harvey 1989: 96–102). But increasingly, as the wealthy and powerful managed to extract exemptions for themselves and their lands from many fiscal burdens, so the weight of the state's demands fell upon an ever more hard-pressed peasantry; thus the social divisions within the empire, which had grown with the evolution of the new, Middle Byzantine elite as it gradually turned itself into an aristocracy of office and birth, became more and more apparent. During the later ninth century the system of communal responsibility for untitled lands was transformed into a system whereby land could be temporarily exempted from taxation, removed from the fiscal district to which it originally belonged and administered separately, or granted special reductions in taxation. Such interventionist measures seem to have been intended to maintain as close a degree of control as possible over fiscal resources in land. Yet over the same period, and in order to retain control over its fiscal base and to compete with the elite and the powerful, the government itself began to transform fiscal land into state lands, so that rents to the government in its capacity as a landlord now became indistinguishable in many respects from taxation. The evolution of *pronoia* during the later eleventh and twelfth centuries (a medium- or longer-term grant of fiscal revenue, normally to support one or more soldiers and their requirements), represented an alternative means of redistributing resources by the government, but also encouraged this overlap (Oikonomides 1996: 153–224; Magdalino 1997; Kaplan 1992: 359–73).

Until the end of the twelfth century the government was able to retain a fairly effective control over fiscal resources (Oikonomides 2002: 990–1019). But

the growth of the aristocracy, which had first challenged the state in the tenth century, continued; it was from members of that elite that the emperors from the later eleventh century were drawn, and whose hold on power was determined largely by their ability to maintain a series of family alliances—through marriage, governorships, and so on—with their peers. After 1204 in particular, the devolution of imperial authority became the chief means by which emperors governed and administered, and through which imperial resources were mobilized. Central taxation—the land tax and its associated impositions—remained the basis of government finance; but as the empire shrank territorially, so commerce came to play a more important role, yet one which was already limited by the strength and dominant position in the carrying trade of Italian merchants and maritime power. The fact that the *kommerkion* (customs duty) on trade was, by the end of the empire, more important a source of income than the land tax, illustrates the insoluble problem faced by the emperors of the last century of Byzantium (Maksimović 1988; Oikonomides 2002: 1026–39).

By the later thirteenth century the land tax was raised on the basis of a flat rate, assessed at regular intervals, but modified in accordance with local conditions and other factors, while the tax on labour power had reappeared as an imposition on individual peasant tenants and their households. Supplementary taxes and impositions continued to be raised, some of them devolved onto landlords, for example, and many of them designated for specific types of government expenditure or to cover the expenses of particular state requirements, such as the hiring of mercenary forces or the paying of tribute to foreign powers. In one case, in the Peloponnese during the first half of the fifteenth century, taxes introduced by the Ottomans, who had controlled the region for some sixteen years after 1404, were retained by the Byzantine administration which took over, so that Islamic taxation terms appear in a Byzantine context: *ushr* (tithe) and *haradj* (land tax), for example (Laiou-Thomadakis 1977: 158–82; Oikonomides 2002: 1033–9).

Calculating revenues is a very difficult business. One estimate for the eastern empire in the sixth century, including the North African and Italian prefectures, puts the total income in cash at about 5–6 million *solidi*, much of this drawn from Egypt and the eastern prefecture. Recent work suggests a really dramatic collapse after the loss of the eastern provinces in the middle of the seventh century, down to less than 1.5 million *solidi* and rising only gradually to about 3 million or a little above by the middle of the ninth century (Hendy 1985: 157–73, with 173–201; Morrisson 2002: 936–46 with table 6). Recovery was thus very slow, lasting well into the ninth century. By the middle of the twelfth century it had risen again—although Anatolia was only partially under imperial control—to something around 60 per cent of the sixth-century total; and after the loss of more territory, by the mid-fourteenth century it was down again to less than 25 per cent of this sum. These are, of course, extremely crude estimates, subject to a large number of caveats. In addition we must calculate in the fluctuating value of resources extracted in kind

and in labour through various state *corvées*, for example, the proportion of which to cash revenues must have risen considerably after the middle of the seventh and into the middle of the eighth century, even if it then subsided again. These figures are, inevitably, subject to very considerable qualification, and represent only what can be calculated, sometimes very crudely, from a combination of evidence from the die analysis of coins and the rate of production, textual references, and mathematical modelling of economic indicators for pre-industrial economic systems.

By the same token a calculation of imperial expenditures is equally hazardous, although there is no doubt that for much of the period between the reigns of Justin II and Basil II the army and related military costs swallowed up the largest part of the state's annual income in one form or another, at an absolute minimum some 35 per cent—probably much more—in the sixth century, and an even greater proportion in the reduced circumstances of the seventh and eighth centuries (Hendy 1985: 158–9, 168–72; Oikonomides 2002: 1010–16). The court spent money on building activity, largesse to the army, and subsidies to neighbouring or more distant states, in the last case often very substantial sums. For example, Hugh of Provence, the king of Italy, was paid some 7,200 *nomismata* in cash, quite apart from gifts of silks and plate, to support imperial interests against Lombard rebels there in 935–6; throughout the empire's history the court paid out substantial amounts in gold or silver to foreign rulers, particularly leaders of nomad peoples, for support or neutrality, as the evidence of coin hoards datable to the later seventh and eighth centuries from the steppe and the region north and north-west of the Danube suggests (Oikonomides 2002: 1016; Laiou 2002: 692 ff.; Curta 2005). It also invested in the complex system of *rogai* or state pensions tied to the ranks and titles of the palatine hierarchy—it has been calculated plausibly that the bill for the salaries of the leading 60 imperial officials at court and in the provinces in the tenth century amounted to some 60,000–80,000 *nomismata* per annum, to which must be added a sum possibly two–three times greater for the *rogai* attached to imperial titles (Oikonomides 2002: 1010 ff.). While the acquisition of landed wealth was always important, many members of the elite, with the exception of a few important families in the metropolitan area, depended heavily on the very considerable sums they received in the form of salaries in gold coin and precious silks. This reflected the nature of the centralized imperial political hierarchy and the cultural domination of the court and palace, as well as a range of other factors—such as the fact that during the later seventh–ninth centuries substantial districts even in the well-defended inner provinces were subject to hostile and economically disruptive activity, so that the returns on investment in land were not always promising. The emperor Nikephoros I rewarded Michael (later Michael II) and Leo (later Leo V) for betraying Bardanes Tourkos with senior military posts and the grant of some imperial estates (Kaplan 2006a). The annual salary attached to senior military and civil positions ranged from 10 to as much as 40 lb of gold, in coin, per annum, so that very substantial fortunes in liquid assets could be amassed

over a relatively short period. Liudprand of Cremona remarked on the vast sums carried off by various senior officials on the occasion of the annual payment of state salaries before Easter, many of whom needed the assistance of servants to take their gold away. Those of the rank of *magistros* received 24 lb of gold coin, *patrikioi* received 12 lb of gold each, and so on down to the lowest-ranking, who received just 1 lb of gold coin. Whether or not Liudprand's figures are accurate, a list of salaries for imperial military governors gives similar indications of the size of such incomes, although we should also bear in mind that the thematic *strategoi* of Asia Minor and the southern Balkan territories, who received *rogai* or salaries ranging from 10 lb to 40 lb in gold coin per annum had also to pay for their retinues and households from this sum (Oikonomides 1997: 202–3). From the early tenth century the sale of honorific titles was regularized, but eventually became too expensive to maintain: the situation became so bad that under Alexios I the *roga* attached to imperial honorific titles was abolished (Oikonomides 1997: 207–8).

Then came the costs of the annual payments to the various provincial armies for the soldiers, their officers and staffs, and associated support, which were considerable. In the early ninth century the pay of the Armeniakon theme amounted to some 93,600 *nomismata*; for the theme of Macedonia it amounted to some 79,200 *nomismata*. There were at this time at least twelve such military provinces, albeit of very different extent (the Armeniakon and Anatolikon regions were certainly two of the largest and most costly), but this nevertheless indicates the nature of the expense incurred in their maintenance. In addition there were centrally maintained units, *tagmata*, mercenary units paid substantially more per person than the provincial armies, although at first these were quite limited in numbers. To this must then be added the costs of the remaining bureaucratic and administrative departments of the government in Constantinople and in the provinces, alongside the incidental costs they would have attracted as part of their regular running requirements (Hendy 1985: 181–201). To the regular costs of maintaining the army and the imperial fleet should then be added that of a range of (quite frequent) expeditionary forces, and these were often very expensive additional burdens on the treasury and on the population—the expeditions to Syria in 910–11 and to Crete in 949 cost something over 203,000 *nomismata* and 127,000 *nomismata* respectively, and these are minimal figures in both cases. Other expeditions cost even more, such as that against the Normans of Sicily in 1155, which required an additional 2,160,000 *hyperpera* (Hendy 1985: 221–3).

Few emperors were known to have built up substantial reserves. Theophilos is supposed to have left just under 7 million *nomismata*, and Basil II over 14 million, but much of the latter derived from loot in the eastern campaigns and in Bulgaria, from confiscations, and from tribute exacted from neighbouring protectorates (Oikonomides 2002: 1016–18). For the most part the state's income was more or less balanced by its outgoings, although again we must bear in mind the substantial amount of wealth that it consumed directly in the form of supplies for the army on

campaign, the functioning of the *dromos* or state courier and transport service, and various services exacted in kind, mentioned above—road and bridge maintenance, the production of certain types of weapon such as arrowheads, or of equipment such as nails and cut wood for the fleet, and so forth.

None of these considerations takes into account the gross ‘national product’ of the empire, of course. Considerable revenues were taken by private individuals and institutions such as monasteries and the Church. Furthermore, it must not be forgotten, first, that the state’s income was only a part of the total amount of wealth generated through agriculture, trade, and industry; and that, in the second place, the state’s economy remained in many respects separate from, if not independent of, the economic activities of the society at large (Hendy 1985; Morrisson 2002; Laiou 2002; Oikonomides 2002).

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III.11. THE CHURCH

CHAPTER III.11.1

STRUCTURES AND ADMINISTRATION

MICHAEL ANGOLD

MICHAEL WHITBY

BISHOPS were the linchpin for ecclesiastical administration which had, between 100 and 500 CE, somewhat haphazardly developed to produce both an empire-wide hierarchy which supervised religious activities in individual cities, provinces, and dioceses, and an administrative underpinning which performed the various tasks that increasingly fell to the Church (see also III.9.3 Clergy, monks, and laity). A bishop's community was almost invariably based in a city. In theory he was originally chosen by this community, but ordination required participation by neighbouring bishops so that in due course the Christian hierarchy of the province had a say; from the fourth century a province's senior bishop, usually the 'metropolitan' of the provincial capital, might have a right of confirmation; as a superstructure of patriarchates emerged these claimed certain powers to appoint metropolitans. The network of bishops spread at different speeds in different areas, but by the end of the fourth century it closely mirrored the secular urban structure on which imperial administration depended. For cities with exceptionally large territories, for example Caesarea in Cappadocia, the urban bishop was supported by 'country-bishops', *chorepiskopoi*; occasionally substantial villages and military establishments would also receive their own bishop (Jones 1964). The Slav and Arab invasions of the seventh century considerably reduced the numbers of sees as urban life contracted.

Bishops were responsible for leading the worship of their communities; this involved the interpretation of Scripture to resolve disputes and, above all, regular preaching. The Church's duties to virgins, widows, strangers, the poor and weak gave bishops responsibility for a patronage machine whose power increased as the wealth of the Church grew once Constantine had permitted it to receive bequests and given the lead with substantial donations in Rome (Brown 1992). These duties were sufficiently important for the emperor Julian to attempt to create a pagan counterpart based on his new provincial high-priests. Bishops acquired substantial local influence, often with the ability to mobilize large bands of supporters, but they also maintained good relations with potential benefactors, that is, the richest members of society; the complexities of these relationships are illustrated in hagiography, for example, in the *Life of John the Almsgiver*. Constantine had also granted bishops considerable judicial powers and, although subsequent emperors limited the rights of referral to episcopal courts, this became a major element in bishops' public duties (Drake 2002): their judgments were expected to be incorruptible, there was no right of appeal, and they could apply Roman imperial law with discretion to achieve compromise (Giardina 2000). In particular the Church secured the right to discipline its own members (*Cod. Theod.* xvi.2.47), a privilege which emperors had to work around when dealing with a problematic cleric.

Episcopal responsibilities expanded as the secular structures of cities waned and bishops were increasingly co-opted into the running of the empire. As substantial local landowners, bishops were involved in the appointment and monitoring of civic officials, implementing regulations, for example on buildings, protecting their communities against imperial officials, and financing public works (Liebeschuetz 1990, 2001). In many places bishops became the *de facto* leader of their community in all matters, the person who petitioned the emperor for tax relief, organized food supplies after a famine or ravaging by enemies, negotiated with invading leaders to purchase protection or ransom captives, sustained local morale in crises through displays of relics or the conduct of special services, even organized the military defence of their city, and, *in extremis*, led their flocks into exile or captivity. Usually episcopal activities coincided with imperial interests, but when or where an emperor's authority was weak a bishop's initiative might conflict: in 478 the bishop of Thessalonike was entrusted with the city's keys after the inhabitants suspected that the emperor Zeno intended to quarter Goths in the city, while at Asemus in 592 the bishop prevented Emperor Maurice's brother Peter from incorporating the local garrison into his army.

A bishop's range of duties conditioned the choice of person; the right decision was important, since it was difficult to remove an incumbent. Holiness and other religious qualities were not disregarded, but the job might not appeal to those committed to ascetic ideals, as was the case with Jacob of Nisibis, who was concerned about interference to his regime. If an ascetic succumbed to pressure to accept ordination the results might be unfortunate: Theodore of Sykeon found it impossible to

reconcile Christian ideals with the realities of financial administration. Education was an asset for preaching and other public duties, which meant that most bishops were drawn from the social elite (Brown 1992). In large sees the administrative experience and social contacts of a senior secular official sometimes commended themselves: Ambrose of Milan was provincial governor at the time of his election, and the *comes Orientis* Ephrem of Amida owed his appointment to the see of Antioch to his efficient performance of relief work after the massive earthquake of 527. The wealth and power controlled by leading bishops made their positions desirable: the pagan Praetextatus quipped, 'Make me bishop of Rome and I will become a Christian tomorrow', at Alexandria Theophilus ensured the succession of his nephew Cyril, while in Gaul Gregory of Tours had widespread episcopal connections through both his parents. Simony was an issue which councils had to prohibit in the fifth century. In smaller provincial cities such prominent people would not be available, but bishops were probably still drawn from the local elite. Translation between sees was prohibited, so that there was no episcopal career structure but one avenue to emerge was elevation from within the bishop's entourage: a cell-mate (*synkellos*), treasurer (*skeuphyllax*), or other administrative official (*oikonomos*) had insight into episcopal business as well as personal contacts to influence elections (Hunt 1998).

In large cities a substantial supporting staff was needed for the performance of the varied episcopal duties: at Apamea in 518 a petition against the bishop was signed by 77 clergy (ACO III: 106; 17 priests, 42 deacons, 3 subdeacons, and 15 readers). The most important cities were serviced by massive establishments: in 535 Justinian legislated to reduce clerical numbers in Constantinople, and Hagia Sophia and three associated churches were limited to 485 (Justinian, *Nov.* III.1: 60 priests, 100 deacons, 90 subdeacons, 110 readers, 25 singers, and 100 doorkeepers, with 40 deaconesses in addition): the capital also had 800 *decani* (deacons), supplied and financed by a list of tax-exempt shops, who provided free burial (Justinian, *Nov.* LIX). The *parabalani* of Alexandria, grave-diggers, hospital workers, and other attendants notorious for their violent support for their bishops, were restricted to 600 in 418 (*Cod. Theod.* XVI.2.43). The Church's charitable works needed overseers for hospitals and hostels, which might be complex economic operations, while bishops' legal duties involved notaries to keep records and lawyers (*scholastici*) to present cases or act as advisers. More clergy were employed outside the episcopal church: at Edessa in 451 Bishop Ibas claimed to have more than 200 clergy, of whom only 71 were certainly attached to his own church with the rest presumably servicing other churches in the city (ACO II.1: 386, 394–6). Small sees will have had many fewer clergy, proportionate to local population, the size of the territory, and wealth, but we have no figures (Jones 1964).

Financing these operations required considerable resources. In 546 Justinian established six categories of bishopric (excluding the patriarchates) according to the bishop's stipend, with the bands ranging from over 30 pounds of gold to under

2: as bishop of Anastasiopolis, a small see in Galatia, Theodore of Sykeon received over 5 pounds, equivalent to a good salary for an educated professional (*Vita Theod. Syk.* 78). Bishops of poor sees depended on support from their metropolitan or patriarch, which helped to ensure their allegiance. Larger cities were commensurately wealthy: in the 520s the annual revenue of the Church at Ravenna was about 160 pounds of gold (Agnellus (ed. Neurath) 60), while John the Almsgiver supposedly found 8,000 pounds in the Alexandrian treasury in the early seventh century (*Vita Io. El.* 45). Bishops could enjoy incomes comparable to those of provincial governors and senior officials, though in the poorest sees clerical staff might have to work to supplement their pay; rural clergy were undoubtedly very poor, like the congregations they served. Clergy benefited from immunity from taxation and service on local councils (this became a punishment for certain clerical misdemeanours), while church properties were also exempt so that the Church did affect the secular tax base.

Before Constantine it had been normal for bishops in a region to meet regularly to discuss matters of doctrine, discipline, and organization. This practice was confirmed at Nicaea in 325, when two meetings of bishops per year were specified in each province. These gatherings, which served to regulate episcopal disputes and confirm new appointments, enhanced the authority of the metropolitan bishop in each province, since meetings were held in his city. Provinces were grouped into dioceses, following the secular organization, and a superstructure of superior bishoprics, the future patriarchates, received formal recognition at Nicaea. In the third century the bishop of Rome achieved pre-eminence in Italy, Alexandria controlled Egypt, while Antioch and Carthage had some superiority in Oriens and Africa. The sixth canon of Nicaea confirmed the rights of the bishop of Alexandria, citing as parallels Rome and Antioch (Chadwick 1998).

This ruling led to considerable controversy, since Constantinople did not yet exist in 325 but obviously required recognition once its survival as imperial capital was ensured, and Jerusalem was not yet accepted as the holy city. In the fourth century Jerusalem struggled to evade control by the provincial metropolitan at Caesarea; judicious involvement in imperial politics, exploitation of its attractions as a site of imperial religious patronage, and the growing stream of pilgrims all helped its case (Hunt 1982). At Chalcedon in 451 separate jurisdictions in Oriens were agreed for Jerusalem and Antioch. The case of Constantinople was harder, since its ambitions were greater. At the Council of Constantinople in 381 the eastern capital was given a primacy second only to that of Old Rome, with authority over Church affairs in the adjacent secular dioceses of Thrace, Pontica, and Asiana. This was confirmed at Chalcedon by the 28th canon, which successive popes refused to recognize though it came to be accepted throughout the East (Allen 2000). Because of its attachment to the imperial capital, patriarchs of Constantinople began to use the epithet *ecumenical*, a practice which popes interpreted as a challenge to their universal superiority and so energetically resisted

(Hall 2000). Support for Nicene arrangements was often a covert means to attack Constantinople.

The notion of Roman primacy developed gradually, being helped by the accidents of doctrinal disputes. Bishops of Rome claimed superiority as heirs to Peter and even before Constantine had received requests to adjudicate on disputes. The Arian controversy provided a considerable boost, since Athanasios, on being expelled from Alexandria by the Arianizing emperor Constantius, took refuge in the West and appealed for support to Julius of Rome. Against this background the Council of Serdica in 343 proclaimed the universal appellate jurisdiction of Rome, and condemned attempts to involve secular powers in ecclesiastical business (Barnes 1993). At Chalcedon in 451 the endorsement of Pope Leo's Tome was another triumph for Rome's authority in doctrinal deliberations; subsequent eastern disquiet about the Council's formula also involved confronting the Pope's claims to supremacy (Allen 2000).

The ecclesiastical importance of Rome lent urgency to the efforts of eastern rulers to control the old capital. Justinian briefly reasserted authority, but from the late sixth century emperors could rarely dictate to popes. In the East a comparable issue of church hierarchies beyond imperial control emerged from the Christological disputes of the fifth century. Nestorians, banished from the empire as heretics, consolidated their position in Sassanid Iran with their own network of bishops and councils under the leadership of a *Katholikos*, who was based at Ctesiphon and appointed by the king (Herrin 1987). In the mid-sixth century Monophysites within the empire gradually established a separate episcopal hierarchy, which controlled most of Egypt and Armenia and much of Oriens (Frend 1972). Acceptance of Chalcedon came to be seen as a sign of loyalty to the empire: Chosroes II permitted Nestorians and Monophysites to retain their property in Roman cities which he captured but expropriated that of Chalcedonians; after the Arab conquests followers of Chalcedon were termed 'Melkites', king's men.

In their broad outlines the administrative structures of the Byzantine Church as systematized under Justinian survived without radical change down to the end of the Byzantine Empire. This was testimony both to Justinian's administrative and legislative abilities and to the Church's ability to adapt to changing circumstances. Justinian saw to it that the structures of the Church were established by imperial legislation (Meyendorff 1968). In his famous preamble to Novel VI Justinian enunciated an ideal of harmony between emperor and priesthood, for he singled out prayer for the spiritual wellbeing of Christian society as the latter's prime duty, while the protection of the Church was the most serious of imperial responsibilities. This meant in practice that the administrative structures of the Church came under imperial supervision. It is for this reason that the term 'Caesaropapism' has been coined to describe the Byzantine emperor's role in ecclesiastical affairs. This has been the subject of continuing debate between those who reject the notion, because it does not do justice to the spiritual autonomy of the Byzantine Church, and those

who defend its validity on the practical grounds that the Byzantine Church was largely regulated through imperial legislation (Dagron 2003). By the twelfth century the emperors had taken the title of *epistemonarches* or regulator of the Church. By doing so they made clear that the ultimate responsibility for the organization of the Church lay with them (Angold 1995). The assumption of this title was not a claim to decide matters of faith. This in the end was the work of a council of the Church, which, it has to be added, was presided over by the emperor or his representative. As an institution the Byzantine Church enjoyed relatively little autonomy before the fourteenth century. The final choice of a patriarch lay with the emperor, who was able to depose patriarchs at will.

When in the early seventh century the patriarch Sergios (610–38) reorganized the personnel of the patriarchal church, it required imperial approval in the shape of a novel of 612 issued by the emperor Herakleios (610–41). It fixed the staff of Hagia Sophia at 80 priests, 150 deacons, 40 deaconesses, 70 subdeacons, 160 readers, 25 cantors, and 100 ushers. Their main function was to mount the lavish round of church services celebrated at Hagia Sophia. In addition to these there were supernumerary positions, filled by the administrative rank and file, 88 in total. There is not yet any mention of the major officers of the patriarchal church. It seems to have still been a question of groups delegated to deal with particular functions. Hagia Sophia had, for example, nine *oikonomoi*, with a large subordinate staff. At some stage these would be placed under the Grand *Oikonomos*, who was responsible for the administration of the incomes and property of Hagia Sophia. It soon became an imperial and not a patriarchal appointment. Next in seniority was another imperial appointee—the Grand *skeuophylax*, who was the treasurer of the patriarchal church. At the head of the patriarchal notaries was the *chartophylax*, yet another imperial appointment. Control of the archives and notarial organization, numbering some forty members in 612, gave the *chartophylax* both power and responsibility (see also III.9.3 Clergy, monks, and laity). Another distinct group within the patriarchal administration were the *ekdikoi*, created by Justinian to run the ecclesiastical tribunal known as the *ekdikion*. By the seventh century they were headed by the *protekdikos*. The patriarchal administration therefore evolved into a series of bureaux each with its own head. The precedence and hierarchical ranking of these officers within the patriarchal church was formally recognized in the eleventh century. The *protekdikos* was finally included in their number at the end of the twelfth century. It reflected the growing importance that ecclesiastical justice had assumed by that time. Among the other responsibilities of the tribunal over which he presided was dealing with those who had sought asylum in the Great Church (Macrides 1988).

The chief officers of the patriarchal church were *ex officio* members of the *Endemousa Synodos* or patriarchal synod. Its membership was otherwise increasingly restricted to the metropolitan bishops and autocephalous archbishops. Its origins certainly go back to the mid-fifth century when the term is first attested.

Most important matters relating to the Church were likely to come before it. It served as a court of appeal, but for a long time it met only on an extraordinary basis. By the eleventh century, however, it had become a more or less permanent body (Hajjar 1962). This produced considerable problems. Only those metropolitan bishops of sees situated relatively close to Constantinople could hope to attend its sessions on a regular basis. Very often these metropolitan bishops also enjoyed precedence at the imperial court. It meant that a group of 'political' prelates with strong connections to Constantinople began to form an elite within the Church which dominated the patriarchal synod. It also meant that the synod was able to deal with a great deal more judicial business than had been the case in the past. As a result, the boundaries between ecclesiastical and imperial justice started to become blurred (Tiftixoglu 1969). This was very clearly the case with marriage suits. In the past, such cases were more likely to be dealt with by the imperial courts. In the eleventh century they passed increasingly to the ecclesiastical courts. Patriarchs began to legislate on marriage law (Angold 1995).

It was left to Alexios I Komnenos to deal with the uncertainties that were the result of overlapping jurisdictions. He reclaimed marriage law as an item of imperial legislation, but agreed that cases involving marriage would normally go to the ecclesiastical courts. He took charge of heresy cases. He intervened in the organization of the patriarchal church. He defined the rights and responsibilities of the *chartophylax*, who was recognized as the patriarch's deputy (Nicole 1894). In 1107 he proceeded to a reform of the patriarchal clergy. He thought that they had failed in their duty to carry out their pastoral duties among the people of the capital, whence the serious outbreaks of heresy. He gave his approval to the creation of an order of preachers (*didaskaloi*) attached to Hagia Sophia. In the provinces, it was the duty of the bishop to see to the pastoral needs of his flock (Gautier 1973).

It is not clear that an order of preachers ever materialized. The danger from heresy soon passed. Instead, these preachers became teachers. A series of teaching posts was created within the patriarchal church at the head of which was the *didaskalos* of the Gospels. The intention was in all likelihood to improve the quality of the patriarchal clergy. Before this initiative there is no sign that the patriarchal church had an educational function. The purpose of the creation of these teaching posts was in the first instance pastoral, but increasingly their holders were expected to compose speeches to celebrate patriarchal and imperial occasions. There can be little doubt that the creation of the *didaskaloi* strengthened the organization of the patriarchal church (Angold 1995).

A teaching position often opened up the path to preferment. It occasionally led to one of the great offices of the patriarchal church or more frequently to a bishopric. It is noticeable that in the twelfth century the holders of the most important metropolitan sees were more likely than not to have been drawn from the patriarchal clergy. This is not exactly new. Examples can be cited earlier.

Many of the bishops about whom we have any detailed information were educated in Constantinople, even if they had not served in the patriarchal administration. It was one of the facts of Byzantine history that the most important positions in Church and State were usually in the hands of a small elite, but entry into that elite depended on a good secondary education which could only be had for much of the history of Byzantium at Constantinople (see also III.17.2 Education).

The number of bishops varied from period to period. At the Council of Hieria in 754 there were 338 bishops present; at the second council of Nicaea in 787 it was about 365; in 869–70 approximately 100, but in 879–80 there were 383. In other words, the number of active bishops in the eighth and ninth centuries fluctuated between 300 and 400. No systematic study of the origins and careers of Byzantine bishops as a group has been undertaken. The pointers suggest that it was only the most important sees to which members of the Constantinopolitan elite were appointed. But even where relatively full lists of bishops can be compiled over a century or more it still remains very difficult to establish any pattern of episcopal family backgrounds.

The framework of the episcopal organization of the Byzantine Church is set out in a series of documents known today as *Notitiae Episcopatum* (Darrouzès 1981). At least twenty-one survive, ranging in date from that of the Ps.-Epiphanius from the seventh century to one that is post-1453. They are normally arranged by metropolitan sees, which formed a hierarchy with Cappadocian Caesarea at the top. Under each metropolitan see were arranged the suffragan bishoprics. Sometimes included were the autocephalous archbishoprics, such as Cyprus, established at the end of the fifth century, and Bulgaria, established by Basil II in 1018. Used with caution these lists provide a guide to the changes in episcopal organization. Until the Turkish conquests of the eleventh century they show that the churches of Anatolia retained their preponderance (Hendy 1985: maps 20–3). Its metropolitan sees dominated the upper ranks of the hierarchy of churches and they had a greater concentration of suffragan bishoprics. In other words, the episcopal organization survived the Arab invasions of the seventh to ninth centuries intact. This was all the more impressive because the invasions coincided with a decline in urban life. Often all that remained of a great city of antiquity was the episcopal core. The position in the European provinces was different. Although largely peaceful, the Slav penetration of much of the region meant that the episcopal organization lapsed. Only a few centres, such as Thessalonike and Athens, have a continuous existence as metropolitan sees. The church of Patras, originally a suffragan of Corinth, seems to have survived the period of Slav migrations and was raised to metropolitan status at the beginning of the ninth century, as part of the restoration of Byzantine control. Over the next two centuries the ecclesiastical organization in the European provinces was re-established (Hendy 1985: map 15). A feature was the creation of bishoprics for Slav tribes, but most often the bishopric had a fixed centre, which might or might

not develop urban characteristics. With the exception of Thessalonike the European sees ranked behind their Anatolian counterparts. They were poorer and had fewer suffragans. For example, even Thessalonike only had twelve suffragans (the average was far lower), while Ephesos had thirty-eight and Sardis twenty-five. The Anatolian churches were also a great deal richer. However, this all changed with the Turkish settlements of the eleventh and twelfth centuries. While the ecclesiastical organization remained intact along the west coast, inland sees had to be amalgamated. This was a process that continued in the fourteenth century, when the Turks eventually established themselves along the western coasts of Anatolia. The centre of gravity moved decisively to the European provinces. For a time the establishment of the Latin Empire (1204–61) looked as though it would pose a serious threat to the predominance of the European sees because their Orthodox occupants either left or were driven out to be replaced by Latins. However, the Byzantine recovery of Constantinople meant that the ecclesiastical framework was effectively restored.

Each bishop had his own administration modelled roughly on that of the patriarchal church. The local notarial organization was attached to the episcopal church. They came under a *primmikerios*, who was one of the most important of the episcopal officers. Notaries were appointed by the bishop to act at a local level. This was usually for a village, but occasionally it was for a division of the see known as an *enoria*, which loosely equates to a parish. However, the Byzantine Church never evolved a parish system on a scale comparable to the Latin West (Beck 1959). There are churches that are referred to as *ekklēsiai katholikai*, which were roughly equivalent to parish churches, but they are a feature of the great cities rather than the countryside. There was less need for a system of parish churches in Byzantium because on the whole the bishoprics covered a much smaller area than was normally the case in the West. Suffragan bishoprics were often established in what was little more than a village, resembling somewhat the minsters of the Anglo-Saxon Church. The priests were normally attached to the bishopric rather than to a particular church or location. The lack of a parish system will explain why there was a proliferation of private and estate churches to meet the spiritual needs of particular areas.

Episcopal finances are a mystery. Perhaps the most important source of revenues derived from landed and house property. The Byzantine Church never developed a system of tithes, but there were customary payments from the laity to the bishop known as *kanonikon*. This was turned into a fixed payment in the middle of the eleventh century by the emperor Isaac I Komnenos and was justified, in the same way as tithes, as analogous with the Old Testament payment of first-fruits. There was considerable resistance to the payment of a fixed tax and it soon reverted to a customary payment. The clergy also had to pay a *kanonikon* to the bishop, which was fixed at one *nomisma*. The bishop was also entitled to a series of fees for ordination, fixed at one *nomisma* for a reader and three for

both a deacon and a priest. He was also entitled to marriage fees (Papagianne 1986). The major metropolitan sees were relatively wealthy, but the general run of Byzantine bishoprics were, when compared with their Western counterparts, decidedly poor. The status and standard of living of the clergy was correspondingly low and in many respects they were scarcely distinguishable from the peasantry. Their holdings were often attached to the bishopric, which placed them in the same dependent relationship as any peasant with his lord. An ill-considered piece of legislation from the mid-twelfth century exempted priests from the payment of taxes and services to the state. There was a rush to claim priestly status, which led to the establishment of a fixed number of priests able to claim exemption. These came to form a local elite, rather richer than the general run of the peasantry (Angold 1995).

Monasteries had a place apart in the organization of the Byzantine Church (see also III.11.5 Monasticism and monasteries). As a rule, monasteries were small, poor, and ephemeral, but there were a number—often in or around Constantinople—that were powerful, rich, and long-lived. The monastery of St John Stoudios, for example, was founded in the middle of the fifth century and enjoyed a continuous history down to the fall of Constantinople in 1453 (Janin 1969). At the Council of Chalcedon (451) monasteries were placed under the authority of the local bishop. In practice, the richest and most powerful monasteries were able to elude episcopal supervision. They obtained imperial and patriarchal privileges that protected their autonomy. Among the most interesting developments was the appearance of Holy Mountains. The earliest to gain prominence was Bithynian Olympos (Janin 1975). Its monasteries were centres of resistance to the iconoclast emperors in the eighth and ninth centuries, but they never evolved into a monastic confederation, unlike Mt Athos (Bryer and Cunningham 1996; Speake 2002) or Mt Ganos (in Thrace) or Mt Latros (in south-western Anatolia) (Janin 1975) or Meteora (in Thessaly) (Nicol 1975). For a time in the fourteenth century the monasteries of Mt Athos came to dominate the running of the Byzantine Church and supplied a series of patriarchs. Their power derived in equal parts from their defence of hesychasm and their landed wealth. They were also a focus for the whole Orthodox Church from Russia to the Near East (Meyendorff 1988).

The emergence of Mt Athos as a powerhouse of the Byzantine Church after 1261 was a reflection of the growing authority of the Church at a time when the Byzantine Empire was in decline. The Patriarchal Register which runs from 1315 to 1400 shows the patriarchal synod taking responsibility for a much greater range of lawsuits than had been the case at an earlier period (Hunger 1981). The Byzantine Church also sought to come to terms with the Ottoman rulers. This prepared the way for the Concordat of January 1454 with Mehmed the Conqueror, which under a new dispensation gave Orthodoxy certain safeguards (Papadakis 1972).

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CHAPTER III.11.2

THE EPISCOPAL COUNCILS IN THE EAST

CLARENCE GALLAGHER

ECUMENICAL COUNCILS

THIS section deals with the assemblies of bishops and other church representatives that took place in the East. These gatherings show clearly the synodical nature of the early Church: when controversies arose the bishops came together in council to resolve the issue. After Constantine had legalized Christianity it became possible to convoke bishops from all over the empire and have representative meetings of the whole Church. These universal synods were convoked primarily to settle disputes concerning doctrine, though they also dealt with church discipline. They came to be called 'ecumenical' councils because their decrees were considered to be binding on the whole Church. There were also regional councils at which the bishops of a region would come together to decide questions of discipline. We will discuss first of all the seven ecumenical councils that took place between 325 and 787. We will then discuss the canons on church discipline promulgated by these councils and by the regional councils. These canons formed the basis for church law in the East and in the West.

When in 313 Constantine agreed with Licinius on a policy of religious toleration, he found Christians deeply divided among themselves concerning the Person of Jesus Christ. The controversy had been sparked off by the teaching of Arius (d. 336),

a popular preacher in Alexandria, who taught that the Son of God was not eternal but created before the ages by the Father. He found many sympathizers and an Arian movement spread rapidly. In an attempt to restore unity to the Church, Constantine convoked a council of bishops from all over the empire. This met at Nicaea in 325 and was attended by about 250 bishops. The bishops defined their belief in the coeternity and coequality of the Father and the Son, using the word *homoousios* to express the Son's consubstantiality with the Father. The council issued what became known as the Nicene Creed which summed up the central points of the Christian faith—belief in the Holy Trinity, Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, and in the incarnation, passion, death, and resurrection of Christ, the Son of God.

In 381 another general council was convoked by Theodosios I in Constantinople with a view to settling definitively the Arian controversy. It was attended by 150 Eastern bishops but there were no Western representatives. This council endorsed the faith as propounded by the Council of Nicaea; it was later credited with having produced what is now known as the Niceno-Constantinopolitan Creed. This made additions to the Creed of Nicaea: there is a longer section on the Person of Christ, an extended statement on the Holy Spirit, and a concluding statement of belief in one, holy, catholic and apostolic Church; in one baptism for the forgiveness of sins; in the resurrection of the dead and life in the age to come. This council was accepted as ecumenical by the Council of Chalcedon (451), which stated that the Creed endorsed by 'the 150 fathers assembled in Constantinople' was a sound expression of the Catholic faith. This Creed is still used today in the Eucharistic worship of the East and the West.

Fifty years later there was further confusion in the Church and Theodosios II was prevailed upon to summon the third General Council to settle the controversy that had arisen between Nestorios, patriarch of Constantinople (428–31), and Cyril, patriarch of Alexandria (412–44). The problem was once again christological. Mary was the mother of Jesus, but was it appropriate to call her 'Mother of God'? Patriarch Nestorios claimed that the title was inappropriate although he did believe Mary was the mother of Christ, who was God-man. This was taken to imply that Nestorios held there were not only two natures but also two persons in Christ, one human and one divine. The bishops met at Ephesus in 431. Nestorios was condemned and exiled. The council gave formal approval to the title *Theotokos* ('Mother of God') for Mary. It is not at all clear that Nestorios held the views attributed to him by Cyril, but when he was exiled he was befriended by the Assyrian Church of the East which as a result came to be called 'Nestorian' though it never professed Nestorianism as condemned by the Council of Ephesus.

Some twenty years after Ephesus, Eutyches, a monk from Constantinople, taught that Christ had only one nature after the incarnation. He was condemned by the patriarch, Flavian, but he appealed to the emperor Theodosios II, who summoned a council of bishops to settle the issue. This met in Ephesus in 449 and, under the presidency of Dioskoros, patriarch of Alexandria, rehabilitated Eutyches and

deposed Flavian. Pope Leo I rejected this council, calling it a *Latrocinium* (Robber Council). However, in the following year Theodosios died and this cleared the way for Marcian to convoke another council to rectify what had been done at Ephesos in 449. This met at Chalcedon in 451 and was attended by some 500 bishops, all of them Eastern except two bishops from Africa and the two papal legates. The decisions of the Council of 449 were annulled and Eutyches was condemned. This council drew up a statement of faith, the Definition of Chalcedon, which endorsed the orthodoxy of Nicaea I (325) and Constantinople I (381). Christ is declared to be one person in two natures:

one and the same Christ, Son, Lord, only-begotten, acknowledged in two natures which undergo no confusion, no change, no division, no separation;...the property of both natures is preserved and comes together into a single person and a single subsistent being; he is not parted or divided into two persons, but is one and the same only-begotten Son, God, Word, Lord Jesus Christ.

This definition was not universally acceptable. The followers of Cyril (d. 444) could not accept the terminology of Chalcedon—the teaching that in Christ there is one person in two natures. These were called ‘Monophysites’ by their opponents because they held to the expression ‘one nature’ as used by Cyril, but the label ‘Monophysite’ is misleading because it gives the impression that they agreed with the teaching of Eutyches, which they rejected. They professed to be faithful to Cyril, according to whom, in Christ there was ‘one incarnate nature of the Word of God’. Cyril was clearly using the word *physis* in a way that differed from the way it was used in the Chalcedonian definition. Rome and Constantinople accepted the teaching of Chalcedon and so became divided from the followers of Cyril in western Syria and in Egypt. Later the emperor Zeno, in an attempt to restore unity, encouraged Akakios, patriarch of Constantinople (472–89), to produce a doctrinal statement that would be acceptable to all and so heal the divisions between the Chalcedonians and the ‘Monophysites’. Akakios drew up a statement of belief that, while affirming that Jesus Christ is truly God and truly man, avoided the terminology of Chalcedon that had caused the difficulties. The document was promulgated by the emperor in 482 and became known as the *Henotikon*. It was sent to all the bishops in ‘Alexandria, Egypt, Libya and Pentapolis’. The *Henotikon* quotes from the first three ecumenical councils and affirms the consubstantiality of Christ with God and man, but it avoids the Chalcedonian use of the terms ‘nature’ and ‘person’. It was unacceptable to the ‘Monophysites’—the very people it had been drawn up to reconcile. In Rome it was taken as a denial of the teaching of Chalcedon. Pope Felix III, therefore, in 484 wrote a letter of protest to Constantinople and, at a synod held in Rome that same year, Akakios was excommunicated. The reply of Akakios was to remove the name of the bishop of Rome from the diptychs. The first schism between Rome and Constantinople had begun. It is known as the Akakian Schism and was to last for the next thirty-five years (484–519).

The next two ecumenical councils were also concerned with christological problems. Justinian I was determined to bring about reunion with the 'Monophysites'. So he wrote a theological treatise which he issued between 542 and 545. This condemned writings of three theologians of the school of Antioch, Theodore of Mopsuestia (350–428), Theodoret of Cyrillus (393–466), who had taken the side of Nestorios against Cyril, and Ibas of Edessa (d. 457), who had attacked Cyril of Alexandria. All three were accused of 'Nestorianism', and the 'Three Chapters' were condemned by Justinian. This met with opposition so he convoked a council in 553 to settle the controversy. One hundred and sixty-five Eastern bishops assembled in Constantinople, condemned the Three Chapters, and anathematized their authors. Pope Vigilius at first did not accept these condemnations. However, he finally yielded to imperial pressure to accept the council and retract his former decisions in favour of the Three Chapters. In fact, the condemnation of the Three Chapters, had little effect in reconciling the 'Monophysites' who remained unmoved by the whole venture.

In the following century another christological controversy led to the convocation of the sixth ecumenical council. The problem this time was whether Christ had one will or two wills, and it was proposed by Sergios, patriarch of Constantinople, that there was a single will in Christ. 'Monothelitism' was another attempt to reach a compromise between the Chalcedonians and the Monophysites. This was proclaimed in an imperial decree by the emperor Herakleios in 638. To settle the controversy the emperor, Constantine IV, convened a council in Constantinople of the bishops from the patriarchates of Constantinople and Antioch. The council met in 680–1 and was conducted by the legates from Pope Agatho. It was concerned solely with the Monothelite question and drew up a decree in which the reality of Christ's two wills, one divine and one human, was acknowledged. All those accused of Monothelitism were anathematized, including Pope Honorius I (625–38) and four former patriarchs of Constantinople.

The seventh ecumenical council was convened at Nicaea in 787 by the empress Eirene and, under the presidency of the patriarch, Tarasios, it brought to an end the first period of Iconoclasm. Three hundred and fifty bishops attended, including two papal legates, as well as representatives of the patriarchs of Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem. The dogmatic decree condemned the iconoclast council of 754 and formally defined the degree of veneration due to icons. The council carefully distinguished between the legitimate veneration due to icons from the absolute worship due only to God. The decree was signed by all present and by the empress, Eirene, and her son, Constantine. Pope Hadrian I (d. 795) approved the council. This council of 787 is the seventh ecumenical council and the last to be recognized as such by the Byzantine Church.

There is, however, another council that could be considered ecumenical by both East and West. The ninth-century *Nomokanon* includes the canons of the council that took place in Constantinople in 879–80. This council dealt with the restoration

of Photios to the patriarchal throne in Constantinople and put an end to what is commonly referred to as 'the Photian schism'. It was a council of reconciliation. It both rehabilitated the patriarch Photios and restored unity between Rome and Constantinople. Some Byzantine writers consider it the eighth ecumenical council in the Orthodox Church. It published a statement of faith which condemned all additions to the Creed. The Council of 879–80 promulgated three disciplinary canons. The first canon is particularly interesting insofar as it concerns the relationship that should exist between Rome and Constantinople. In this canon the council decreed that there should be mutual respect between the patriarchates in disciplinary matters. It stipulated that anyone censured by Rome would be considered censured likewise by the Church of Constantinople. In like manner, anyone censured by the Church of Constantinople would be so considered by the Church of Rome. While this mutuality was formulated as a canon, the council affirmed at the same time that the privileges of the bishop of Rome would be maintained 'both now and for the future'.

The early councils of the Church are best known for their doctrinal statements, but they also passed decrees on church order, referred to usually as 'canons'. The first four ecumenical councils promulgated more than sixty disciplinary canons. Ephesus did not issue any canons bearing on general church discipline. The canons of the other three ecumenical councils were included in the ancient collections and accepted as the canon law of the Church. Nicaea I issued twenty canons dealing with a variety of practical questions—various duties of bishops and clergy. Canon 6 sets up the primacy of Alexandria in Egypt, Libya, and Pentapolis, 'since a similar custom exists with reference to the bishop of Rome'; Antioch is recognized as having a similar primacy in the East. According to canon 5 episcopal synods are to be held in each province twice a year. Some canons are concerned with people who lapsed in time of persecution. Constantinople I promulgated seven canons, the most famous of which was canon 3: 'Because it is new Rome, the bishop of Constantinople is to enjoy the privileges of honour after the bishop of Rome'. Chalcedon issued thirty canons. Most of these are about duties of bishops and clerics. Canon 19 repeats the legislation that synods of bishops should be held twice a year. There is a canon against clerics seizing their bishop's possessions after his death (canon 22). A diocese must not be left without a bishop for more than three months (canon 25). Its most controversial canon is the renewal of canon 3 of Constantinople 'concerning the prerogatives of the most holy church of the same Constantinople, new Rome, since that is an imperial city' and stipulating that the metropolitans of Pontos, Asia, and Thrace had to be ordained by the archbishop of Constantinople. This canon was unacceptable to Pope Leo the Great, but it was later included in the canonical collections of East and West.

The Second Council of Nicaea (787) passed 22 canons. The first of these is of particular interest because it confirmed all the canons 'from the six holy universal synods and from the synods assembled locally for the promulgation of such

decrees'. This canon is seen as confirming the canons passed by the Council *in Trullo* which we will look at in a moment. The other canons are concerned mainly with bishops, the clergy, and monks, though it does state that it will be sufficient to have provincial synods once a year, and not twice, as had previously been the rule (canon 6).

The last two councils of Constantinople did not promulgate any disciplinary canons. So ten years later Justinian II convened a council in Constantinople in 691 to make up for this. (It became known as the Council *in Trullo* because it assembled in the domed hall of the palace.) Because it is considered to be the supplement of the fifth and sixth councils, this Council *in Trullo* is often referred to as the Quinisext, and is held to share their ecumenical authority. The Council *in Trullo* promulgated 102 canons which are important for the canon law of the Eastern Church. In some of these divergence from Rome is clear. For this reason the canons were not at first accepted by Rome, and Pope Sergios I (687–701) refused to sign the acts of the council. Later popes agreed to accept the Trullan canons, but only insofar as they were not contrary to Roman customs. These Trullan canons are important because the ecclesiological vision they reflect shows a different perception of ecclesial order from that seen in the canonical collections of the West. The second Trullan canon is of key importance because it provides an official list of the canonical sources that are to be observed in the Church (Antioch and Alexandria were also represented at the Council as well as a number of bishops from the Latin West). The canon lists the 85 Canons of the Apostles, the canons of Nicaea I, Constantinople I, Ephesos, and Chalcedon as well as the 'canons' taken from the writings of twelve Eastern bishops that had been included in the Eastern canonical collections. It also lists a number of regional councils that had promulgated disciplinary canons: Ancyra, Neocaesarea, Gangra, Antioch, Laodikeia, Serdica, and the canons of Africa. All the canons listed are those sanctioned by the council and this second canon of the Trullan Council was confirmed by the first canon of the Second Council of Nicaea in 787.

REGIONAL COUNCILS

The Council of Ankyra was held in 314 with about a dozen bishops in attendance, representing Syria and Mesopotamia. The canons of this council are of interest because they were the first to be enacted after the ending of the persecutions. It passed 25 canons. A number of these set the penance that should be done by persons who had lapsed under persecution; others lay down the penance to be done by sinners (adultery, fornication, abortion, and murder). Canon 10 lays down that if a deacon announces before his ordination that he wants to marry, then 'let him marry and let him be a deacon', but if he is silent and later marries, 'he shall cease

from the diaconate'. This implies that as early as the beginning of the fourth century there was a general law forbidding unmarried deacons to marry.

The Council of Neocaesarea in Pontos was held between 314 and 325 and passed fifteen canons laying down the penance that should be done for various sins. Those who marry more than once should do penance and a priest may not be a guest at the nuptials of a digamist. Canon 11 states that a man cannot be ordained a priest until he is 30 years old and canon 15 stipulates that there should be seven deacons for every big city. Gangra, the metropolis of Paphlagonia, had its council sometime between 325 and 381 and was attended by thirteen bishops. It was convened to condemn a movement of radical ascetics who were accused of holding marriage in contempt, of encouraging women to shave their heads and wear men's clothes, of fasting on Sundays and neglecting to observe the fasts of the Church, and of maintaining their own private liturgical assemblies while rejecting those of the Church. The explicit condemnation of this exaggerated asceticism is balanced in an epilogue which affirms the importance of the Church's traditional teaching on asceticism and continence. It passed twenty canons, including one that excommunicates anyone who refuses to receive communion from married priests (canon 4).

The Council of Antioch was held in 341 and was attended by 97 Eastern bishops and the emperor Constantius. There are four credal statements associated with this council that avoided the *homoousion* terminology of Nicaea I. It passed 25 canons dealing mainly with bishops and priests, many of which have equivalents in the Apostolic Canons. A number of canons bring out the synodical nature of the early Church: if the bishops of a province cannot agree about an accused bishop they should call on neighbouring bishops to settle the matter (canon 14); a bishop should not be ordained without a synod and the presence of the metropolitan (canon 19); there should be a synod of bishops in every province twice a year 'so that priests and deacons and all who think themselves unjustly dealt with... may obtain the judgment of the synod' (canon 20). Canon 21 stipulates that a bishop must not be translated to another diocese. Bishops are to be elected by the provincial synod (canon 23).

The Council of Laodikeia in Phrygia was held between 343 and 381. It passed sixty canons. A number of canons deal with the prayers and readings in the liturgy. A bishop who is called to the synod must attend. Priests and deacons may not frequent taverns. Heretics may not enter the house of God and marriage with a heretic is forbidden; it is unlawful to feast with heathens, heretics, or Jews. The last canon lists the books of the Old and the New Testaments.

The Council of Serdica (modern Sofia) was summoned in 342 to decide on the orthodoxy of Athanasios, bishop of Alexandria (328–73). His refusal to compromise with Arianism led to his being deposed by a council held in Tyre in 335. He fled to Rome and the emperors Constans and Constantius summoned a council to settle the matter. It was meant to be an ecumenical council, attended by representatives of the East and the West. However, the Eastern bishops refused to participate because

the Western bishops were allowing Athanasios to attend as the lawful bishop of Constantinople. So the Western bishops met by themselves and confirmed his restoration. This council is particularly famous for a number of disciplinary canons that it passed, and especially for the canon which constituted the bishop of Rome as a court of appeal for bishops in certain circumstances. These canons acquired importance because they were for a time thought to have been passed by the First Council of Nicaea.

The last regional council mentioned in the Trullan canon is that of Carthage. By this is meant the canons of the African Church that were approved by a council held in 419. Aurelius held the primatial see of Carthage from c.391 until his death in 427, and, under the influence of St Augustine, called a number of episcopal synods between 393 and 419. The canons of all these councils were approved at a council in 419 and became known as the Code of Canons of the African Church. Dionysius Exiguus included these in his Roman collection and later in the sixth century they were added to the Greek canonical collections. There are 138 canons in the collection and they deal with many of the questions we have already seen in the other regional councils. Bishops, priests, and deacons should abstain from having intercourse with their wives and observe a ritual continence in the period when they are performing the sacraments (canons 4 and 25). This would imply that there were married bishops and priests in Carthage at that time. A priest condemned by his own bishop may appeal to the neighbouring bishops (canon 11). Meetings of the bishops of a region are to take place regularly (canon 21). Many of the canons deal with Donatism and the secular arm is asked to come to the aid of the Catholic Church. 'The most religious emperor' is to be asked to remove pagan idols and temples (canon 58).

There are two councils that took place with the participation of both Greeks and Latins but which were not accepted by the Greek Church. These are the Council of Lyons in 1274 and the Council of Florence in 1439. However, these two councils will feature in the following section which deals with the points of division between the Greek East and the Latin West.

What emerges from this survey is the key role that councils of bishops played in the early centuries. The normal way of going about solving problems was to call a council of the bishops of the region. Constantine called the first ecumenical council as the most effective way of trying to restore unity to a divided Church. This set the pattern for the other ecumenical councils of the first millennium. Later in the fourth century, as we have seen, regional bishops proceeded in a similar way in different parts of the East. The Church in Africa acted in the same way. Canon law grew out these councils. Soon collections of these canons were made, as we know from the first canon of the Council of Chalcedon: 'We have deemed it right that the canons hitherto issued by the saintly fathers at each and every synod should remain in force'. In this way church law was the sum of the decisions reached by bishops in council. This led to the practice of directing the Church by means of episcopal

synods. Hence the canons stipulating that the bishops of every region should meet in council twice a year. This was regarded as so important that we find canons on the subject in a number of the early councils.

All this demonstrates how the collegiality of the bishops was exercised in practice. A similar synodical approach was followed in Syria and Persia by the Assyrian Church of the East and by the Syrian Orthodox Church. Also in the West many local synods were convoked to deal with church discipline. In short, throughout the whole Church in the first millennium, in the East and in the West, the normal method used to direct Christians was through regular meetings of the bishops.

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CHAPTER III.11.3

THE TWO CHURCHES

CLARENCE GALLAGHER

THE aim of this section is to give an account of the relations between the Church in Rome and the Church in Constantinople from the Council of Nicaea in 325 to the fall of Constantinople in 1453. Both Rome and Constantinople accepted the conciliar decrees of the first four ecumenical councils and were in full communion with each other. In this respect they were divided from their Christian brethren who had not accepted the teaching of the Council of Ephesos of 431 (now known as the Assyrian Church of the East) or that of Chalcedon in 451 (the Syrian Orthodox Church). This full communion continued throughout the first millennium. The Greek East and the Latin West shared the same faith and recited the same creed. The same conciliar canons and apostolic traditions formed the common basis for their discipline. They thought of themselves as one Church sharing the same faith in Jesus Christ. Within this unity each community gradually developed its own patrimony in liturgy and spirituality, in theology and discipline. However, from the fifth century on there was a growing estrangement between Rome and Constantinople. Many factors played a part in this that had little directly to do with theology. They were geographical, political, and cultural. The fall of Rome and the West to the barbarians in the fifth century and the Islamic conquests in the Eastern empire in the seventh influenced the relationship between Rome and Constantinople. The schism between East and West, when it finally came, was due to divergences in tradition and ideology. These were brought to a head in the Middle Ages by the Norman invasion of Byzantine southern Italy, the Crusades, and the centralizing Gregorian Reform of the papacy. The separation of the Churches reached its final

stage with the Fourth Crusade and the sack of Constantinople in 1204 (Runciman 1955: 158–70).

The lack of a common language would also play a part in this. The ignorance of Greek in Rome and of Latin in Constantinople became a serious cause of misunderstanding. The Latinization of the Western Church in the fourth and fifth centuries resulted in a complete break in language between the Church in the West and the Eastern Churches. By the end of the fifth century, knowledge of Greek in Rome had almost disappeared. Similarly, in Constantinople, while Latin remained for a time the official language of the courts and the imperial chancery, during the fifth and sixth centuries these also changed over to Greek. This language ‘barrier’ was to become an important factor in the gradual growing apart of the Greek East and the Latin West.

There were a number of events that led up to the final rupture between East and West. The first of these was the ‘Akakian Schism’ (484–519). As discussed in connection with councils (see III.11.2 above), the emperor Zeno asked Akakios, patriarch of Constantinople (472–89), to produce a doctrinal statement that would be acceptable to all and so heal the divisions between the Chalcedonians and the so-called ‘Monophysites’. The christological statement of belief drawn up by Akakios was promulgated by the emperor in 482. It became known as the *Henotikon* (edict of unity) but was unacceptable to the ‘Monophysites’. Interpreted in Rome as a denial of Chalcedon’s teaching, Pope Felix III in 484 wrote in protest to Constantinople, and patriarch Akakios was excommunicated while Akakios removed the name of the bishop of Rome from the diptychs. Thus began the first schism between Rome and Constantinople, which was to last for the next thirty-five years (484–519). It was brought to an end in 519 through the intervention of the emperor, Justin, with Pope Hormisdas (514–23) (Chadwick 2003: 50–4).

Another sign of divergence between Constantinople and Rome can be seen in the Council in Trullo of 691. As indicated in the discussion on councils (III.11.2), a number of canons promulgated by this council show a divergence from, and antagonism towards, Rome. Among the Roman practices criticized was the western rule of celibacy for the clergy. Pope Sergius I (687–701) refused to sign the acts of the council. Later popes agreed to accept the Trullan canons, but only insofar as they were not contrary to Roman customs. In the eighth century the iconoclastic movement divided the Church in Constantinople not only within itself but also from Rome. Popes protested to the iconoclastic emperors and condemned the iconoclastic council of 754. Peace was restored at the Second Council of Nicaea in 787. The fact that this council was not accepted by Charlemagne led to further division between East and West (Chadwick 2003: 64–70).

During these years there was doctrinal union and ecclesial communion between Constantinople and Rome although there were diverse administrative, disciplinary, and liturgical usages. Each one of these Churches recited the same creed, read the same Holy Scriptures, and professed the same faith in Jesus Christ and in

his One, Holy, Catholic and Apostolic Church. The difference between the two approaches can be seen clearly and dramatically if we compare two outstanding personalities of the ninth century: Pope Nicholas I (858–67) and patriarch Photios (858–67 and 877–86). What is referred to as the ‘Photian Schism’ was caused by the clash between these two church leaders. The schism was of short duration but it is indicative of how the Greek East and the Latin West were growing further apart. This schism can be seen as the collision of two concepts of the Church which had been developing for centuries: the Byzantine concept from the time of Constantine, with its idea of imperial supremacy in ecclesiastical questions and the collegial role of the ‘pentarchy’ of patriarchs (Rome, Constantinople, Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem) contrasted with the Roman concept with its growing emphasis on the monarchical primacy of the bishop of Rome.

In 863 Pope Nicholas I condemned and excommunicated Photios and reinstated Ignatios, who had resigned in 858, as legitimate patriarch of Constantinople. This was disregarded both by Photios and by the emperor Michael III who, in 865, wrote to the pope protesting strongly against this unwarranted intervention in the internal affairs of the Byzantine Church. In 867 a synod was summoned in Constantinople at which Pope Nicholas was condemned. Later that year, Michael III was murdered and the new emperor, Basil I, anxious to gain the support of the pope, deposed Photios and reinstated Ignatios as patriarch. He then asked Pope Hadrian II to send legates to a council in Constantinople to help settle the affairs of the Church there. At this council, in 869, Photios was anathematized together with his supporters. Ten years later, however, another council was held in Constantinople which dealt with the restoration of Photios to the patriarchal throne and put an end to the Photian schism. This council of 879 was a council of reconciliation. It both rehabilitated patriarch Photios and restored unity between Rome and Constantinople. It published a statement of faith which condemned all additions to the creed. The reference here is to the Nicene Creed: ‘We believe in the Holy Spirit, the Lord, the giver of life, who proceeds from the Father *and the Son*.’ The word *filioque* had been added to the Nicene Creed in Spain in the sixth century. This was intended to underline the divinity of the Son and had support in the teaching of St Augustine. The Latin missionaries in Bulgaria used this interpolated creed in the ninth century, but it was unacceptable to many eastern Christians, both because it was an unwarranted insertion into the Creed and because they considered that it entailed an unsound theology of the Holy Trinity. The *filioque* became a major cause of dissension between East and West when Photios made it his chief theological difficulty in his quarrel with Pope Nicholas I (Dvornik 1948: 175 ff.).

The council of 879–80 promulgated three disciplinary canons. The first canon is particularly interesting insofar as it concerns the relationship that should exist between Rome and Constantinople and between the patriarchates generally. In this canon the council decreed that there should be mutual respect between the

patriarchates in disciplinary matters. It stipulated that anyone censured by Rome and within the territory of the Roman Church would be considered censured likewise by the Church of Constantinople. In like manner, anyone censured by the Church of Constantinople and within its territory would be so considered by the Church of Rome. While this mutuality was formulated as a canon, the council affirmed at the same time that the privileges of the bishop of Rome would be maintained. Just what these privileges were was not defined (Gallagher 2002: 79–84).

Apart from the diversity in discipline and administration that has been discussed, one should not forget other serious differences that existed between East and West and even within the Western Church in the ninth century. Photios had serious difficulties about the theology of the *filioque* as well as its addition to the Creed. The Carolingians had serious difficulties about accepting the Second Council of Nicaea and its promotion of the cult of icons. Photios simply did not accept Pope Nicholas's claim to a papal primacy of jurisdiction. The bishop of Rome was seen to be one of the five patriarchs and there was an important collegial aspect to the government of the Church. But although these differences in theological thinking and in modes of church administration certainly did exist they did not sever communion between the churches: they did not result in schism. They disturbed but did not break the common faith in Christ. Moreover, in the ninth century, even in circumstances of difficulty and misunderstanding, it was possible to have and to encourage what can be considered a missionary enterprise, blessed both by the Church of Constantinople in the person of her patriarch, Photios, and by the Church of Rome in the persons of two popes, Hadrian II and John VIII. This enterprise was the mission to Greater Moravia in 863 by the two Greeks from Thessalonike, Cyril and Methodios, who are now considered the Apostles of the Slavs (Gallagher 2002: 85–95).

In the eleventh century new factors brought relations between Rome and Constantinople to a further crisis. A new reform movement began in the West. The reformed papacy revived its claims to universal jurisdiction that Pope Nicholas I had made in the time of Photios. Political factors exacerbated the situation by the military aggression of the Normans in Byzantine Italy. The Normans had been forcing the Greeks to conform to Latin usages. In return the patriarch of Constantinople, Michael Keroularios (1043–58) required the Latins in Constantinople to adopt the Greek rites and when they refused he is said to have closed the Latin churches. (There is in fact little evidence for this, apart from western accusations by Cardinal Humbert.) To try to resolve the difficulties, Pope Leo IX in 1054 sent three legates to Constantinople, led by Cardinal Humbert of Silva Candida. Keroularios made it clear that he regarded the bishop of Rome as his equal and refused to acknowledge Roman primacy. He broke off discussions with the Roman delegation. At this point the papal legate laid a bull of excommunication against the patriarch on the altar of Hagia Sophia and left Constantinople. Keroularios together with his synod retaliated by excommunicating the papal legate (Chadwick 2003: 206–18).

The year 1054 has long been considered as the date of the schism between East and West. This is not the case. The mutual excommunications concerned only the patriarch and the papal legate. They can be seen, however, as another signpost on the road that eventually led to schism. It is not clear when the state of schism came to be a generally accepted fact. Even after 1054 friendly relations between East and West continued and it was hoped that misunderstandings could be cleared up. The Crusades played a large part in making the schism definitive. They introduced a new spirit of hatred and bitterness, and brought the whole issue down to the popular level. The first open schismatic act is thought by some to have occurred in 1098 when the Norman crusader Bohemond I captured Antioch and appointed a Latin patriarch there. The Greek patriarch withdrew to Constantinople and the Greek population was unwilling to recognize the Latin patriarch. So from 1100 there existed a local schism at Antioch (Chadwick 2003: 258–73).

Attempts at union can be seen in the late twelfth century in the correspondence between the emperor Manuel I Komnenos (1143–80) and Pope Alexander III (1159–81). There were numerous embassies between Rome and Constantinople to discuss the possibilities of reunion. The emperor commissioned Andronikos Kamateros to draw up a treatise (*The Sacred Panoply*) summarizing the theological difficulties between Rome and Constantinople and demonstrating the orthodoxy of the Greeks. However, attempts at reunion came to nothing. There was also a growing antagonism against the Latins in Constantinople. This is illustrated by the great canonist, Theodore Balsamon, who considered the Latins to be schismatics. (He had been appointed patriarch of Antioch, but could not take possession of his see since this was occupied by Latins.) The strong anti-Latin feeling in Constantinople culminated in 1182 in the massacre of the Latin colonists and the destruction of their churches. Then there was the disaster of the Fourth Crusade. In 1204 the Fourth Crusade set out for Egypt but the crusaders were asked by the deposed emperor of Constantinople to restore him to the throne. This intervention went very badly wrong and the Crusaders ended up capturing and sacking Constantinople. The emperor fled and Pope Innocent III set up a Latin patriarchate. The whole episode was a tragic event which has never been forgotten by the Greek Church. After 1204 there could be no doubt that the Christian East and the Christian West were no longer in communion with each other (Runciman 1955: 145 ff.; Angold 2003).

Two important attempts were made to restore unity. The emperor Michael VIII Palaiologos (1259–82) recaptured Constantinople in 1261 and put an end to the Latin empire there. He sincerely desired Christian unity but he also had political motives. He was threatened with attack by Charles of Anjou in Sicily who wanted to become emperor in Constantinople. So Michael VIII needed the support of the papacy. Pope Gregory X (1271–6) convoked a council which was held at Lyons in 1274. A profession of faith had been prepared by the papal curia for the emperor's acceptance. It had not been the result of conciliar discussion between East and West. The Orthodox delegates agreed to recognize the papal claims and to recite the creed

with the *filioque*. However, this agreement was an agreement on paper only. It was rejected by the majority of clergy and laity in the Byzantine Church and came to nothing.

East and West continued to grow further apart in their theology and in their way of understanding the Christian life (Kolbaba 2000). In the West the tradition of the Fathers was being replaced by the new theological method of Scholasticism that developed rapidly in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. In Byzantium the Church continued to live in the atmosphere of the Greek Fathers. The difference of approach can be seen also in the Hesychast controversy in the middle of the fourteenth century. This concerned methods of mystical prayer that were practised by the monks of Mt Athos. The hesychast is a person who devotes himself to the prayer of inner silence, 'the prayer of the heart'. The most famous protagonist of hesychasm was the mystical theologian Gregory Palamas (1296–1369), a monk of Mt Athos who was appointed archbishop of Thessalonike in 1347. His teaching on mystical prayer was solemnly confirmed for the Greek Church in two councils held in Constantinople in 1341 and 1351. These councils were never recognized by western Christendom, indicating yet another divergence between East and West (Hussey 1986: 220–35).

A second reunion council was held in 1438–9. Pope Eugenius IV (1431–47) transferred the council from Basle to Ferrara in 1438. The emperor John VIII Palaiologos (1425–48) was anxious to stave off the steady Ottoman advance towards Constantinople. He himself together with the patriarch of Constantinople and a large delegation from the Byzantine Church came to Ferrara and then to Florence in 1439. Theologians from both Churches had prolonged discussions on the principal points of controversy. These were the double procession of the Holy Spirit (the *filioque* controversy), the use of unleavened bread for the Eucharist by the Latins, the doctrine of purgatory, and the primacy of the pope. The discussions went on for months by leading theologians from both sides and serious attempts were made to reach agreement. It was urged that saints cannot err in faith, so that while Latin saints and Greek saints expressed their faith differently, substantially they were in agreement. Eventually this argument prevailed and a decree of union, *Laetentur Coeli*, was signed on 5 July 1439. This incorporated statements on the *filioque*, purgatory, unleavened bread, and the papal claims. The council established an important principle for church union: unity of doctrine could coexist along with respect for the different rites and traditions of each Church. The Orthodox delegates accepted the papal claims, with the clause 'as is contained also in the acts of ecumenical councils and in the sacred canons'. There was also the clause 'renewing the order of the other patriarchs which has been handed down in the canons... without prejudice to all their privileges and rights'. They accepted that there could be a sound interpretation of the *filioque*, but they were not required to insert the *filioque* into the text of the creed; they accepted the Roman teaching on purgatory. Each Church was free to use leavened or unleavened bread in the

Eucharist in accordance with its custom. Mark, metropolitan of Ephesos, was the only Greek bishop to refuse his signature. Nothing was said in the decree about celibacy of the clergy or divorce and remarriage. There were great celebrations in the West. In Constantinople, however, many of the prelates who had signed the decree of union recanted immediately on their return home and it was rejected by the majority of clergy and laity. The emperor did not publish the decree until 1452. Little military help came from the West and on 29 May 1453 Constantinople was captured by the Turks and the Great Church of Hagia Sophia became a mosque. With that came the end of the Byzantine Empire and of union with the Latins (Chadwick 2003: 258–73).

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LITURGY

ROBERT TAFT

‘INNER HISTORY’: THE STAGES OF BYZANTINE LITURGICAL EVOLUTION

THE ‘Byzantine rite’ is the liturgical tradition that developed in the Orthodox patriarchate of Constantinople and its dependencies, and later spread to the other Orthodox patriarchates of Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem. One can distinguish five sometimes overlapping phases of the ‘inner history’ of this rite: (1) the ‘palaeo-Byzantine period’, before Byzantium became Constantinople in 330; (2) the ‘imperial period’ that followed; (3) the Byzantine ‘Dark Ages’ from 610 to c.850; (4) the ‘Stoudite period’, from c.800 to 1204; (5) the ‘neo-Sabaitic period’ thereafter.

1. The Palaeo-Byzantine Liturgy

We know little about the ecclesial tradition of Byzantium in the period before 330, when Byzantium became Constantinople and began to realize its imperial vocation both politically and ecclesiastically. Remnants of the liturgy from that epoch in the Byzantine anaphoras and Liturgy of the Hours, show it to have been a typical late antique, Antiochene-type rite with no peculiarly ‘Byzantine’ traits.

2. The Byzantine Rite Turns Imperial

In the ‘imperial phase’, especially in the last decades of the fourth century, the rite of the Great Church acquires the stationary (i.e. processional) character and strongly

anti-Arian theological lineaments that will mark its later, more characteristically 'Byzantine' development (Baldovin 1987: ch. 5; Taft 1992: ch. 3). This development culminates in the Golden Age of Justinian I (527–65) and his immediate successors, when the liturgy is enriched by the imperial splendour of the capital.

In this phase there evolves the system of cathedral liturgy that will last until after the Latin Conquest (1204–61), thus overlapping with phases 3–4. By the sixth century, especially with the construction of Justinian's Hagia Sophia, the Byzantine rite acquires ritual splendour and theological elaboration, especially in response to the Monophysite controversy, via the addition of new feasts, the Creed (511), and several new immortal chants: the *Trisagion* (c.438–9), the *Ho Monogenes* (535–6), and the *Cheroubikon* (573–4).

More significant for the development of the liturgy than these chants, however, were the processions they were meant to accompany. Most Byzantine liturgical description in the entire period anterior to Iconoclasm (726–843) simply ignores the church building and what went on inside it. What they found important took place *outside* the church, in the stational processions and services. These stations were to leave an indelible stamp on the Divine Liturgy and other rites of the Great Church: entrances, processions, accessions come to characterize all Byzantine liturgy (Mateos 1971: 34–45; Baldovin 1987: ch. 6; Mathews 1971: ch. 4–7), and had a seminal impact on the form and arrangement of the early Constantinopolitan church building, especially its atrium, forechambers (exonarthex, narthex), and multiple monumental entrances, all of which developed to facilitate the arrival and introit of the processions (Taft 1992: 33–5; 1997–8: 74–82). They also occupy a major portion of the symbolism of liturgy and church building in the classic liturgical commentators from Maximos Confessor (c.630) on (Taft 1980–1).

2.1. *Outside in: church and liturgy as cosmos*

The Byzantines did not, of course, invent the notion of the church as image of the cosmos, from the upper reaches of God's throne upon the Cherubim to the lower stage where human life is enacted: the notion of temple as microcosm is a commonplace of human religiosity. But Justinian's Hagia Sophia, dedicated on 27 December 537, gave it expression in a way never achieved before. The awesome splendours of its vastness and the sparkling brilliance of its light led observers to exclaim with remarkable consistency that here, indeed, was heaven on earth, the heavenly sanctuary, a second firmament, image of the cosmos, throne of the very glory of God.

This cosmic symbolism finds reflection in the liturgical texts of the epoch, which give expression to a typology in which the earthly church is seen to image forth the heavenly sanctuary where the God of heaven dwells, and the earthly liturgy is a 'concelebration' in the worship which the Heavenly Lamb and the angelic choirs offer before the throne of God. This first level of Byzantine liturgical interpretation,

reflected in such fifth- and sixth-century liturgical additions as the Introit Prayer and the *Cheroubikon* (573–4), is systematized c.630 in the earliest Byzantine liturgical commentary, the *Mystagogy* of Maximos Confessor (d. 660).

3. The Dark Ages and Iconoclasm

During the ‘Dark Ages’ from 610 to c.850, Byzantium comes upon hard times. The seventh century was for the East what the fifth had been for the West: the end of the Roman Empire. The ancient classical world died a turbulent death, as Slavic tribes crossed the Danube around 580 and settled in the Balkans and Greece. After Herakleios (610–41), the empire is threatened continuously on every flank. One by one, the great centres of Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem are lost to Islam, and the Monophysite movement mortally weakens the Orthodox Church in those patriarchates. The Patristic Age and Greek dominance of the East are brought to a close with the empire sinking into near-feudalism as once great cities shrivel into beleaguered provincial fortresses. Worse still, the Orthodox Church was about to face the most serious internal crisis of its history, Iconoclasm (726–843).

Liturgically, the period from the seventh to the ninth centuries is one of continuity: the rite of the Great Church continues to be celebrated, even if in more straitened circumstances. But there is also consolidation and retrenchment, forced by the reduction in scale of public life and its monuments. The struggle with Iconoclasm also signals change: for the realignment produced by this epic conflict will culminate in the Stoudite reform.

3.1. *The new Mystagogy*

Within a century of Maximos Confessor (d. 660), on the eve of the iconoclastic crisis, the traditional *theoria* of Maximos’ ‘cosmic’ liturgical interpretation had begun to give way before a more literal and representational narrative vision of the liturgical *historia*. While not abandoning the cosmic, heavenly liturgy typology inherited from Maximos’ *Mystagogy*, around 730 patriarch Germanos I integrates into Byzantine liturgical understanding another level of interpretation, also found, if less prominently, in earlier Byzantine liturgical writings: that of the Eucharist not only as the anamnesis of, but as actual figure of salvation history in Jesus (Taft 1980–1). With Germanos, these two leitmotifs become an integral part of the Byzantine synthesis.

This encroachment of a more literal tradition upon an earlier, mystical level of Byzantine interpretation, coincides with the beginnings of the struggle against Iconoclasm, when Orthodoxy finds itself locked in mortal combat to defend its icon worship, the expression of radical incarnational realism against the conservative reaction promoting a more symbolic and, ultimately, iconoclastic spiritualism. The

effect of the new mentality can be seen at once in the representational mystagogy integrated into the earlier Maximian tradition by Germanos c.730; in the condemnation, by the Seventh Ecumenical Council in 787, of the teaching of the iconoclastic council of 754 that the Eucharist is the only valid symbol of Christ; and, ultimately, in the iconographic programme of the Middle Byzantine church.

3.2. *A new architecture and its decorative programmes*

The economic restrictions and monastic ascendancy of the period lead to a less public, less urban, less stational, more 'indoors' liturgy. The monumental architecture of the Justinianic period is succeeded by Middle and Late Byzantine churches often miniature by comparison, compressed to a scale that will make the new iconographic programmes feasible: unified decorative schemes work only in churches small enough for their entire interior to be taken in at a glance (see also II.7.2 Churches and monasteries, and II.7.4 Wall-paintings and mosaics).

As churches became smaller, urban stational rites destined for a liturgical space that encompassed the city are compressed to within the walls of these ever-smaller church buildings, and the once great public introit processions become a clerical remnant, reduced to ritual turns within the interior of a now tiny nave. This results in a shift towards greater symbolization, as the former processions, reduced to ritual appearances of the sacred ministers from behind the sanctuary barrier, are reinterpreted as epiphanies of Christ in word and sacrament.

This move towards a smaller scale also entailed a greater privatization of the liturgy. Not only are processions reduced to ritualized remnants of no practical import that end where they began, but within the church itself the ritual action withdraws to the ever more completely enclosed sanctuary. The proliferation of private oratories with their clergy are further signs of the shift away from monumental public services to the more domestic and monastic.

4. The Stoudite Era

The period from about 800 until the Fourth Crusade and Latin conquest of 1204–61, is largely an age of recovery and consolidation in the Byzantine Empire. But there are low points, too. An initial period of renaissance under the Macedonians is succeeded in 1071 by collapse on the frontiers, as Norman and Seljuk victories lead to the permanent loss of Italy and lay Asia Minor open to the Turks. There follows a partial revival under the Komnenoi in 1081–1204.

For the Church, shaken by the century of Iconoclasm (726–843) and by increasing East–West conflict and estrangement, this period will see a greater subjugation of the patriarchate to the imperial power, and a greater monasticization of ecclesiastical and liturgical life. The defeat of Iconoclasm in 843, basically a monastic

victory, had contributed to the demoralization of the secular clergy and a sharp rise in monastic influence: it is only during the iconoclastic struggle and its aftermath that monks come to play a dominant role in the hierarchy of the Orthodox Church and in the history of its liturgy. This was largely due to the leadership of Theodore, Abbot of Stoudios (d. 826), who in 799 led his monks out of Sakkoudion in Bithynia to the security of the capital. There they found refuge in the dying, fifth-century Monastery of Stoudios, which they soon revived, inaugurating the era of the Stoudite reform.

The entire Middle Byzantine period is dominated, liturgically, by the progress of this Stoudite synthesis, a monastic rite of quite different dimensions from the cathedral offices of the Great Church (Pott 2000: ch. 5; Pentkovskij 2001: 21–48). This monastic rite, ultimately codified in developed Stoudite-type monastic rules or *Typika*, will coexist with and then ultimately supplant the cathedral rite of the *Typikon* of the Great Church (Mateos 1962–3) in the restoration of 1261 following the Latin Conquest.

4.1. *The victory of Orthodoxy and liturgical reform*

Recent advances in the study of Byzantine euchology manuscripts (Parenti and Velkovska 2000; Arranz 1996) confirm that Iconoclasm was a watershed in Byzantine liturgical history (Parenti 1997). The sources show clear traces of a liturgical reform begun, apparently, with the victory over Iconoclasm, during the brief patriarchate of Methodios I (4 March 843–14 June 847). The reform comprised, among other things, a new redaction of the Liturgy of John Chrysostom, which by the turn of the millennium replaced the Liturgy of St Basil as the principal eucharistic formulary of the Orthodox Church (Parenti 2001). Changes are also noted around this time in manuscripts of the Byzantine liturgical psalter where, as in the Euchology, old and new redactions continue in use side by side from the ninth until the end of the eleventh century. Despite these changes, from a liturgical point of view the cathedral/parochial liturgy of Byzantium was far more conservative than the monastic offices. The changes in the Euchology initiated at this time were in fact minimal, more a question of fine-tuning than a major overhaul.

In the Stoudite monasteries, however, liturgical creativity, fuelled by the fierce monastic opposition to Iconoclasm, was proceeding apace. Despite the numerous problems the Stoudite monks encountered from the new patriarch Methodios, who was too easy on the former Iconoclasts for their tastes, the victory over Iconoclasm left the monks of Constantinople in an advantageous position vis-à-vis the secular clergy. Monasteries became richer, more autonomous, more numerous especially in urban areas, and after the Early Byzantine period more monastic than secular churches were built.

The remainder of the history of the Byzantine rite will reflect this growing monasticization of the Orthodox Church. The symbiosis of cathedral and

monastery appears first as an ongoing ‘Tale of Two Cities’, Constantinople and Jerusalem (Taft 1990, 1997; Pott 2000: ch. 4), then as a ‘Tale of Two Monastic Deserts’, Palestine and Mt Athos, as the story moves towards its denouement in the hesychast synthesis of the fourteenth century (Taft 1988).

One may call it an ongoing tale, for this is not its beginning but its continuation. Even before the period under discussion here, as the liturgy of Constantinople was being influenced by Palestinian usages, a gradual Byzantinization of hagiopolite (Jerusalem) liturgy was already well under way, fostered, doubtless, by the predominance of the Patriarchate of Constantinople throughout the East from the end of Late Antiquity. Before the seventh century, it was Jerusalem that held liturgical sway, exerting its influence on Constantinople. Later, however, from the first half of the seventh century, the influence becomes mutual, with Constantinople a source as well as recipient of liturgical diffusion. This will continue in the post-iconoclastic period, when the Great Church emerges from the debacle victorious. By the turn of the millennium the tide has reversed, with Constantinople henceforth clearly dominating the terrain liturgically (Dmitrievskij 1907: ch. 3; Baumstark 1905: 282–9; 1927).

Although many aspects of this interaction remain far from clear, its broad outlines may be summarized as follows (Taft 1988). After the first phase of the iconoclastic crisis (726–87), while all of the already developed rites of the Great Church continue in use even after the empire had slid into its Dark Ages, the seeds of a new spring were already germinating in the monasteries of the Stoudite confederation. Theodore of Stoudios’ central place in the history of Byzantine worship lies in his interest in the defeat of Iconoclasm and in monastic reform. That is why he summoned to Stoudios some monks of the Lavra of St Sabas, in the Judaeen Desert between Jerusalem and the Dead Sea, a fateful decision fraught with consequences for the future history of the Byzantine rite (Pott 2000: ch. 4).

St Sabas had itself undergone a remarkable renaissance in the restoration following the Persian onslaught of 614. It is from this rebirth that the explosion of hagiopolite liturgical poetry dates, chants which Theodore considered a sure guide of orthodoxy in the struggle against the heretics. It was this office of Jerusalem, not the *Akolouthia ton Akoimeton* or ‘Office of the Sleepless Monks’ then current in the monasteries of the capital (Taft 1982: nos. 3, 9, 19, 24–6, 79), that the Stoudites would synthesize with material from the *Asmatike Akolouthia* or cathedral ‘Sung Office’ of the Great Church to create the hybrid Stoudite office: a Palestinian Horologion with its psalmody and hymnody grafted onto a skeleton of litanies and prayers from the Euchology of the Great Church.

Originally scattered in disparate manuscripts of *Kanones*, *Stichera*, *Kontakaria*, *Tropologia*, *Kathismata*, this new poetry would eventually be codified in the later Byzantine anthologies of propers for the daily (*Oktoechos*: manuscripts begin to unify this material for Sundays from the eighth century, but the name *Oktoechos* first appears in the eleventh century), Lenten-Paschal (*Triodion*: tenth century), and fixed (*Menaion*: tenth–twelfth century) cycles of the liturgical year, in that

order, beginning in the centuries indicated. As this material comes together, creating an interference of competing cycles of liturgical proper, the need to direct the increasingly congested traffic is felt. So at the beginning of the second millennium a new type of monastic book, the developed Typikon, begins to appear, to regulate the interference of these three conflicting cycles of the proper (Pentkovskij 2001: 21–48; Thiermeyer 1992; Thomas and Hero 2000; Jordan 2000, 2005, 2007).

The earliest, first-generation Stoudite Typika, like the western *Rule of the Master* or *Rule of St Benedict*, are little more than monastic rules with rudimentary liturgical regulations. But those regulations are clearly Stoudite, and this usage quickly spreads from Constantinople to other Orthodox monastic centres: the foundational hagiote rule on Mt Athos, the *Hypotyposis of Athanasios of the Great Lavra*, written by St Athanasios himself soon after the foundation of the Great Lavra in 962–3, is but a slight retouching of the earlier *Hypotyposis of Stoudios* (Pentkovskij 2001: 21–48; Taft 1988: 182–4).

This Stoudite-type Typikon will grow in liturgical detail as the synthesis of Sabaitic and Constantinopolitan practices progresses, and will also spread far and wide. The first such developed Stoudite Typikon was composed by Alexios, *hegoumenos* of Stoudios and later patriarch of Constantinople from 1025 to 1043, for the monastery he founded near the capital. It is this Typikon, now extant only in six Slavonic manuscripts, that St Feodosij Pecherskij translated into Slavonic in the eleventh century and introduced as the rule of the Kievo-Pecherskaja Lavra or Monastery of the Caves in Kiev, cradle of Orthodox monasticism among the East Slavs, and from there it passed to the whole of Rus' and Muscovy (Pentkovskij 2001: 21–48; Arranz 1976: 64–5; Taft 1988: 184).

By the beginning of the twelfth century the developed Stoudite synthesis has also appeared in South Italy, in full form, in the Typikon of Saint Saviour of Messina (1131) (Arranz 1969). It surfaces on Mt Athos at Iviron in the Typikon of George III Mt'acmindeli (c.1009–29 June 1065), eighth *hegoumenos* of Iviron c.1044–65. His Typikon, based on a Constantinopolitan Greek original from before 906, was translated into Georgian between 1042 and 1044, before George's abbacy; it is extant in several Georgian manuscripts, the earliest of which are from the eleventh century. This key document, the first full description of liturgical life on Mt Athos, shows that the earliest hagiote liturgy followed Stoudite usage, which by that time was already an amalgam of Sabaitic uses with the rite of the Great Church (Pentkovskij 2001: 21–48; Taft 1988: 185–6).

This synthesis, completed by the twelfth century, adds to the more sober, desert prayer of Palestinian monasticism a ritual solemnity to give it what Arranz calls 'a strong Byzantine coloration, a certain taste for the cathedral tradition, an importance assigned to chant to the detriment of the psalter, etc.' (Arranz 1972: 85)—all of which would become permanent characteristics of the Byzantine Liturgy of the Hours. By the twelfth century this Stoudite rite is found on Athos and in Rus', Georgia, and South Italy (Pentkovskij 2001: 21–48).

New Holy Week and Easter Services (Janeras 1988; Bertoniere 1972; Taft 1990 and 1997), as well as changes in church music, also reflect this evolution. In musical sources from Constantinople one sees at first the two traditions, cathedral and monastic, as parallel but independent, with the cathedral easily pre-eminent. Then, as they influence each other, the monastic rite will gradually assume the lead, becoming predominant by the eleventh century (Strunk 1977: 137 and *passim*; Conomos 1985). Architecture and iconography follow suit, mirroring in their own way these changes and reforms (Mathews 1971: *passim*, esp. ch. 4; Taft 1994: 179–91; 1992: ch. 6; Parenti 1997: 14–16).

4.2. *The Middle Byzantine synthesis*

New Euchology and Typikon; new hybrid Constantinopolitan–hagiopolite Divine Office, Holy Week, and Easter Services; new liturgical music; new architecture, new liturgical disposition and iconography of the church; new mystagogy to interpret it all: the Middle Byzantine synthesis is complete. The stage is now set for the Typikon of Theotokos Evergetis (1143–58), surely one of the most important medieval liturgical texts to have come down to us from Byzantium (Jordan 2000, 2005, 2007). The 179 folia of its liturgical ordo (Athens, Nat. Lib. 788) make it one of the largest single Byzantine liturgical documents extant, and easily the longest liturgical Typikon up to that time. In many ways it can be considered the apex of the Stoudite era. But like all historical periods we invent to facilitate explanation, those of liturgical history have fuzzy edges, and the Evergetis Typikon already shows the intrusion of second-generation Sabaitic material, moving towards the final phase of our story.

5. Denouement: The Neo-Sabaitic Ascendancy

The monasticization of Byzantine liturgy, well under way before the Fourth Crusade (1204) (Strunk 1977: 137), was heightened under Latin rule (1204–61), when the demoralized secular clergy, unable to maintain the complex ‘Sung Office’ of the Great Church, acquiesced in the monasticization of the offices. During the Palaiologan restoration (1259–1453) the Byzantine Church remained a powerful force in the life of the people, especially during the hesychast renaissance begun on Mt Athos (Taft 1988: 190–4). But it was henceforth a Church under monastic leadership.

5.1. *From Stoudites to Hagiorites: the rise of Mt Athos*

In Constantinople, Stoudite coenobitism held its own as the chief form of urban monasticism right into the thirteenth century, though by the twelfth century, second-generation Sabaitic material had begun to infiltrate the offices of the Stoudite monasteries of the capital. Elsewhere the centre of gravity had already begun

to move westward, as Turkish pressure in the East shifted the focus of Byzantine monasticism from Asia Minor to the monastic centres of Greece. But hagiote monasticism would eventually abandon the strict coenobitism of the Stoudites for the more loosely structured Sabaitic monasticism of the lavras and sketes or small monasteries of Palestine. We are on the threshold of a new epoch, the final, 'neo-Sabaitic' stage in the formation of today's Byzantine rite (Taft 1988). This final, neo-Sabaitic synthesis will gradually modify and ultimately supplant the Stoudite rite (itself an earlier-generation 'Sabaitic' rite) everywhere during the hesychast ascendancy. It represents, basically, no more than a slight revision of the Stoudite synthesis, which is why it can be called the 'neo-Sabaitic synthesis', to distinguish it from the Stoudite rite, which, as was shown earlier, is but an earlier synthesis of Sabaitic elements with the old cathedral rite of Constantinople.

During the period of the Stoudite reform, this cross-fertilization intensifies following the disruption of hagiopolite liturgy through the destruction of the Jerusalem cathedral, the Basilica of the Anastasis or Holy Sepulchre by Caliph al-Hakim in 1009. But the phoenix rises from the ashes, and from the eleventh century, Palestinian monks rework the Stoudite synthesis to suit their own needs, especially in what concerns the order of night prayer, the *agrypnia*, and, later, in the canon of daily *orthros* (matins) and in the quantity of the psalmody, the heart of all monastic offices (Taft 1988). The process was first described by Nikon (c.1025–after 1088), a monk of the Theotokos Monastery on the 'Black Mountain' (*Mauron Oros*) north of Antioch in Syria, the first one to use the word *typikon* for these new monastic customaries, in Preface 9 of his *Taktikon*. So as the rite of Constantinople was being monasticized via Palestine, the rite of Palestine was being further Byzantinized. And although Nikon of the Black Mountain lists the differences between the usages of Stoudios and Jerusalem, a close reading of his *Taktikon* 1. 1–23 shows that he is contrasting but two variants of basically the same Sabaitic rite (Taft 1988: 180–1).

'OUTER HISTORY': THE SPREAD OF THE BYZANTINE RITE

Thus far the 'inner history' of the Byzantine rite. Its 'outer history' also underwent profound shifts. At the beginning of the fifth century evidence from Greece, Cappadocia, and Pontos, shows that the Churches in these Greek-speaking Orthodox regions, even if under the political domination of the capital, did not use the Constantinopolitan rite. But by 691–2, the liturgical canons of the Quinisext Council in Trullo show that this rite had already become cohesive and coherent

enough to manifest its intolerance for the different practices of the Latins and the Armenians. From this time other churches begin to adopt this rite, and by the end of the first millennium it had taken over the whole patriarchate of Constantinople and spread to the Orthodox monasteries of Antiochia, Palestine, and Sinai (Taft 1988), gradually extending its usages even to the secular churches of the other Orthodox patriarchates from the ninth to the thirteenth centuries (Taft 1992: 56–8).

The earliest extant manuscript of the Jerusalem eucharistic Liturgy of St James, a ninth-century roll (Vat. gr. 2282), already shows unmistakable traces of this Byzantinization. In the first centuries of the second millennium, the liturgical Byzantinization of the Orthodox patriarchates of Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem, weakened successively by Monophysitism, the Islamic conquests, and the Crusades, proceeds apace, fostered especially by Theodore Balsamon (c.1130/40–d. after 1195). By the end of the thirteenth century the process was more or less complete in Alexandria and Antioch, though the native hagiopolite Liturgy of St James remained in use longer in the patriarchate of Jerusalem, and Greek manuscripts of the non-Byzantine Melkite liturgies continue to be copied to the end of the Byzantium. The history of this development remains to be written (Nasrallah 1987; Taft 1992: 57, 64 n. 31).

CONCLUSION

By the middle of the fourteenth century, then, the portrait is complete, the *diataxeis* or rubrical manuals, products of the Athonite hesychast ascendancy, dominate the field, canonizing the liturgy in the form that has remained, basically, to the present day (Taft 1988: 192–4). Meanwhile, however, on what Stefano Parenti has dubbed ‘the Byzantine periphery’, the survival or invention of variant local usages (Parenti 1991, 1997) confirm the adages of the famous German liturgical scholar Anton Baumstark (1872–1948), that ‘the forms of Liturgy are subject by their very nature to a process of continuous evolution’, and ‘it seems to be of the nature of Liturgy to relate itself to the concrete situations of times and places’.

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CHAPTER III.11.5

MONASTICISM AND MONASTERIES

JOHN MCGUCKIN

THE MONASTIC EXPERIENCE

It is surprising to consider how the religion of Jesus (which focused so much on preaching in village and town environments, using the shared meal as a central symbol of communion, and prioritizing the values of mutual philanthropy) could so quickly elevate the ascetic ideal as one of its mainstays. Yet such was the case from earliest times of formal Christian organization and certainly from the second century onwards. Recent research has pointed to the preponderance of the ascetical imperative in the Hellenistic environment that formed the nurturing culture of the earliest Christian communities (Wimbush 1990; Kirschner 1984). The patterns of preaching and the basic structures of Christian worship retained their presumption that the Church would be primarily an urban, a missionary, and a socially philanthropic phenomenon, but monasticism sang a slightly different song, and it was one that resonated deeply within the Christian movement, not least in its Byzantine embodiments. This was certainly true in the original heartlands of Christian monasticism: Syria, Egypt, Palestine, and Cappadocia. From Syria and Egypt there arose a lively and highly popular body of literature relating tales of the early monks. These Lives and Apophthegms of the Desert Fathers are a unique combination of apocalyptic biblical wisdom literature, with Hellenistic philosophical traditions of the schoolroom *chreia*, along with vivid aspects of popular religiosity of the fourth and fifth centuries. The fertile mix gave a powerful new impetus to late

antique asceticism, and was the veritable birth of Christian monasticism at the very dawning of the Byzantine era. Apologists in the late fourth century and after spread the fame of the desert monks far afield, giving the movement a great vogue even in Byzantium. Notable examples are the *Life of Antony* by Athanasios, the *Lausiac History* of Palladios, Cyril of Skythopolis' *Lives of the Palestinian Monks*, and the *Spiritual Meadow* by John Moschos.

Monasticism was, and remains, a highly successful paradox (see also III.9.3 Clergy, monks, and laity). It derives from the concept of living a solitary life (*monazein*) seriously concentrated on the salvation of one's soul; but it flourished phenomenologically as closely bonded societies of dedicated men and women who were so well organized, and so focused in their intentions, that within a few generations they radically reshaped the international Christian agenda. Monasticism may have begun as a movement of withdrawal among the laity, a leaving of the cities of Late Antiquity in order to live a simplified and quiet life in the hinterland, but almost simultaneously many of these very solitaries (despite all protests to the contrary) became occupiers of the highest positions in the Church, claiming the roles of bishops and priests which by their very nature were urban and political offices. Within a few hundred years the lay monastic movement of withdrawal had been so successful that it transformed the very nature of Christian leadership into a predominantly ascetic endeavour. The profuse rhetoric of monastic texts (the predominant literature of the Byzantine world) continually stresses its role apart, its eremitical withdrawal from the affairs of society. This should not blind the reader to the fundamentally important political and social functions monasticism played out within the Byzantine experience—not least after the tenth century when monasteries often became significant landowners. In the Middle Byzantine era perhaps half the literate class of the empire were monks. This accounts for the wholesale glorification of the ascetic imperative: its more or less total subsuming of the ideals of Christian sanctity and church order within the Byzantine world. The Byzantines (so adept in their delight in paradoxes) soon perfected the idea of the city-monk, the cosmopolitan hermit. The image of emperors seeking advice on intimate matters of state policy from the leading ascetics of the day is not merely a rhetorical trope.

EGYPTIAN AND SYRIAN ASCETICISM

The monastic tradition has often been described as beginning in Egypt in the early fourth century. Antony was accorded the symbolic role of the 'founder of monasticism' for Athanasios' account of his life was one of the most widely read

books of the early Byzantine period. The story begins with his conversion and withdrawal from a fairly comfortable life in Alexandria to embrace the rigours of seclusion in the semi-desert adjacent to the Nile. At first he lived on the outskirts of a village, but soon Antony sought a deeper solitude and progressively withdrew into a more desolate wilderness. As he advanced in peace and wisdom, becoming a thaumaturgical 'friend of God', he attracted disciples, and thus was able to 'grow on' a community. The *Vita*, in this regard, sketches out the parameters of what were already known to be several different types of monastic lifestyle already in existence by the mid-fourth century. If Antony is exemplary, therefore, he is not historically speaking an absolute 'founder'. Solitaries existed in the Syrian Church at least a century before him, and even in Antony's *Vita* we are told that he gave his sister over to the care of female ascetics who already inhabited the Alexandrian Church.

The Syrian Church at a very early period demanded of those who went forward for baptism (a thing not usually sought in the pre-fifth-century Church until one's maturity) a radical commitment to celibate living (Abouzayd 1993). This meant that in Syria, the inner circle of baptized Christians were all *de facto* celibate ascetics. They were known as the Ihidaya (solitaries), or the Ben'ay Qyama (children of the covenant). These communities of men and women ascetics customarily lived either at home or in groups near the church and soon came to have an important function setting the tone of the public assemblies. These ascetic communities are the direct descendants of the associations of widows and virgins mentioned in the New Testament (Voobus 1960). An example of this lifestyle and how it came to serve as a powerful inner circle of Christian government can be found in Aphrahat the 'Persian Sage', a fourth-century ascetic bishop, whose *Demonstrations* already show much that would later emerge as classic monastic concerns. From earliest times, therefore, the apocalyptic (world-renouncing) aspect of the monastic lifestyle claimed to be a direct and legitimate successor of the eschatological community of Jesus as described in the Gospel. Typically in Syrian and early Egyptian sources, the ascetical lifestyle was described as 'not of this world', and associated with the 'angelic life', a modality of anticipating the age to come. The Syrian Church developed its monastic history with a pattern of holy men living in retirement on the outskirts of villages, who thus served as important mediators in many social disputes. Theodoret's *History of the Monks of Syria* gives a classic account, and introduced a style of sensational asceticism (such as pillar habitation) that would soon make its way to Byzantium itself. The combination of the monastic vocation, with the office of the 'holy man' as mediator, healer, and exorcist, thus became significant from an early age in Christianity (Fowden 1982).

Nevertheless, in fourth-century Egypt the expansion of monasticism was extraordinary, and constitutive. Antony was soon outstripped by Copts such as Pachomios (Rousseau 1999) or Shenoudi (Timbie 1986), who organized societies of

many thousands of Christian zealots living the communal life in highly organized settlements along the Nile. With Pachomios the concept was introduced of the monasteries as a kind of loose federation, centred around common activities of prayer and manual labour; with monks and nuns (always in separated communities) sometimes living together for protection. With Shenoudi came the introduction of formal written professions of obedience, or vows, that served to keep the monastic sacrally engaged to the ascetic life. The arid lands adjacent to the Nile, and the wilderness areas of Palestine and Syria, were soon famed as 'cities in the desert', and while Byzantine power held sway (and indeed after) these areas were populated with important monasteries (Chitty 1966). Only the greatest now remain: sites such as Mar Saba near Bethlehem, and St Catherine's at Sinai, or St George Choziba in the Wadi Qelt. Ruins of smaller Byzantine monasteries still litter the landscape of Palestine. In their heyday, before the rise of Islamic power, no fewer than 140 Byzantine monasteries flourished within the relatively small area of Palestine (Binns 1994). In the Middle Byzantine period the concept of holy mountains (wild wooded areas) became a popular substitute for the desert, and of the famous foundations such as Mt Latros, Mt Olympos, or Mt Athos, the latter still stands as an example of how a colony of hermits could be established, and flourish, under imperial patronage (Morris 1996).

STYLES OF EASTERN MONASTICISM

The idealized figure of Antony had elevated the notion of the hermit (the word is derived from 'desert-dweller') as the supreme form of monastic life, where an individual would seek radical seclusion to advance in prayer and asceticism. Hermits were solitaries, of course, but even they had their disciples; and from that experience another genre of monasticism soon rose up, namely the lavriotic lifestyle. The lavra was a community of monks who were predominantly solitaries, each following their individual spiritual path, but who assembled around a commonly revered elder (Abba) as a kind of extended spiritual family. The lavra's brotherhood would gather on Sundays, or great feasts, at a common church where they chanted psalms (the beginning of the monastic practice of the Offices of prayer spread throughout the day) and celebrated the divine liturgy. The lavriotic lifestyle was based upon a closely personal relation with a single charismatic figure. It did not have a generic rule, nor did the monks eat or live together, but eventually the lavra came to be more formally compacted within a walled and fortified site, with the common church in the central square. This architecture came to be the classic form of most subsequent

Byzantine religious houses, and the term *lavra* sometimes came to mean simply 'great monastery'.

Distinct from the hermit's individual cell, or the *lavra* of the association of hermits, one also finds the coenobitic form of monasticism (so named from the Greek word for common life). The pattern was symbolically associated with Pachomios but spread widely after it was enthusiastically received in Cappadocia by powerful ecclesiastical leaders such as Eustathios of Sebaste, Basil of Caesarea, and Gregory of Nazianzos. Coenobitic monasticism (the chief aspect of which is a common daily rule, and a common refectory) was certainly the standard type of establishment in the Byzantine era, but movement between all three types of monasticism was always possible within a monk's individual career.

Gregory and Basil (two of the leading Nicene Cappadocian fathers) being themselves powerful politicians, ascetics, and bishops, did much to establish the idea of monasticism as something fundamental to the structural organization of the Church; but the initial anxiety of bishops with the concept of zealous monks undermining their administration can be witnessed in the Acts of the Council of Gangra in 340. Local communities, however, favoured the zealous ascetics, and often elected them as their episcopal leaders from the fifth century onwards. The issue of authority was more or less settled (in favour of local bishops) by the canons of the Council of Chalcedon in 451, where monks were ultimately subordinated to the episcopate—legislation that paradoxically increased monasticism's prestige by bringing it officially into the heart of Church structures. When increasing numbers of bishops were themselves ascetics, it seemed only natural to employ monastic clergy. This pattern of using monks to service ecclesiastical institutions, both liturgically and pastorally, became widespread but it would never altogether be the standard in the Byzantine Church, especially at the great centres such as Constantinople and Thessalonike where a body of non-monastic clergy, intellectuals, and aristocrats, robustly defended their rights and privileges over and against the monks.

Gregory and Basil together had sketched out a form of ascetical 'rule' and it became a foundational part of most Byzantine monastic communities seeking to regulate their daily lives. Basil put a premium on manual labour. His ideal was for monks and nuns to earn their own living from the work of their hands. Gregory was more inclined to see a role for intellectual life. By and large the Byzantine monastic tradition followed both ideas, with some communities based around farming, while others encouraged a more scholarly life (at least for some). Most of the libraries of monastic houses, however, were strictly dedicated to ecclesiastical and ascetical literature. Only a few, such as that endowed by Theodore Metochites at the Chora monastery in Constantinople in the fourteenth century, had a more widely stocked collection, and this because it reflected his own personal tastes as a lay aristocrat.

The central theorists of Byzantine monasticism, such as Basil and Theodore of Stoudios (whose writings became archetypal for later centuries), so insisted that monastics ought to earn their own living by the labour of their hands that most of the ascetic communities tended to be active producers more than consumers. It was an aspect of the monastic spirit that had a far greater effect than merely channelling the energies of the individual monk, for it also ensured that the communities themselves would generally tend to fiscal stability, even expansion, within the economic macro-climate of the empire. In many periods of Byzantine history, especially when inflation was running at crippling rates, investment in monasteries was one of the few safe havens for aristocratic cash. So it is we find, throughout the Byzantine ages, aristocrats and rich merchants endowing monasteries and thus assuming the role of 'Founder', with a view to retiring into the monastic complex (often with their families with them) in old age, or (perhaps) in their political disgrace. Monasteries offered to the Byzantine monk, and their lay supporters, not only an expression of the Kingdom of God on earth, where salvation could be anticipated and atonement of sins secured, but in addition a place of safe haven, and a society whose discipline, peace, and convivial culture, probably excelled by far most of what they were used to in daily life 'in the world' (McGuckin 2001*a*).

MONASTICISM AT CONSTANTINOPLE

Monasteries made their appearance relatively early at Constantinople. The first was the Coenobion of Dalmatou built by the senator Saturninos for the Syrian monk St Isaac in 382. At first the ascetic houses were a ring of suburban 'retreats' but soon they came to be centrally embedded in almost every part of town, as the city itself expanded; and so, almost from its inception, Constantinople was a veritable city of monasteries. Several studies (Janin 1969, 1975; Dagron 1974; Charanis 1971; Talbot 1987; Hatlie 2007) have noted this rapid spread of monasticism at the capital. In 430, when Nestorios tried to restrict the social involvements of Constantinopolitan monks, the furore caused played no small part in his political downfall (McGuckin 1996*a*). And by the time of the condemnation of Eutyches in 448, his deposition was signed by no fewer than 23 resident *hegoumenoi*. The official notice ending the Akakian schism listed 53 major city *hegoumenoi*, and the Synod of 536 listed 63 superiors of local monasteries as being present. Janin (1969) suggests that special monasteries also existed at the capital for the different ethnic groups, especially the Syrians, Latins, and Egyptians, each using their particular language for services. Very little is known about the exact number of female convents, though there were several within the city. One survey of Byzantine literary sources has noted that

almost a third of all known monasteries existed within the Great City itself (Bryer 1979: 219). With regular imperial and aristocratic endowments monasticism flourished throughout the lifetime of the empire. Even times of apparent setback, such as the hostility that flared between the monks and the Iconoclastic emperors, or the time of the decrees of Nikephoros Phokas designed to limit the landholdings of monastic houses, were merely temporary or reformatory measures. The Byzantine powers always supported (and regulated) monasticism. When destruction came, it was inevitably from outside, from the hands of Latin or Islamic enemies.

The late fourth century also witnessed the first ascetical bishop at Constantinople, in the person of Gregory of Nazianzos (McGuckin 2001*b*). From the fifth century onwards (with some notable exceptions) the court often looked to monastic celebrities to fill the ranks of patriarch and archbishop. From the beginning, the patriarch had a great control over the monasteries. It was not absolute, by any means, for each founder could specify the degree of his house's involvement in the affairs of the local church, and thus sketch out the degree to which the local bishop's jurisdiction might be circumscribed. But since the patriarch had the last word in whether a monastery could enjoy the services of ordained clergy, his power was considerable even over relatively independent houses. Eventually the monastic leaders of the great houses in the city became senior members of the standing synod of Constantinople, and thus the bond between the ascetics and the governors of the local church was drawn even tighter, at Constantinople and elsewhere.

By the fifth century a number of monastic houses specializing in public welfare had been established at Constantinople (Constantelos 1968). The chief types were hospitals (*nosokomeia*), poor houses (*ptocheia*), hostels for strangers (*xenones*), orphanages (*orphanotropheia*), and homes for the aged (*gerokomeia*) (see also III.11.6 Charitable institutions and III.13.6 Health, hygiene, and healing). Most of them were private foundations, even if the founder was a member of the imperial house, and most were modest in size, often originating from wills that dictated the transformation of the patrician founder's villa into the basis of the institution. The cleric who administered the Orphanage at Constantinople was a person of substance and on occasion rose from that position to become patriarch. Most houses, whether they had a social ministry or not (and several existed primarily and simply to celebrate the divine offices and encourage the life of prayer among their 'hesychasts'), were usually governed by a triumvirate of officers: the *hegoumenos* (abbot), the *oikonomos* (steward), and the *ekklesiarches* (sacristan). The *hegoumenos* had the obligation of teaching and ordering the entire household, and frequently was expected to hear the 'confession of thoughts' of each monastic, though it was common for a *hegoumenos*, at least in larger houses, to appoint a specially revered elder to be the 'soul-friend' and confessor of the monks. The relation between the monk and the spiritual elder was one of dedicated discipleship, and the theme of spiritual fatherhood (especially in later Byzantine monastic writing) is a considerable one (Turner 1990).

DAILY LIFE IN BYZANTINE MONASTERIES

The pattern of life in a Byzantine monastery would vary according to the nature of the establishment. Some were enclosed, others more open to the local environment, some were more collegial, and others more marked by basic societal divisions of the upper and lower classes, with choir monks distinguished from *diakonetai*, who wore different clothes and followed a different diet and regime in many cases, and were allotted different places in the refectory and the church. It would also make a large difference if the house was founded as a working farm, a centre of icon or manuscript production, a large coenobitic establishment, or a smaller sub-unit of monks (a *metochion* or a *skete*) dependent on a larger house somewhere else. The latter often had no more than a handful of monks who lived as a small family under the direction of an elder and often led a more focused life of prayer and retirement. Throughout the Byzantine period one finds monks moving between several forms of monastic lifestyle, and often in different locations, sometimes seeking new elders from far afield. Each house, in theory, was founded with its own *typikon*. This was the rule and charter established by the founder that determined the pattern of daily life, and the ethos of the monastery. The different *typika* were normally based on the prescripts of the rules of St Basil, which sum up the common pattern of eastern monastic theory. Eventually the Typikon of the Lavra of St Sabas in Palestine, and that of the Stoudios monastery at Constantinople became prototypes on which many later *typika* were modelled (see Thomas and Hero 2000 for a comprehensive annotated collection of these documents). The level of freedoms allowed in Byzantine monasteries, especially to those who were aristocratic and educated before they entered, was much greater than that typical of the West. Byzantine nobles could, and did, retain personal wealth after monastic admission, and saw it as an extension of the goods of the monastery. Many of the leaders of monasticism made substantial gifts to the monasteries they entered. In the late tenth century Symeon the New Theologian, becoming abbot of his house at St Mamas only three years after first entering the monastic life, basically refounded the institution and rebuilt the church with most costly materials (McGuckin 1996*b*). Up to three times a week, after morning offices, the *hegoumenos* would normally deliver practical and spiritual instructions to his monks, and several such collections of *Catecheses* remain to give a fairly clear picture of monastic ideals. Two of the most important collections are the *Catecheses* of Theodore, from the Stoudios Monastery in the ninth century, and those of Symeon the New Theologian from the late tenth. The writings of Theodore became almost a constitutive charter for Slavic monasteries, and generally remain so today for the Orthodox Church at large. He favoured the model of the large coenobion (in his time the community of the Stoudios numbered 700 monks) dedicated to social welfare, active involvement in the affairs of the Church, and energetic production of manuscripts (possibly the minuscule

style of writing evolved here). Nevertheless despite the standardization that occurred around Theodore, the Byzantine monastic experience always retained a lively sense of the importance of the lavriotiic and eremitical styles from which it had originally evolved.

The progressive loss of the Byzantine hinterland in the last imperial ages proved no less disastrous for monastic life than it did for the empire as a whole. After the Latin occupation of Constantinople in the thirteenth century most of the monasteries were desperately impoverished; although even at the fall of the capital in 1453, no fewer than eighteen were still actively functioning. The distant outlying houses, such as those on Crete, Cyprus, or in the Slavic lands, clung on tenaciously through a succession of overlords, and their painted churches remain as eloquent testimony of the dissemination of Byzantine culture through monastic foundations. Some of the fortress monasteries, such as St Catherine's at Sinai or St Sabas' Great Lavra in Palestine, also survived as did (most spectacularly) the great monastic colonies on Mt Athos.

A very large amount of literary and archival records remains but still it is difficult to form a clearly focused picture of Byzantine monasticism, partly because the paradigms of the West are still so dominant in scholarly imagination, and also because the 'less official' records of daily monastic life are not as ample as the charter documents and the many spiritual encomia that survive (on archives, see I.2.12b above). Such glimpses as we have into the day-to-day reality come largely, and tangentially, from hagiographies. The overall picture is also difficult to form because (outside of Athos) the archaeological fabric has been so terribly devastated (see II.7.2 Churches and monasteries). The living pulse of Byzantine monasticism still beats to this day on Athos and, indeed, throughout the east Christian world (Dalrymple 1997), and can be readily studied insofar as the old traditions of hospitality are still honoured. The liturgical and theological aspects can thus be readily observed. It is perhaps more difficult for the modern mind to appreciate Byzantine monasticism's 'missing contexts': namely how and why this way of life was once so important societally, and so closely bonded into the political and cultural sinews of the Byzantine world.

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Further Reading

In addition to the studies already cited the following are also informative, especially on early monasticism: W. Lowther Clark (trans.), *The Lausiatic History of Palladius* (London, 1918); C. Mango, *Byzantium: The Empire of New Rome* (London, 1980): 105–24; T. Vivian, *Journeying into God: Seven Early Monastic Lives* (Kalamazoo, 1996); B. Ward, *The Desert Christian: Sayings of the Desert Fathers: The Alphabetical Collection* (New York, 1980).

CHAPTER III.11.6

CHARITABLE INSTITUTIONS

TIMOTHY MILLER

THE Byzantine Empire maintained a network of philanthropic institutions designed to shelter travellers and homeless migrants (*xenoi*), provide free medical care for the ill, nurture orphans, and organize food allotments during famines (Constantelos 1991: 113). Even Edward Gibbon noticed these institutions although his preconceptions about the moral decline of Christian Rome prevented him from understanding their significance (Gibbon 1897: vol. 3: 27, 375; vol. 4: 218). It is impossible to estimate how many people in need benefited from the philanthropy thus offered. Scholars have suggested that Byzantine charitable foundations were too few and too small to have alleviated the sufferings of the empire's poor, sick, and homeless (Nutton 1986; Kisliger 1986–8: 11). On the other hand, one should note that the emperor Nikephoros Phokas (963–9) issued a law banning the foundation of new hospitals for the sick because he thought that the empire already had enough to meet its needs (Zepos, *Jus*, vol. 1: 251).

The laws of the emperor Justinian (527–65) provide valuable evidence concerning the variety of welfare institutions. In Novel cxx, Justinian identified the philanthropic institutions in Constantinople and the provinces as *xenodocheia* (hospices), *ptochotropheia* (almshouses), *nosokomeia* (hospitals for the sick), and other *evageis oikoi* (pious houses), a general category that the emperor explicitly distinguished from monasteries. A modern survey of literary sources, papyrus documents, and inscriptions has confirmed Justinian's statements (Mentzou-Meimare 1982). Between the years 325 to 843 and excluding Constantinople, 164 facilities can be counted. Of these the three most common types of institutions were the same

as those listed by Justinian: 59 *xenodocheia*, 49 *nosokomeia*, and 22 *ptochotropheia*. In addition, there can be identified an impressive number of specialized establishments to assist the needy: 10 *gerokomeia* (homes for the aged), 8 *diakoniai* (baths and grain depots), 7 *lochokomeia* (maternity hospitals), 6 *lobokomeia* (leprosaria), 2 orphanages, and one *typhlokomeion* (an institution for the blind) (Mentzou-Meimare 1982: 306–7).

Throughout the *Corpus juris civilis*, Justinian listed philanthropic institutions as agencies of the Christian Church, subject to the local bishop. Modern scholars agree that Christ's command to assist the suffering underlay the development of specialized welfare services in Byzantium. According to Matthew's gospel, Jesus required that Christians feed the hungry, clothe the naked, welcome the stranger, and care for the sick (Matt. 25: 34–5). In response, early church communities tried to assist as many needy people as possible (Amundsen and Ferngren 1986: 47–50).

In second-century Rome, the bishop received Sunday contributions and distributed them to orphans, widows, the sick, prisoners, strangers, and all others in need (Justin, cap. 67). At this point in their development, Christian communities were still so small and the number of needy so limited that the bishop could supervise welfare without much institutional structure. A hundred years later, however, some church communities in the Greek-speaking provinces had evolved more elaborate assistance programmes.

The *Didascalia Apostolorum*, a third-century guide for Syrian churches, required that the local bishop care for both male and female orphans until he managed to find the girls husbands and train the boys in a trade. This requirement meant that the bishop had to maintain a boarding school for children with a staff of adult supervisors (Funk 1905: 219–21). A hundred years later in 361, the Church of Alexandria possessed separate houses for orphans and widows and storage facilities for their supplies (Sokr. *HE* 137).

Orphanages were thus the oldest Byzantine philanthropic institutions. The Orphanotropheion of Constantinople always held the first rank among the capital's charitable foundations because it had been established first. A priest of Constantinople named Zotikos opened this institution probably in the reign of Constantius II (337–61) (Miller 2003: 52–61). However, *orphanotropheia* appear rarely in Byzantine sources of any period. Nevertheless, bishops supported orphanages from the 330s until the fourteenth century, but they usually merged orphan homes with schools to train boys for the clergy. For example, when St Euthymios lost his father c.400, his uncle entrusted him to the bishop of Melitene in Syria who baptized him and enrolled him as a lector in the local church school to learn to read and write. When Euthymios reached the proper age, the bishop ordained him a priest (Miller 2003: 120–2). In the sixth century, the orphaned Alypios received exactly the same training under the bishop of Adrianople in Pamphylia (*Vita Alypii* 149–50).

The tradition of admitting orphans to the bishop's school for young clerics continued into the Middle and Late Byzantine periods. In the tenth century, metropolitan Peter of Argos opened his episcopal school to many orphans. Some of these he prepared for the clergy—his successor as bishop had been an orphan in the school—and others he sent to master craftsmen to learn a trade (*Vita Petri* 8). The thirteenth-century bishop of Naupaktos, John Apokaukos, trained some of his orphans to sing and read in his liturgies while others he sent away to study accounting and calligraphy. In John's letters, he frankly admitted that some orphans were major discipline problems (Bees 1971–4: 85, 151–2).

Monasteries also cared for orphans. The most famous was Basil's monastery school outside Caesarea in Cappadocia which accepted both orphans and children with parents. Basil designed this school to train future monks, but he allowed some orphans to leave each day to learn a trade. At 18 the students chose whether to become monks or leave the institution. Basil also supported a parallel school for girls (PG 31. 951–8).

Although the need to provide orphans with food, lodging, discipline, and an education required Christian communities to develop early on specialized services for them, these institutions usually remained closely tied to the local bishop or to a monastery and rarely emerged as independent institutions except in Constantinople. Moreover, orphanages had to function primarily as schools and thus developed along lines different from those of other philanthropic institutions.

The central welfare institution in Byzantium—the one that proved most flexible in adapting to fit the needs of many categories of people—was the *xenodocheion* or *xenon* for strangers. In the pre-Christian era, writers used *xenon* to describe guestrooms in a large house or palace, but by the third century, *xenon* also meant a commercial inn. *Xenodocheion* had always meant an inn for travellers, and thus the two words became synonyms. In 332, however, *xenodocheion* appeared in a new context. The Christian emperor Constantine granted grain allotments from the *annona* to the clergy of Syrian churches including Antioch, to widows, and to the poor living in the *xenodocheia*. The word here refers to temporary residences for *xenoi*, peasants who had fled the Syrian countryside. A few years later, Bishop Leontios took special interest in the *xenodocheia* and *xenones* for the poor in and around Antioch (Miller 1997: 21–2).

In the 350s Eustathios, the ascetic bishop of Sebasteia in Asia Minor, opened a *xenodocheion* for the poor, especially those with leprosy. The scholar Epiphanius stated that such *xenodocheia* were usually called *ptochotropheia* in parts of Asia Minor (*Pan.*, vol. 3: 333). Imitating Eustathios, Basil of Caesarea established a *ptochotropheion* outside his city to shelter travellers, to cure the sick, and to care for lepers. Basil's *ptochotropheion* included physicians on the staff (Miller 1997: 85–8). Finally, the new Arian bishop of Alexandria, George of Cappadocia, set up *xenodocheia* for the poor in the Egyptian capital as part of a campaign to win the hearts of the Alexandrian people and convince them not to support Athanasios, the

champion of the Nicæan creed (*Pan.*, vol. 3: 341). By Julian's reign (361–3), Christian *xenodocheia* had become so popular in the eastern provinces that this zealous pagan emperor tried to establish similar philanthropic institutions under the tutelage of the traditional Graeco-Roman gods (Volk 1983: 28–30).

Not only did the century after Constantine's conversion witness the rapid spread of *xenodocheia*, but during these same years, some of these institutions began to offer specialized care for specific categories of needy people, notably lepers, as was done by Eustathios of Sebasteia and Basil of Caesarea. By the end of the fourth century, John Chrysostom opened two *nosokomeia* with physicians at Constantinople (Constantelos 1991: 120). By the fifth century Neilos of Ankyra considered such medical hospitals so common that he used the conscientious hospital physician as a metaphor for Christ's care for souls (*PG* 79. 248).

During the same years, the Church of Trimiton on Cyprus organized a *xenodocheion* to care for the aged. By the fifth century such *gerokomeia* had proliferated, especially in Palestine. During the 360s, bishop Eleusios of Kyzikos founded a special residence for Bithynian widows, a *cherotropheion* (Mentzou-Meimare 1982: 256).

Why did the fourth century see the founding of so many *xenodocheia* and specialized philanthropic institutions? One reason was the rapid Christianization of the eastern cities during these years. Even before Constantine's conversion to Christianity, many provinces of the East had significant Christian populations. Once the emperor converted, the process of Christianization accelerated, and bishops increasingly played a leading role in governing the local *polis*. They began a conscious programme to Christianize the Greek city by converting temples into churches and building new institutions to replace theatres and gymnasia (Miller 1997: 68–74).

In a sermon at Antioch, John Chrysostom summed up the Christianization programme by stating that the *polis* must be built on charity: Antioch should assist people based on their need, not on their ability to contribute to society (*PG* 56: 279). In Constantinople, Gregory of Nazianzos urged the citizens to reject the idle pleasures of pagan urban life—races, theatres, animal fights, corrupting luxuries of all kinds—and turn to aiding the poor, sick, and aged. Gregory wanted Constantinople to become a City of God (*PG* 36. 280). One way for Antioch, Constantinople, Alexandria, and other eastern cities to create a Christian *polis* was to support hospices for the poor and specialized *xenodocheia*.

At the same time that Greek-speaking cities were becoming Christian, new demographic forces were sending throngs of poor from the countryside into the cities. Famine sometimes caused such migration as in 332 when Constantine allotted grain from the *annona* to feed the residents of *xenodocheia*, but even in good times peasants streamed to the cities. Recent studies show that the eastern provinces of the old Roman Empire began to prosper in the fourth century, a prosperity which resulted in population growth. As the number of peasants exceeded available

land, superfluous agricultural workers moved to the towns. Many of the *xenoi* who received help from Christian *xenodocheia* came from among these displaced peasants (Miller 1997: 69–74).

The classical *polis* had no institutions to assist such strangers. Because they had no citizenship, they were not entitled to city grain allotments. Traditional aristocrats like Libanios of Antioch detested such *xenoi* and considered them a source of crime and instability (*Or.* 41). Christian clergy, on the other hand, supported them. John Chrysostom even conceived of his role in protecting these homeless people as a new magistracy of the *polis* (PG 51. 261).

Bishops eventually succeeded in incorporating philanthropic institutions into the *polis*. By the sixth century, Justinian believed that a new city should have churches, public baths, and charitable *xenones* (Prok. *Buildings* 4.10.20, 5.4.15–16). At the end of the empire when Mehmet II conquered Constantinople, Andronikos Kallistos praised this greatest of Greek cities for its walls, churches, palaces, ‘and its *nosokomeia*, *gerokomeia*, and *ptochotropheia* for which the city had shown so much zeal’ (PG 161. 1135).

Justinian confirmed bishops as supervisors of all philanthropic institutions in their cities (*Nov.* cxx; cxxx1). After 600, however, the empire suffered a crisis as Arab armies occupied Egypt, Palestine, and Syria, and Avars, Slavs, and Bulgars seized the European provinces. As soon as conditions improved c.800, bishops again began to support philanthropic institutions. In the ninth century Theophylakt opened a two-storey hospital in Nikomedeia (*Vita Theophylacti* 75). In the eleventh century, the patriarch of Antioch supervised a hospital in his city (Miller 1997: 111). In the thirteenth century, bishop Phokas constructed a *xenon* for Philadelphia and thus aroused the jealousy of the neighbouring *polis* of Sardis (Laskaris, *Ep.* 164–5).

Emperors also supported charitable foundations. In the 370s, Valens (364–78) gave imperial estates to Basil for his *ptochotropheion* in Caesarea, and Justinian allotted tax revenues to maintain the Sampson hospital of Constantinople (Miller 1997: 104). Justin II (565–78) provided annual subsidies to the Orphanotropheion (Aubineau 1975: 82). Following the Arab invasions, however, emperors assumed far greater responsibility for philanthropic institutions, especially those in Constantinople.

By 899, the emperors had reorganized the Orphanotropheion of Constantinople as an independent government agency and placed the major hospitals under the *chartouliarios* of the treasury (Oikonomides 1972: 121–3). The patriarch had lost any direct supervisory role over these institutions, even though state and church law still acknowledged his jurisdiction.

With government support Constantinople’s philanthropies became great provincial landowners. By 1200, the Sampson hospital controlled so much land around ancient Priene in Asia Minor that local people referred to its citadel as Sampson (Miller 1990: 132–4).

In 1136, John II (1118–43) opened an elaborate hospital in Constantinople which he attached to the imperial Pantokrator monastery. The emperor exempted this monastery from state taxes and ecclesiastical supervision. The monks, in turn, were to use their revenues to maintain the hospital, as well as a *gerokomeion*, and a leprosarium (Thomas and Hero 2000: 725).

In shaping the new Christian *polis*, Byzantine bishops also convinced wealthy aristocrats to finance philanthropic institutions for their cities in the same manner that their ancestors had supported stoas, theatres, or baths. In the early fifth century, the patriarch Proklos saluted a Constantinopolitan woman as having surpassed the civic spirit of the ancient Roman consuls because she had built a church and an orphanage for the city (Proklos. *Hom.* 182–3). In the 430s an Ephesian aristocrat built for his city a *ptocheion* large enough to house seventy homeless people (ACO 2.1.3: 405) Meanwhile, outside Constantinople, Paulinos used his fortune to open a monastery and hospital dedicated to Cosmas and Damian (Miller 1997: 124).

In two novels, Justinian confirmed the key role private donors played in supporting philanthropic facilities. Although he acknowledged that bishops should oversee all philanthropies in their cities, he allowed private donors to organize institutions with independent administrations, free of direct episcopal control, and permitted the donors' heirs to appoint personnel. Only when foundations failed to fulfil their charitable goals could local bishops intervene (*Nov.* cxx; cxxxī).

During the crisis period, no evidence survives regarding private foundations. In the early ninth century, however, Theodore of Stoudios wrote a letter to Moschos, a friend living outside Prusa, in which he mentioned that Moschos and his sisters maintained an orphanage for eighty boys and girls (Theod. Stud. *Ep.* 333–4). Theodore thus provides the only evidence regarding the size of Byzantine orphanages. His letter not only proves that some provincial orphanages were large but also that private donors continued to support major philanthropic institutions after 600.

In the eleventh century, the jurist Michael Attaleiates used his modest resources to found a *ptocheion* for pilgrims and the poor in Raideostos, linking his institution to a small monastery. Using his government connections, he secured immunity for his *ptocheion* from local episcopal officers and from any state bureaucrats. All later Byzantine philanthropic foundations displayed the same characteristics. They were usually attached to monasteries and enjoyed freedom from ecclesiastical or governmental supervision. In establishing the Pantokrator monastery and its dependent philanthropic foundations, John II Komnenos acted in the same fashion, although the resources he enjoyed as emperor enabled him to support a far more elaborate hospital than Attaleiates' small *ptocheion* (Thomas and Hero 2000: 326–32).

Perhaps the sharpest controversy concerning Byzantine philanthropic institutions has arisen concerning hospitals for the sick. Basil of Caesarea and John Chrysostom began hiring physicians to treat poor patients in the *xenones* of the

fourth century. Comparing these institutions to those of medieval Europe and early modern France and England, some scholars have claimed that Byzantine hospitals focused primarily on caring for suffering patients rather than on curing them. Moreover, they deny that a strong link developed between the medieval Greek medical profession and charitable hospitals (Nutton 1986; Horden 2005: 64–8).

Other historians, however, claim that *nosokomeia* (after 600 called *xenones*) became the principal centres of the Byzantine medical profession (Magdalino 1993: 363; Hohlweg 1989: 183). *Xenones* evolved as the principal centres of Byzantine medicine because of their link to the *archiatroi*, the ancient chief physicians of the *polis*. In the second century, the emperor Antoninus Pius established a fixed number of *archiatroi* for each city, granting state salaries to these *archiatroi* who were considered the best physicians in the profession (*Digest*. 27.1.6.8). During the sixth century, however, the Byzantine government reorganized city *archiatroi*. The historian Prokopios claimed that Justinian cancelled their salaries, but chief physicians did not disappear (Miller 1997: xxii–xxv). After Justinian's reign the sources frequently mention them, but always in the service of hospitals (Serfass 2008: 99). Around 600, an *archiatros* treated patients at the Sampson Xenon in Constantinople (*PG* 89. 112–13). In the mid-seventh century, an *archiatros* supervised patient treatment at the Christodotes Xenon where he worked every other month (Crisafulli and Nesbitt 1997: 134). Byzantine hospitals seem to have employed such monthly shifts because the physicians at the twelfth-century Pantokrator hospital used the same system of monthly rotations. By the ninth century, the *archiatroi* marched with their hospital superiors at major imperial ceremonies.

That *archiatroi*, Byzantium's leading physicians, treated *xenon* patients explains another unusual feature of philanthropic hospitals. The sources reveal that not all patients were poor. In the 650s the Sampson hospital performed surgery on a deacon of Hagia Sophia, a man with a house and family in Constantinople (Crisafulli and Nesbitt 1997: 125–30). In the tenth century, a personal retainer of the emperor also received treatment at the Sampson. In the twelfth century, the Pantokrator hospital assigned a bed to the sister-in-law of the reigning emperor, Manuel I (Miller 1997: xxi). That members of the ruling elite sought treatment at Byzantine hospitals demonstrates how different these institutions were from the Hôtel-Dieu in Paris or Saint Bartholomew in London.

That aristocrats came as patients to philanthropic hospitals raises two final questions. Did such patients gradually exclude the poor from Constantinople's best hospitals? Moreover, the sources reveal that some children at the Orphanotropheion had substantial private property. Did Byzantine leaders believe that welfare institutions should benefit all social classes in order to guarantee a high level of care for everyone including the truly needy, or did they create elite institutions in Constantinople which eventually excluded the poor? Not enough information survives to answer these questions.

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The most complete work on Byzantine philanthropic institutions is Constantelos' *Byzantine Philanthropy and Social Welfare*, first published in 1968. Constantelos discusses both how Eastern bishops, monastic leaders, lay aristocrats, and the emperors themselves conceived of philanthropy and how they organized assistance to those in need. Miller's *Birth of the Hospital in the Byzantine Empire* focuses on hospitals for the sick (*nosokomeia*; later *xenones*) and their relationship to the Greek medical profession, but it also contains useful information concerning the causes behind the explosion in charitable institutions during the

fourth century. Holman's *The Hungry are Dying* has focused attention on the key role of the Cappadocian Fathers in shaping Late Roman and Byzantine institutions and attitudes towards charity. Crislip's *From Monastery to Hospital* provides some valuable new insights into the origin of medical hospitals in the Late Roman period, but overly minimizes the role of heretical groups in stimulating new philanthropic institutions. Mentzou-Meimare's article provides the most complete list of provincial philanthropies. Moreover, she has included in her footnotes many of the primary-source passages which describe these institutions. Robert Volk's book on monastic *typika* has uncovered some important information regarding the organization of the Byzantine medical profession and hospitals, information which he gleaned from the many Byzantine monastic foundation charters. Finally, Miller's *Orphans of Byzantium* is the first book written about the care of children who had lost their parents or been abandoned by their families.

CHAPTER III.12

THE ECONOMY

ALAN HARVEY

THE state exercised great influence on the economic life of the empire throughout most of its history. It was solely responsible for the production, and putting into circulation, of coinage. It did this through its expenditure on the army and the administration, imperial largesse, and, in Constantinople especially, through lavish expenditure on building works. Resources flowed from the provinces to Constantinople through a comprehensive system of land taxation. It also imposed a tax on commercial transactions and had the power to requisition supplies of food and raw materials. Its other important resource was the imperial estates which were located throughout the empire and provided revenues to the emperor personally and to official bureaux. The capital was the most important centre of economic demand. The imperial court, aristocratic households, the patriarch, and large monastic houses generated a strong demand for luxury products. This created opportunities for a diverse range of merchants and craftsmen. The population of Constantinople is difficult to estimate at any time (see II.5 Population, demography, and disease), but it was clearly substantially larger than any other city in the empire, from the seventh century especially so, and it required great quantities of foodstuffs to sustain its population. In Late Antiquity grain supplies from Egypt were organized by the state. Later, the pull of market demand was sufficient, under normal conditions, to supply the capital, although the process was overseen by the eparch of the city (Dagron 2002; Maniatis 1999, 2000). Until the end of the twelfth century the state left a strong imprint on the functioning of the economy.

From the fourth century until the middle of the sixth, conditions in the eastern Roman empire were conducive to economic activity. The network of secure communications by land and sea facilitated the exchange of goods. The monetary

system, particularly the gold *solidus* which was the cornerstone of the system and provided a consistent standard of value, also played an essential role in promoting economic activity.

Archaeological surveys in different parts of the eastern Mediterranean countryside have shown a rise in the number of settlements. The rural population was increasing steadily from the fourth century. Urban growth was also in evidence. Expenditure on the construction of public and religious buildings, as well as fortifications, put money into local economies. The demand for food and other commodities in Constantinople and the other large urban centres necessitated the transport of these items on a large scale by land and, especially, by sea. Constantinople obtained its grain largely from Egypt, its oil and wine mainly from Syria and Palestine, and it acted as a stimulus to agricultural specialization, such as the intensive production of oil in many villages in Syria. It also needed large quantities of raw materials for its craftsmen. Although the trade route to Constantinople from Egypt, Palestine, and Syria was the most important, there was also significant commercial exchange between Constantinople and North Africa and Italy until the later sixth century (Morrisson and Sodini 2002: 209–12). From the middle of the sixth century serious economic problems were becoming apparent. The expense of the Justinianic reconquest intensified the fiscal burden on the empire's population. The incursions of the Slavs and Avars into the Balkans were becoming more disruptive and urban decline has been found in Thrace from the fifth century. The transformation of urban sites in the Balkans into fortified settlements (*kastra*) took place in Late Antiquity and was a precursor of a similar transformation in Asia Minor from the seventh century. The plague added to these problems. It struck in Egypt in 541 and reached Constantinople and other parts of the eastern empire in 542 and its impact was reinforced by subsequent recurrences. In the absence of solid evidence of mortality rates, discussion of its economic impact is speculative, but it probably led to a reduction in economic demand with adverse consequences for most sectors of the economy (Morrisson and Sodini 2002).

The economic history of the seventh and eighth centuries is particularly controversial, partly because the surviving source material is so limited. Arab attacks in Asia Minor and Slav incursions in the Balkans created great instability, which made economic life much more difficult. There is little dispute that economic activity did contract during these centuries. The major differences in interpretation concern the extent of that contraction. Laiou has commented on the discrepancies between the archaeological record and the evidence of written sources (Laiou 2002*b*: 700). The former give a much stronger impression of economic decline. Archaeological surveys suggest that the number of rural settlements decreased sharply. Excavations point to a substantial reduction in the extent of the occupied area in Corinth, Athens, Sardis, Ephesos, and many other towns. Casual finds of low-value coins from the seventh and eighth centuries are much scarcer than for earlier and later centuries. Their circulation reflected the vitality, or otherwise, of a monetized

economy because of their use in everyday exchanges. Their scarcity in this period can be attributed to the closure of provincial mints in the seventh century. Although the general pattern derived from archaeological evidence is of a very sharp contraction in economic activity, written sources do provide some evidence of trade. The *Miracles of St Demetrios* contain details about the grain supply of Thessalonike. Disruption to the links with the city's hinterland forced its population to look for its grain supplies from further afield. Its officials played a major role in organizing the dispatch of ships to the city and, most probably, acted as merchants as well as officials. Evidence from the *Miracles* and other texts of this period has been used to argue for continued commercial activity. It is clear, however, that the sixth-century pattern of Thessalonike's grain trade had broken down and a very sharp readjustment was necessary, hence the prominent role of officials in organizing the grain supply (Laiou 2002*b*; Haldon 1990; Dunn 1993).

Fiscal and monetary evidence offers signs of a very tentative recovery in the first half of the ninth century. Fiscal operations proceeded more smoothly than in the eighth century, when Constantine V's attempt to collect taxes in gold had led to severe dislocation; prices fell as money became scarcer. The economy was insufficiently commercialized and monetized for Constantine's measures to succeed. In contrast, the impositions of Nikephoros I, which Theophanes denounced so vehemently, appear to have had a more lasting effect. The reform of the copper *folles* by Theophilos improved the supply of coinage in the European provinces; the coin has been found in significant quantities at Corinth. These were the first, slight indications of an economic revival which became much stronger in subsequent centuries (Oikonomides 2002; Hendy 1985: 424–5).

By the tenth century there were signs of recovery in the rural economy. Greater military security provided a more favourable situation for rural communities to intensify agricultural production. An important element in the revival of the rural economy was a growth in population which was sustained until the first half of the fourteenth century. The revenues which landowners derived from their estates increased as larger numbers of peasants (*paroikoi*) were settled on their properties. The expansion of rural settlements in Macedonia from the tenth century can be traced in archival documents. Privileged landowners received concessions from the state entitling them to establish peasant households on their estates with exemptions from a range of fiscal obligations on condition that the peasants were not already paying taxes or rents to the state. Regular fiscal reassessments were carried out to enforce the state's claims. For landowners the main importance of the grants of privileges was to protect them from an intensification of fiscal obligations as the peasant population on their estates increased. There was a substantial growth in the rural population of Macedonia between the tenth and early fourteenth centuries and both landowners and the state benefited from the resulting increase in revenues. The documentary evidence from Macedonia is complemented by the results of intensive archaeological surveys in other parts of Greece which show a consistent

pattern of expansion of rural settlements from the eleventh century (Lefort 2002: Harvey 1989: 47 ff.).

Villages of independent peasant producers, who owned their land and paid tax on it directly to the state, came under increasing pressure. Their ability to expand the area under cultivation was restricted by powerful neighbours and in some cases they had difficulty in resisting encroachments on their land by *paroikoi* settled on adjacent properties (Lefort 2002). This process can be seen most clearly in Macedonia, but a different pattern of development can be found in western Asia Minor, where peasant communities remained strong into the thirteenth century (Angold 1995: 325–9). The Macedonian case is more likely to have been typical of conditions in most regions of the empire. Changes taking place in rural society were reflected in administrative developments of the eleventh century. The bureau of the *genikon*, which was responsible for collecting the land tax, declined in importance and it was superseded as the state's main source of revenue by the bureau of the *oikeiakon*, which was responsible for the administration of imperial estates (Oikonomides 2002). As independent peasant proprietors became a smaller proportion of the rural population and *paroikoi*, who were established on the properties of the state and powerful landowners, grew in numbers, the state obtained a larger part of its revenues from rent paid by its *paroikoi* and the tax payments of peasant proprietors became less significant. Both the state and powerful landowners, therefore, were benefiting from the growth in rural population.

Agricultural expansion was, however, not confined to productivity gains resulting from an increase in labour. Landowners had the resources to make improvements to their properties, in particular the construction of irrigation systems, and to specialize in cash crops like vines and olives. Oil was exported in large quantities from the Peloponnese from the twelfth century. Boats belonging to the monasteries of Mt Athos were regularly shipping wine to Thessalonike and Constantinople in the tenth century; in the late twelfth century wine shipped to Constantinople in the boats of the Lavra attracted the attention of officials who attempted unsuccessfully to tax it. Less is known about the commercial activities of lay landowners. Isaac Komnenos, the founder of Kosmosoteira, did have privileges allowing him to operate boats and it is very likely that other aristocratic landowners has similar entitlements (Harvey 1989).

The growth in agricultural production naturally intensified the flow of resources to the capital. This concentration of wealth was given added impetus by the extensive privileges which Alexios I granted to other members of the Komnenos family. The great imperial foundations, such as the Mangana, the Orphanotropheion, and the Pantokrator, aristocratic households, and wealthy monasteries generated a high level of demand for luxuries. Although writers like Tzetzes and Ptochoprodromos give only a very general impression, Constantinople in the twelfth century was clearly a bustling city with a wide range of skilled craftsmen, merchants, artisans, petty traders. There was also a transient population of various nationalities,

in addition to the more settled presence of Italian merchants (Magdalino 1993: 109–23).

The revival of the urban economy in this period was most pronounced in the European provinces. Owing to the limitations of the written sources, which are mainly concerned with Constantinople, we are dependent on the archaeological record for an understanding of the urban economy in the provinces. The general pattern in the European provinces was one of expansion. Towns grew in size, the volume of commerce increased, and money circulated in larger quantities. Thebes, the most important town in central Greece, owed its importance largely to the manufacture of high-quality silk textiles, a craft in which its substantial Jewish population was actively engaged in the twelfth century. The most prestigious of the Theban silks were used for diplomatic gifts, and Italian merchants regularly conducted business there in the twelfth century. Thebes was exceptional in manufacturing for a market beyond its regional hinterland, but many other towns prospered by producing commodities to meet local or regional demand. At Corinth the excavated area was a commercial and industrial quarter which included pottery workshops, glass factories, a metal-working factory, and a number of retail outlets. It was also important as an administrative centre and as a port from which the produce of its hinterland was exported. At other towns such as Athens, settlement became denser as the population increased. This pattern of urban growth can be found through most of the European provinces; for example, the population of Chrysoupolis near the Strymon river spread beyond its original fortification and a new outer wall was constructed in the fourteenth century. Many other ports acquired importance as outlets for the agricultural produce of their hinterland. The best-known example is Almyros, which was one of the towns most regularly visited by Venetian merchants in the twelfth century. It was a place of little importance in the administrative structures of Church and State, but owed its significance entirely to its commercial role as an outlet for the agricultural produce of the fertile region of Thessaly (Kazhdan and Epstein 1985; Harvey 1989; Laiou 2002*b*).

There were a number of reasons for the strong upsurge in trade in the European provinces. Greater agricultural prosperity would have increased demand for goods. Peasants would have looked to the nearest market or to a periodic fair to meet their needs. Wealthy landowners with more substantial needs could have turned to the larger markets like Thebes or Corinth. These towns had the advantage of distance from Constantinople. In towns situated in closer proximity to the capital there would have been less incentive for the development of industrial crafts, because demand could be satisfied more easily from Constantinople (Harvey 1989). Demand was also intensified by the presence of Italian merchants. In 1082 Alexios I granted Venetian merchants the right to trade in the empire without paying the *kommerkion*, the tax on commercial transactions. The Pisans and Genoese subsequently received less comprehensive rights. The places which are mentioned most frequently in the Venetian commercial documents of the twelfth century were

Constantinople, Corinth, Sparta, Thebes, and Almyros. Different views have been expressed about the significance of the Italian commercial presence in the empire. The old view was that their trade grew at the expense of Byzantine merchants and had a damaging effect on the economy (Ostrogorsky 1968: 359). More recently, it has been suggested that their presence created a stronger demand for agricultural produce which benefited Byzantine landowners and peasants (Harvey 1989: 223–4). Hendy has sought to downplay the significance of Italian commerce in twelfth-century Byzantium, arguing that the total value of Italian property in the empire was comparable to the wealth of a small number of Byzantine aristocrats, but he accepts that they may have had a considerable impact in those towns where they traded regularly (Hendy 1985: 590–602). This impact was not confined to those towns which are mentioned most often in the documents. Some commercial contracts stipulated that the trader should travel overland between Thebes and Constantinople, a journey which would have offered further opportunities for profitable trading.

There was a clear contrast between the European provinces and Asia Minor, where the economy was severely disrupted in the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries. There is evidence of expansion up to the middle of the eleventh century. Towns were becoming more densely settled and there was an increase in small-scale commodity production for local markets. Due to the military instability following the Seljuk incursions, economic conditions became more difficult in both town and country. The restoration of Byzantine authority in western Asia Minor and the strengthening of fortifications contributed to an economic recovery in the twelfth century; in the thirteenth century the empire of Nicaea offered a greater degree of security, which provided a basis for economic expansion. The influx of powerful landowners and a growing rural population led to a more effective exploitation of agricultural resources. Commercial activity increased and the towns, especially Smyrna, prospered for much of the thirteenth century (Magdalino 1993: 123–32; Angold 1975: 97–120).

The economic expansion of the eleventh and twelfth centuries was marked by an increase in the quantity of money in circulation. This was accompanied by an increase in imperial expenditure and, for much of this period, a growth in revenues obtained from taxation and imperial estates. The gold *nomisma* was debased, at first slightly, from the middle of the eleventh century, but during the 1070s the debasement became more pronounced and in the 1080s the real value of the *nomisma* was less than one-third of its nominal value. There is general agreement that the second phase of the debasement was the product of a budgetary crisis; the loss of Asia Minor drastically reduced the resources available to the state and at the same time there was a pressing need for military expenditure to confront threats from the Normans, Pechenegs, and Seljuk Turks. The earlier phase of the debasement is more controversial. Hendy has argued that it was also caused by budgetary considerations and it differed from the later stage of the debasement only in scale (Hendy 1985:

236). Morrisson, using monetary theory in her analysis, has suggested that it was a debasement of expansion, where the increase in the quantity of money was linked to an increase in the volume of trade (Morrisson 1976). The conscious decision to debase the coinage was clearly caused by budgetary factors, because the quantity theory of money was not part of the way of thinking of Byzantine administrators. Nevertheless, as a tool to analyse economic trends, it is useful in very general terms and the argument fits in well with the pattern of economic expansion at this time. Monetary stability was restored by Alexios I Komnenos in 1092. He replaced the old coinage of three denominations (*nomisma*, *milliaresion*, and *follis*) with a new system of four denominations: a gold *hyperpyron*, electrum and billon *nomismata*, and a copper *tetarteron*. With its additional denomination the new coinage offered greater flexibility for commercial exchange (Hendy 1985: 513–17).

The upsurge in the volume of trade and the increase in the quantity of money in circulation was reflected in fiscal practice. Greater monetization and improved access to markets made it easier for agricultural producers to obtain the cash needed to pay their rent or tax. Although the distribution of coinage was an administrative process, it was inextricably linked with economic conditions. The state collected taxes predominantly in gold *nomismata* and lower-value coins were given as change by tax collectors. The quantity of coinage put into circulation by this procedure would have increased as the rural economy became more prosperous and, especially, as the rural population increased. Changes in the level of taxation also attest to a more heavily monetized economy. Fiscal pressure on much of the rural population intensified in the later eleventh century. As the debasement became more pronounced in the 1070s and 1080s, *nomismata* of differing intrinsic value were in circulation at the same time. Some powerful landowners were able to exploit this situation by paying their taxes in the most heavily devalued coin, thereby paying less in real terms. Tax collectors made up the deficit by extracting more from less influential taxpayers. Consequently, the level of tax payments varied greatly from one village to another, until Alexios I reformed the fiscal system in 1106–9 and imposed the higher rates generally (Hendy 1969: 53–8; see also I.2.15 Numismatics).

The increase in the land tax was not the only fiscal burden placed on the population. It was also subject to a series of supplementary charges: payments in cash and kind to supply the army and also to support imperial officials in the performance of their duties; labour services, such as work on fortifications, bridges, and roads and also the cutting down and transport of timber. Some of the supplementary charges were commuted more frequently into cash payments in the eleventh century; notably the *strateia*, the obligation on owners of this category of land to provide soldiers for the thematic army, and the *mitaton*, a charge involving the billeting of soldiers. Commutation was not automatic. In regions where there was military activity, the imposition of the *mitaton* might have been more advantageous to the state than the collection of a payment in cash. Similarly, the supply of raw materials,

such as timber, was a strategic consideration and again commutation was not necessarily in the interests of the state. Decisions to requisition supplies or to extract cash were dependent on circumstances, especially the logistics of imperial military campaigns, but the increased monetization of the economy provided the emperor and his officials with greater flexibility in their response to these circumstances (Harvey 1989: 102–12; Dunn 1992; Oikonomides 1996).

The role played by the state in the economic life of the empire was greatly reduced after the loss of Constantinople in 1204. Even after the recovery of the capital in 1261 the power of the state to control resources was greatly reduced in comparison to earlier centuries. It no longer exercised authority over economically productive regions in southern and central Greece. In the lands which it did control it lacked the authority to restrict the power of aristocratic and monastic landowners. The revenues which the state derived from the land tax was limited by the reduction in its territorial base and the grants of extensive fiscal concessions to privileged landowners. The state also obtained little from the *kommerkion* due to the commercial privileges and maritime power of the Venetians and Genoese. It became increasingly dependent on the revenues from imperial estates. The economic pattern of earlier centuries, when revenues flowed in great quantities from the provinces to the capital and monies were distributed through imperial expenditure and largesse, became much less significant from the thirteenth century onwards.

From the thirteenth century Italian merchants played a more commanding role in the economic life of Byzantium. In the partition of the empire following the Fourth Crusade, the Venetians acquired a number of ports and islands which were of strategic value for the development of their commerce. In particular, Crete was important for the control of their trade in the Aegean and the Levant, and Korone and Modon became vital centres for the export of agricultural produce from the Peloponnese. The Venetians were able to retain these gains after the restoration of Byzantine authority in Constantinople in 1261, when the Genoese also received concessions of lasting importance. They secured a presence on Chios, which offered access to alum from Phokaia, and their port, Kaffa, on the Black Sea became the base for their domination of the trade of that region. Their settlement at Galata drew a growing volume of trade away from Constantinople. There was a permanent Italian presence in many towns, enabling goods to be sold in the surrounding rural settlements. The Italian merchants and their agents traded textiles and metalwork made in the west, as well as agricultural produce and raw materials (Matschke 2002b: 771–2). Byzantine merchants, in contrast, often had difficulty in gaining access to the markets of the Italian colonies. Subterfuges, such as taking out Venetian citizenship, were used to get around this problem. There were, of course, some notable Byzantine traders. The Monemvasiots were, for part of the fourteenth century, very successful and their commercial activity extended beyond the borders of the empire. Members of the Byzantine aristocracy also became more heavily involved in commerce, in part because their revenues from land were becoming more

precarious from the middle of the fourteenth century. Although there is considerable evidence of Byzantine mercantile activity in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, it took place in a context of Venetian and Genoese pre-eminence. Byzantine merchants had a secondary position in their dealings with the Italians (Matschke 2002*b*).

By the early fourteenth century the empire had lost control over Asia Minor apart from a few isolated outposts. It still retained a substantial territorial base in Europe, but the flow of revenues to the state and to landowners was reduced by a number of factors during the fourteenth century. Landownership was disrupted by the Serbian occupation of much of Macedonia in the middle of the century. Some landowners had good contacts with the Serbian monarch and were able to retain their properties. The monasteries of Mt Athos were granted privileges, but other landowners lost possession of their estates. Even if they recovered them after the re-establishment of Byzantine rule, the properties suffered from the effects of war and depopulation and were greatly reduced in value. The Ottoman advance into Europe in the second half of the fourteenth century made conditions in the rural economy much more precarious. Demographic decline following the Black Death had a devastating impact on landowners' revenues; although the Byzantine evidence is less comprehensive than that for the medieval West, the general pattern is clear. On the island of Limnos numerous abandoned peasant holdings on monastic properties were recorded in the 1350s and 1360s. Evidence for the lands in Macedonia belonging to the monasteries of Mt Athos suggest that between 1321 and 1409 the peasant population had fallen by about 80 per cent. This reduction might have been aggravated by political and military factors, as peasants sought greater security in territory controlled by the Ottomans. As their pressure on Constantinople and Thessalonike increased, conditions on the land still controlled by the Byzantines became more difficult and productive agriculture was almost impossible. During the temporary relaxation of Ottoman pressure following the Battle of Ankara, the state did make some attempts to stimulate agricultural production. The Athonite monasteries received extensive privileges to encourage them to improve the security and productivity of their properties in the Kassandra peninsula, which had the potential to supply significant quantities of food to Thessalonike (Laiou 2002*a*). These efforts had little success and the revival of Ottoman power made conditions in Thessalonike very precarious. This did, however, create opportunities for those who owned land inside the walls of the city due to high levels of demand; complaints of profiteering proliferated. Constantinople also suffered from the reduction of its hinterland. The state found it increasingly difficult to maintain the city in good repair due to its dwindling resources. Outsiders commented on the scattered settlements, resembling villages, inside the city's walls. Nevertheless, commercial quarters continued to exist until the end of the empire. A considerable demand was generated by the imperial court, even in the straitened circumstances of the late empire, and also by the substantial aristocratic wealth in the city. This

maintained a range of traders and artisans. Some Byzantines engaged in banking, but the range of their operations was largely confined to Constantinople and Thessalonike. This evidence of economic activity notwithstanding, the economy of fifteenth-century Constantinople was much reduced compared to previous centuries and by the time of its capture by the Ottomans its population may have fallen below 50,000. Economic conditions remained unfavourable until the city's capture, when the stability provided by the Ottomans facilitated a revival of economic activity (Matschke 2002a; Magdalino 2002).

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III.13. SOCIETY

CHAPTER III.13.1

THE ROLE OF WOMEN

LIZ JAMES

THE study of the roles of women in Byzantium can be seen to date back as far as Edward Gibbon with his low opinion of the empress Theodora, based on the more lurid passages of Prokopios and repeated in *The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* 'veiled in the obscurity of a learned language' (Gibbon, ed. Bury, 1897). The focus on the lives of individual women, above all empresses, has tended to dominate work on women, from Charles Diehl's *Figures byzantines* (1906) to Lynda Garland's *Byzantine Empresses* (1999). However, as feminism became increasingly accepted in the academic field, so the study of women's roles changed. Scholarship in the 1970s and 1980s, influenced by both feminism and Marxism, was concerned to uncover individual non-imperial women and their life histories, to set women in Byzantium into their legal and socio-economic contexts, and to explore the practical aspects of their lives (Cameron 1975; Beaucamp 1977; Laiou 1981, 1985; Herrin 1982, 1983; Talbot 1985; Garland 1988). In the late 1980s and 1990s, emphasis shifted to considering the ideologies surrounding women, what it meant to be a woman in Byzantium and what the Byzantines thought of women (Galatariotou 1984–5; Brown 1988; Harvey 1990; Hill 1999). More recently, scholarship has concerned itself with questions of gender and gendering, with setting Byzantine women into context alongside Byzantine men (papers in James 1997) and with rereading primary sources for mentalities about women (Peltomaa 2005).

These different approaches have provided us with a reasonable amount of information about women in Byzantium. Most crucial in our understanding of the role

of Byzantine women is that virtually all of our information comes through the filter of male sources, written or visual. Women tend to be spoken for rather than to speak for themselves and so their appearance in the historical record needs to be considered in this light. In looking for women's roles, we need to not only read and look at what the sources, visual and written, tell us but what they do not tell us and the influences that colour their perceptions (Smythe 1997).

It is fair to say that Byzantine society was misogynist and patriarchal, in our terms, for the prevailing ideology towards women regarded them as inferior beings to men, weak, untrustworthy, and ranked with children, the mentally deranged, and slaves as unfit to give public testimony. They were licentious temptresses, possessing an uncontrolled and uncontrollable sexuality, and their proper place was in the home, away from any form of public life (Brown 1988). Men and male behaviour was the norm; women's roles were conditioned by this.

This was an ideology based on the teachings of the Church. The Fathers described women as inferior and weak in comparison to men, for they were responsible, via Eve, for the Fall of Man. Women were also liable either to indulge in witchcraft and sorcery or to be possessed by demons. They were credulous to a fault. They also were ever-present sources of temptation, and instruments of the devil. However, thanks to being created in God's image and thanks to the redeeming actions of the Virgin Mary, women were also perceived by the Church as spiritually equal to men. These two mutually contradictory roles underpin their roles in Byzantine society (Galatariotou 1984–5).

Based simply on this, one might assume that women's roles in Byzantium were severely circumscribed. The issue here is that ideologies represent an ideal state of affairs. Despite the established ideology, women did succeed in taking a greater role in Byzantine society than it might suggest (Hill 1997; Smythe 1997).

Prevailing dogma suggested that because woman was the cause of Man's Fall and an ever-present source of temptation, her greatest threat was through her sexuality and the undermining thereby of male chastity and virtue. To overcome this perceived danger, a variety of female role models were sanctified by the early Church: the virgin, the transvestite, the repentant whore, the woman denying her husband. These models argued a rejection of sexuality (Galatariotou 1984–5). However, the 'normal' life of a woman involved marriage and then motherhood, placing ideals and reality into conflict, a tension between a controlled and productive sexuality and its total denial. So, ideology shifted, and increasingly, marriage was perceived as the appropriate role for a woman, closely followed by motherhood. Virgin, wife, mother, and widow were, essentially, the few acceptable Christian roles for women. This changing ideology can be traced in several ways; one is in the changing nature of female sanctity. In the Early Christian period, female saints tended to be martyrs, virgins, transvestites, repentant prostitutes such as Mary of Egypt and Pelagia, and women, like Matrona, who had left their husbands to dedicate their lives to

Christ (Patlagean 1976; Harvey 1990). By the ninth century, these role models had changed and the ideal female saint was the holy housewife, women such as St Mary the Younger or Thomais of Lesbos who were trapped in abusive marriages with children, but who nevertheless remained, practising piety within that marriage.

In looking at actual women, we gain a clearer idea of how ideology and reality interacted in daily life. The nature of the Byzantine state offered little, if any, access to public life for women. Below the emperor, there were three key political and public components: church, army, and the civil administration. In all of these, women were prevented from holding positions because of their sex. As in Rome, women did not operate in public office: a woman with power over a man was an object of grave suspicion. Women's political, or 'public' life was thus severely restricted. At home, however, in the so-called 'private' sphere of the family, women held a larger role. The single monogamous marriage was privileged by both State and Church and the family born of marriage became an increasingly important social institution. Praise of the good wife and mother involved in pious works increases in the writings of Byzantine men, suggesting an increase in the ideological status of these roles. Women were responsible for the upbringing of children, sons as well as daughters in their formative years, and for training these children appropriately (Laiou 1992). After motherhood, the next most important role of the woman, of whatever class, was household maintenance. Women of all classes and backgrounds did possess important personal, economic, and property rights, guaranteed by law. A woman retained possession of her dowry (though her husband administered it) and could alienate inherited property; widows retained the right of ownership and administration of family property, including dowry goods (Beaucamp 1977, 1990; Laiou 1985). They also had authority over their sons. Judicial acts reveal women appearing in courts to testify and plead successfully for divorce, for the resolution of property disputes, and for control over property. Daughters as well as sons had the right to share the inheritance of their parents and property was transferred along female lines (Beaucamp 1977, 1990). Within the family, women were expected to be active in economic issues and the reality of women's ownership of property is a key factor in understanding Byzantine family life.

In describing what women could do, however, one must always be conscious of what women could not do in relation to what men could and did. Domestically, the honour of the home was vested in women so that the virginity of daughters and the virtue of wives were highly prized and protected. Where male sexuality was acceptable, the sexual misbehaviour of young women was punished; any girl who lost her virginity to a man other than her betrothed after her betrothal could be repudiated by her fiancé. Nevertheless, rape was increasingly recognized as a crime in which the rapist should be punished, as distinct from adultery, where both parties were considered equally guilty (Laiou 1993). The role of wife and mother was a restricted role; it was under the control of Church, State, and parents, all of whom

played a part in constructing the marriage bond. What say, if any, the individual woman might have had in the choice of her life's partner is very uncertain.

To understand women's roles in Byzantium, it is always important to keep the two aspects of ideology and factual information in balance. Thus, whilst evidence exists for women fulfilling practical roles in terms of economic activity, this has to be balanced against the question of whether sources record what it was appropriate or inappropriate for women to do, rather than what they actually did do. Whilst little is known specifically about the lives of female peasants, women seem to have participated in agricultural labour but only in certain areas: harvesting, but not ploughing or shepherding (Bryer 2002). Is this because they could only undertake roles that kept them near the home or because it was only acceptable to record them as performing such activities as kept them near the home? In towns, they seem to have been involved in a variety of trades, ranging from doctors and midwives to tavern keepers, bath-keepers, washerwomen, servants, bakers, sellers of food, dancers, and prostitutes (Kalavrezou 2003). However, many of these were roles not highly respected and indeed were perceived simply as variants on prostitution.

Women could be involved in trade, and indeed, it was because they owned property that they could be involved in trade above the level of the street-seller, investing their money in shops and even able to act as money-lenders (Laiou 1999). The major trade we really see them participating in is cloth manufacturing and selling; the ideological expectation that a good woman was only involved in spinning and weaving is perhaps an underlying factor here. The other major trade for women recorded in our male sources is prostitution. Although at least two empresses may have been prostitutes, this did not make it a creditable way of life but rather an exemplar. Repentant whores still featured as heroines of spectacular conversions and the charitable building of 'houses of repentance' for those who wished to leave this way of life indicated that prostitution was a lifestyle to regret.

Although women's lives may not have been as secluded as prevailing ideologies might have desired, still they were restricted. We see women leaving the home for a variety of legitimate, but limited and ideologically sound, reasons, including attendance at church services, visits to the baths, to shrines, to family members, to the poor, buying and selling, and participating in celebrations marking civil or imperial events and even in riots. How far women were educated is unclear. Female literacy was not common and tended to be the preserve of the upper classes. Although there are many references to mothers teaching their children the Psalms and bible stories, these women may well have known such texts by heart rather than through reading. Female writers remain exceptions. We know of very few after the fifth century: Kassia the hymnographer in the ninth century and Anna Komnene, the sole female historian from Byzantium, in the twelfth. Only imperial and aristocratic women are known as bibliophiles.

The ideology of womanhood had an effect on the religious lives of women. In religious terms, women could not hold any of the priestly offices, for this would

have involved her holding superiority over a male. Indeed, stories of female saints are forced to confront and deal with this problem in a variety of ways. Within the Church, women, usually of noble birth, could found monasteries, rule convents, and hold all offices within the convent apart from that of priest. For noblewomen, the nunnery could become a family centre and place of power, passed down the generations (Talbot 1985; Weyl Carr 1985; Galatariotou 1988). For the non-aristocrat, the nunnery might represent a haven away from the roles of wife and mother; it might also represent a prison for unwanted or unsuitable daughters, where these served as drudges to the aristocratic lady. Although it is possible that women were a significant force in Iconoclasm and were particularly devoted to the use of icons in religious worship, it is also possible that their appearance in the historical record at this point is fictional, designed to make a point about the unnatural nature of events (Herrin 1982, 2000; Cormack 1997).

As has been noted, women's political power in Byzantium was limited. Princesses were useful for diplomatic marriages. Nuns and abbesses, the latter usually noble by birth, might influence religious activity and very occasionally interfere in court politics, usually with little result. Noble ladies held high positions at court in the empress's household, they founded monasteries, organized literary circles, served as patrons of the arts (Runciman 1984). The sixth-century noblewoman Anicia Juliana, who had close imperial connections, succeeded, through her wealth and connections, in disturbing the authority of the emperor Justinian (Harrison 1989).

Nevertheless, we should continue to read across the grain of the sources (Harvey 1990). Why do empresses and holy women feature in the historical sources, both visual and written? Part of the answer is that they did in fact wield some sort of power or influence, that they were significant in the events that histories describe and that images depict. Another part is that, as women, they could be used as role models to illustrate success, failure, appropriate and inappropriate behaviour. Thus one eighth-century historian could cite the empress Eirene, who restored the icons in 787, as an example of God operating through the weak and virtuous—a widow-woman and her orphaned son—whilst the Iconoclasts could denounce her restoration of icons as 'female frivolity' (James 2001). In this way, Eirene serves as a symbol as well as a guide to actual historical events.

Empresses do appear to have held some form of political power. It seems clear that 'empress' was an official position in the organizational structure of the empire. Like the emperor, the empress had no place in law, and all that entailed. If an emperor died leaving a young heir, then it was expected that the child's mother would act as regent; if an emperor was unable to carry out his duties, then his wife stepped in: no emperor ever had a regent who was not a female relative. The office of empress appeared in other areas of public life. Empresses appeared on coins, that most public demonstration of the imperial self-image. The representation of the empress in art also served to emphasize her official role.

The extent of an empress's power is, however, unclear. Although women's influence in the public domain was often exercised through their access to more powerful male figures, it should be stressed that this was the way in which less powerful men also operated. What the careers of empresses reveal is that, unsurprisingly, women had access to political power through their relationship with men. This might be as sister (Pulcheria), as mother (Eirene, the second Theodora, Theophano), as wife (Ariadne, Theodora, Sophia), or as daughter (Ariadne, whose husbands became emperor through marriage to her) (Garland 1999; James 2001; McClanan 2002). Throughout Byzantine history there are many examples where the empress survived her husband and the passing of power depended in large part on her, thanks not to her birth but to her position as imperial widow. This suggests a formalized role for the empress, an official access to political power that depended on her position, not her personality. In the absence of an imperial male (the only figure in the Byzantine political system who outranked the empress), the office of empress was the most important in hierarchical terms. As a result, the role of regent was a part of the empress's position, either when the emperor left an under-age heir (as with Eirene, for example; Herrin 2001) or, as in the case of Sophia, when the emperor was incapable of ruling (Cameron 1975). Then civil government was in her hands: the empress-regent appointed and dismissed officials and had some control over taxes and the judiciary.

Nevertheless, the prevailing ideology of inferior woman served to restrict her ability to act. To be successful, an empress-regent was obliged to be on good terms with her patriarch; those who were not tended to run into problems, as Theophano discovered. As for the army, since women did not command armies, an empress was obliged to keep her successful generals sweet or run the risk of being overthrown. For a woman, the easiest way round this issue was to marry a general or appoint a loyal general but the drawback was that the general might take power for himself. Theophano, who attempted to retain her position by marrying a successful general, was promptly superseded by her new husband; Sophia, who hoped to rule through nominees, was relegated by them to a secondary role. Only Eirene successfully negotiated this issue, by appointing eunuchs to the chief positions of both civil and military authorities. As castrated men, eunuchs were disbarred from seeking imperial power for themselves, since the emperor had to be bodily intact, and thus presented a limited threat to the empress's authority.

Changing patterns in female imperial power may reflect a change in women's roles, though there is not enough evidence to be certain of this. In the early period, there is more evidence for empresses involving themselves in the running of the empire, with women such as Eudoxia, Pulcheria, Verina, Theodora, Sophia, and Martina leaving a mark on events of the fifth to seventh centuries. This is also a period with evidence of female involvement in intellectual circles (the philosopher Hypatia) and when the image of female sanctity was that of virgins resisting the advances of their affianced husbands and prostitutes repenting spectacularly of

their way of life. Women founded churches and commissioned manuscripts, as did Anicia Juliana; they built hospitals.

Between the seventh and eleventh centuries, the surviving evidence for empresses is much less, perhaps because the empire was concerned above all with its military survival. Two empresses were responsible for the restoration of icons during the periods of Iconoclasm, one of whom, the empress Eirene, was the only ruling Byzantine empress. However, one of the dominant images of empresses from this period is as wives and mothers. The other iconophile empress, Theodora, is portrayed in written sources as anxious for the salvation of her iconoclast husband and regent for her son (Herrin 2001): it is in this period that the holy housewife comes to the fore. Although the empress Eirene was responsible for buildings, much less evidence survives of women's patronage from this period, though the same is, to an extent, true of men's.

From the early eleventh century, empresses and imperial women more generally held an increasingly significant role. From the empress Zoe through to the women of the Komnenian dynasty, women did on occasion wield imperial power for themselves and certainly provided a force to be reckoned with (Hill 1999). Women's patronage of buildings was considerable and their presence in literary circles notable. Increasingly as an aristocratic class emerged within Byzantium from the eleventh century, noblewomen appear to have had an increasing role to play within the prevailing ideology as bearers of lineage and property. Female literacy and patronage of the arts among the upper classes seems to have increased in this period. Women even feature in literary romances, indicating a certain exaltation of femininity and love. New female saints are rare however, in this period, and tend to fit the holy mother model. Nevertheless, however we might see women's roles as changing, the ideology that ranked them as second to men did not. That a class of aristocratic women might arise says more about the rise of an aristocracy than a rise of women (Hill 1997).

In understanding women's roles in Byzantium, we have always to remember that our sources do not simply tell us what women did. What they choose to tell us is informed by attitudes to women and to female behaviour and to the role that authors and patrons see specific women fulfilling in the text or image. We are allowed to see certain aspects of women's lives, but we need always to remind ourselves that this is a partial and biased picture and to understand it in terms of male ideologies about women.

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Further Reading

General introductory books and articles on women in Byzantium include Grosdidier de Matons 1967; Clark 1993; Laiou 1999. There has been a recent spate of publications on empresses: Garland 1999; Hill 1999; James 2001; Herrin 2001; McClanan 2002. For ideologies surrounding women, see Galatariotou 1984–5; Clark 1994; Hill 1997; and Smythe 1997, and for law, Beaucamp 1990. Kalavrezou 2003 is the catalogue with introductory essays from an exhibition about women's daily life in Byzantium.

CHAPTER III.13.2

FAMILIES AND KINSHIP

RUTH MACRIDES

THE family has been characterized as 'the one form of association that flourished in Byzantium' (Kazhdan and Constable 1982: 32). Yet there was no specific word for 'family' in Byzantine Greek. It is indicative that the word most frequently used, *syngeneia*, designated both the family and kinship in general. According to treatises and legal compilations there were two kinds of *syngeneia*: 'by nature' (*physei*) and 'by arrangement' (*thesei*). The last category, kinship by arrangement, included marriage (*anchisteia*), baptismal sponsorship (*anadoche pneumatike*), and adoption of a son/daughter (*huiiothesia*) or of a brother/sister (*adelphopoia*) (Schminck 1976: 140).

The fundamental significance of the family in Byzantium is indicated by the degree to which the family served as a model for other types of relationship; extensive use was made of the language of kin to describe non-kin. The teacher used it of his pupil, the friend in addressing a friend, the emperor of his subjects and of foreign rulers. The use of kin terms was likewise widespread in the Church where the relationship between a confessor and a confessant was described as one of father-child, as was that between a superior and monk or nun. Perhaps the most striking evidence of all for the centrality of the family derives from those who cut ties with this world, leaving behind family, renouncing 'children, parents and simply every blood relation', yet who nevertheless became involved in those very relationships, contracting kinship by sponsoring children at baptism and by adopting brothers (Macrides 1987: 144, 154).

Although the consensus of opinion is that the typical Byzantine family was a nuclear one (*ODB* 2: 776; Laiou-Thomadakis 1977: 79), evidence from a great range of sources over the entire period of Byzantium's existence shows that the Byzantines had a much wider and more extensive understanding of what constituted family. It was, as the word *syngeneia* indicates, a kinship network that included a range of people on whom one could call for help of an economic, military, or other nature (Patlagean 1984: 32). These relationships, which were 'arranged' or chosen, were additional to the biological ones. Therefore, in any study of the Byzantine family, marriage, baptismal sponsorship, and adoption can and should be examined together. The Byzantines used all of these to bring people who were outside the biologically defined family into it. These ties of kinship had elements in common: ecclesiastical rites formed them; the ties joined not only the principals but also their families; gift-giving accompanied the creation of the kinship; obligations were associated with the ties.

Sources for the investigation of Byzantine attitudes to the family are diverse in nature, with strong concentrations of material in the later Byzantine period. The historical narratives relate the story of imperial and aristocratic Constantinopolitan families, and saints' lives describe the family life that the saint-in-the-making was to reject. In addition to legislation, other legal material derives from the cases which came before secular and ecclesiastical courts: the eleventh-century *Peira* and the thirteenth-century cases of Demetrios Chomatianos, archbishop of Ochrid, and John Apokaukos, metropolitan of Naupaktos. Decisions of the patriarch and synod, especially those of the patriarchal register which survives in the original for 1315–1402, provide the largest surviving collection of Byzantine cases involving family property. Other problems brought to the civil and ecclesiastical courts include under-age marriages, marriage within the prohibited degrees, divorce, second and third marriages. While most of the above sources are informative about town dwellers, the inventories (*praktika*) made for valuation purposes for fourteenth-century Macedonia give information about peasant families, the composition of their households, the number of children in a family.

The late ninth century was a formative period for Byzantine family structures. In a series of novels, the emperor Leo VI introduced changes to marriage and adoption which gave the Church a greater role in both. Before Leo VI's Novel LXXXIX a marriage was legal if contracted according to civil law. With this law the Church obtained a monopoly on the formation of matrimonial unions (Laiou 1992: 10–12). Likewise, in Novel XXIV the emperor indicated that adoption was created by the prayers of the Church. Adoption was, therefore, a 'spiritual relationship' and took on the language of baptism, which itself had been likened to an adoption since the patristic period (Macrides 1990: 110).

The ninth century was important in the history of the family in another way also. Changes to the manner in which marriage and adoption were made were

accompanied by the Church's widening of the marriage impediments among those related by affinity or by an adoption. For the former, impediments to the sixth degree of kinship were imposed; that is, the prohibition extended as far as the children of first cousins (Laiou 1992: 13). For the latter, the prohibitions of marriage already in existence from the reign of Justinian I, between a father and his adopted child, were extended to include the biological and the adopted children of a father. These stipulations brought the impediments to marriage for adoptive kinship in line with those for baptismal sponsorship (Macrides 1990: 114). If marriage prohibitions can be seen to define who constitutes family in Byzantium, then it is clear from the above that kinship created by marriage, adoption, and baptismal sponsorship enlarged the family far beyond the principals to the relationship.

Accompanying these legislative changes, which gave the Church the lead in the creation of kinship, were other developments related to the family. From the ninth to tenth centuries, the vocabulary of kinship became more precise (Patlagean 1996: 472). Family names began to be introduced by the tenth century, showing the 'stabilization of the concept of lineage' (Kazhdan 1997: 91, 109). Another indication of the growing importance of family can be seen by observing imperial families. The successors of the emperor Herakleios in the seventh century regarded their relatives as dangerous enemies, imprisoning, killing, or mutilating them, while the Komnenoi made the most of their kin (Kazhdan and Constable 1982: 54). In their reigns kinship terms denoting relationship to the emperor became the equivalent of a title denoting hierarchical position (Magdalino 1993: 210–17; app. 2). It was likewise the Komnenoi who used foreign imperial marriages to their fullest extent (Macrides 1992a: 271–5).

MARRIAGE

The 'union and joining of a man and a woman for life' (Scheltema and van der Wal 1962: B.28.4.1) linked the families of origin of the man and woman and constituted a new family whose descendants were connected by blood and by economic rights with the families of their mother and father. Marriages were arranged by the parents of the children or another relative (Patlagean 1996: 483) and were accompanied by the obligatory 'gift' of a dowry (*proix*) for both children (Macrides 1992b: 94). Although the legal age for a marriage was 13 for a girl and 15 for a boy, evidence from civil and ecclesiastical court cases shows that, in practice, girls especially were married at a much younger age (Laiou 1984: 279, 283; Kiousopoulou 1990: 29; Macrides 1992a: 273). The impetus behind such early marriages, attested at all levels of society and for all periods, was the desire, on the part of the parent or

another relative, to secure the child's future before a parent's (premature) death. Indeed, in 40 per cent of cases from the registers of Chomatianos and Apokaukos, the first marriage was dissolved by the death of one of the spouses (Laiou 1984: 280). Eustathios Romaios, judge at the court of the Hippodrome in Constantinople in the eleventh century, declared in a decision collected in the *Peira* (17.14) that if offspring were to wait to reach the age of majority at 25 before marrying, they would be orphans (Zepos and Zepos 1931/1962: 65).

A different source of pressure on a parent arranging an early marriage is described by a scholiast of the *Ecloga Basilicorum* (1142) at B.2.3.162. He claims that the emperor might marry his son to the 8- or 10-year-old daughter of an enemy ruler in order to prevent an attack on the empire; his subjects should not, however, imitate him, using his behaviour as an example, since he acted out of dire necessity (Burgmann 1988: 147). Yet, while the circumstances behind the emperor's contravention of the law might be politically pressing, it would be wrong to assume that his subjects' reasons were any less strategic (Macrides 1992a: 263–80). The scholiast's comments expose the parallels between the emperor's behaviour and that of their subjects in marital alliances. The difference between them is in the eloquence of the imperial examples which reveal the circumstances and objectives of the marriage, while the court cases of the emperor's subjects usually do not.

Examples of more parallels can be found. The emperor, like his subjects, sought to arrange marriages within the prohibited degrees of kinship to prevent the dispersal of wealth and power outside the family. One thirteenth-century writer defended such a marriage arranged by the emperor for his subject who was already related to him by marriage, by stating: 'For even though it was prohibited by the Church, it is allowed to the emperors for the sake of public welfare and expediency' (Laiou 1992: 56). The emperor's subjects likewise tried to contract these prohibited matrimonial unions. Their cases, before ecclesiastical and civil courts, proliferated in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, 'at a time when matrimonial alliances became, for the aristocracy, one of the most powerful tools for developing and affirming its political power' (Laiou 1992: 21). But not all cases are from the aristocracy, although the overwhelming number are (Laiou 1992: 59–66). The prohibitions on marriage could also be used to call off a union should the need arise.

The marriage an emperor arranged for his subjects or his own children had as its object to obtain support, loyalty, and goodwill from the newly added family. Affines could be called upon to help each other. This point is made in a negative way by John Doukas when he advised the emperor Nikephoros Botaneiates to marry Maria 'of the Alans' because she was 'a foreigner and did not have a crowd of relatives who would trouble the emperor' (Macrides 1992a: 275; cf. Kazdan and Constable 1982: 54).

Although the support was of a different order when non-imperial in-laws were concerned, cooperation and mutual economic support might be forthcoming in this case also. Examples of the involvement of relations-in-law in decisions

concerning property are found in the patriarchal register. In a case of 1401, Gabriel, son of kyr Perios Lampadenos, wanted to buy his brother's share in a field, to prevent an outsider from buying inherited family land. 'The whole side (*meros*) of his wife' suggested that he pawn dowry jewellery in order to accomplish this. In another case of the same year, a cousin of Boullotes' wife made Boullotes executor, heir, and caretaker of her soul (Macrides 1998: 182).

Gift-giving was a major part of the formation of kin alliances. Parents or other relatives were obliged to provide the marriage gifts for their child, a dowry (*proix*) or a *donatio propter nuptias* (*hypobolon*), sometimes also referred to as a 'dowry' (Gedeon 1896: 114). The latter was originally of equal value with the woman's dowry in Justinian's legislation but was reduced to a half and then one-third of the value of the dowry by the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Together these gifts constituted the marriage property of a couple. Cases from the patriarchal register show that dowries consisted of movable and immovable property (Macrides 1992*b*: 90, 94). Children who had been dowered might still hope to inherit from their parents. The marriage settlements on older children could, however, limit the dowries and inheritances of other children in the family, especially younger sons. Yet, according to the law, all the children of a marriage were entitled to a share in their parents' property. How much they might inherit would depend on the number of children, the timing of their marriages, and their parents' disposition towards them (Macrides 1992*b*: 96–8; Laiou 1998: 135–6). Another limiting factor on the inheritance of children of a marriage was the birth of children from subsequent marriages. Eustathios Romaios is cited in the *Peira* (25.25) in support of a clandestine arrangement between a widow and her lover as preferable to a second marriage. He argues that a second marriage would reduce significantly the property of her children by the first marriage and would affect her feelings for them also (Zepos and Zepos 1931/1962: 98–9). In another case, a young man was being neglected by his widowed father because of his father's love for his concubine (*pallake*) and their children. The son, deprived of food and shelter, was also unable to marry without a dowry (Macrides 1990: 115 n. 74).

ADOPTION

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Another form of 'arranged' kinship, adoption, became possible through the laws of Leo VI, also for women 'who had not by nature received the gift' of children and for men who had been deprived of the ability to procreate by castration. Before this law only women whose children had died were allowed to adopt, and this only exceptionally, and by imperial rescript. Now even women who had never had

children were not to be refused this consolation. Leo VI's novel lessened one of the inequalities between men and women but also confirmed that adoption no longer established *patria potestas* over the adopted child.

Although the ties of adoption were created by an ecclesiastical blessing, as stated by Leo VI's Novel xxiv, contracts were also part of the procedure of adoption. Notarial formulas (13th–15th centuries) for adoption contracts convey circumstantial details of the context for adoption: an impoverished widow sought an adoptive parent for her child or was approached by a prospective parent. The formulas show that both childless couples and parents with children adopted.

Adoptions, like other forms of kinship, carried with them mutual obligations. The mother giving up her child had to undertake, under penalty of fine, not to try to overturn or change the agreement, nor attempt to take her child away from the adoptive parents. The adopted child was obliged to serve and honour its adopted parents. The adoptive parents' duties fall into two categories. In one kind of contract they agree to provide the necessities, a home, food, and clothing, and a dowry. The latter was the legal responsibility of a parent (Scheltema and van der Wal 1962: B.28.4.11 (p. 1326)). The other type of contract makes the adopted child the heir to property and successor to the family line (*genos*), and 'legitimate' (*gnesios*) offspring.

This variation in the provisions for adopted children shows that there were degrees of 'belonging' to the family, both from the child's and the adoptive parents' point of view. Without the stipulation in the contract that the adopted child was an instituted heir, the adopted child could claim only an intestate inheritance.

Adoption differed from the other forms of 'arranged' kinship in a significant way. The formulas show that natural and adoptive parents approached one another directly. The adopted child might, therefore, know his blood family and associate with his blood kin. Even so, adoption does not appear to have created ties with a wider kin group, except for the adopted child. Adoptive ties created family by providing for its survival through an heir but its ties were not social (Macrides 1990: 109–18 and 1999: 307–18).

BAPTISMAL SPONSORSHIP

The most common means of creating a wider family network was baptismal sponsorship because every infant had to have a sponsor (*anadochos*) present at the 'adoption in holy baptism'. The ritual of baptism created spiritual ties of kinship which united godparents and natural parents as co-parents (*synteknoi*) and the offspring of both families as spiritual brothers and sisters. Parents sometimes chose

relatives as godparents to their children but there are many more examples of friends or those whose friendship was sought, acting as sponsors. The offer to create a tie through baptismal sponsorship could enhance an existing friendship or create a new one. The families linked by baptismal sponsorship socialized, eating and drinking together, visiting each other and giving gifts. Godparents were obliged to instruct their godchildren in the faith. However, they are more visible acting as substitute parents for their orphaned godchildren, providing an upbringing, education, dowry, and even entering into business transactions with them (Macrides 1987: 139–62).

ADELPHOPOIIA

The adoption of a brother/sister differs markedly from the other ties. Although a ritual exists for its celebration and formation and treatises include it as a form of arranged kinship, it was rejected by the Church as ‘not admissible by law’. Yet in the statement of rejection there is an admission that the tie was sought after. Even members of the church hierarchy became brothers by arrangement (Patlagean 1978: 625–36). The tie functioned in a way similar to that between a godparent and the natural parent of a child. Both ties were based on friendship or the hope of it and carried with them the obligation of mutual help and support. *Adelphopoia* could provide a means of access and intimacy between a man and a woman or people of the same sex (Macrides 1990: 110).

MONASTICISM

Monastic life provided the only serious competition for the family, yet the monastic community also was patterned on familial roles. The new monastic ties were meant to replace all other forms of kinship and to fulfil some of the functions of the family, yet monks had to be reminded not to make bonds of kinship with laymen and women through baptismal sponsorship or adoptive brotherhood (Macrides 1987: 144). Parental roles might be adopted in monasteries when special arrangements were made to bring up, educate, and dower a child who had not taken vows (Macrides 1999: 315). In other ways also those who adopted the monastic life maintained family ties. Many monastic foundations were linked with the families of their founders. Members of the same family might enter the monastery where

their relatives had taken vows. Monks and nuns continued to see their families, sometimes visiting them but more often receiving visits from them. Monasteries also perpetuated family ties through the provision of burial and annual commemoration of members of the founder's family (Talbot 1990: 119–29).

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Suggested Reading

On ties of 'arranged' kinship see Patlagean 1978; R. J. Macrides, *Kinship and Justice in Byzantium, 11th–15th centuries* (Aldershot, 1999), nos. 1–v; C. Rapp, 'Ritual brotherhood in Byzantium', *Traditio* 52 (1997): 285–326; D. Smythe, 'In denial: same-sex desire in Byzantium', in L. James (ed.), *Desire and Denial in Byzantium* (Aldershot, 1997): 139–48. For property transmission: J. Beaucamp and G. Dagron (eds.), *La transmission du patrimoine* (Paris, 1998); On orphans: T. S. Miller, *The Orphans of Byzantium* (Washington, DC, 2003). On family names: D. M. Nicol, 'The prosopography of the Byzantine aristocracy', in Angold 1984: 79–91; Kazhdan 1997. On lineages, J.-C. Cheynet, *Pouvoir et contestations à Byzance (963–1210)* (Paris, 1990): 261–86. On households, P. Magdalino, 'The Byzantine aristocratic *oikos*', in Angold 1984: 92–111. On monasticism: R. Morris, 'The Byzantine aristocracy and the monasteries', in Angold 1984: 112–37.

CHAPTER III.13.3

PATRONAGE AND RETINUES

GÜNTER PRINZING

BYZANTINE society developed out of Late Antique Roman society, and inherited the features of that society. Some of these were retained permanently: for example, the hierarchical structure focused on the emperor, and the general exclusion of the peasant population from government affairs at either central or provincial level. Other characteristics were subject to change over the course of time, or disappeared, allowing new features to evolve.

The senate is a good example of this process. The senate initially held a dominant position, and comprised around 300 members. In the fourth and fifth centuries, as a result of new appointments and the linking of many offices to senatorial rank, this changed, and the senate became a complex structure made up of over 2,000 members. These senators bore not only the hereditary honorary title of *vir clarissimus*, but were also *honorati*—members of the imperial aristocracy. But since the increase in the size of the senate brought with it a devaluation of the status of *clarissimus*, new gradations in rank were introduced: first that of *vir illustris* for the highest officials of the civil and military administration, and that of *vir spectabilis* for holders of lesser offices. But the devaluation of titles came also to affect the *illustres* and the *illustrissimi*, since from the mid-fifth century all senators were designated *illustrissimi*. In the latter case, the balance was maintained by transferring the former *illustres* to the rank of *gloriosi* and *magnifici* around the mid-sixth century (Demandt 1989: 281; Haldon 2002: 138 f.).

The emperor alone was entitled to bestow senatorial rank, and in doing so he enjoyed total freedom of decision. At that time—as also later in the Byzantine

Empire—there was no privileged aristocracy of birth, which the emperor had to take into consideration. Because of this, the members of the senate, although without exception wealthy, came from a wide variety of backgrounds. But whoever once succeeded in entering this circle could then make use of the various means available to members of the senate to help family members or his clients to better positions—that is, to gain higher income, greater standing, or greater influence. Furthermore, senators were often—like other highly influential, powerful personages in the capital or the provinces—asked for support as patrons (*patroni*) by people in more vulnerable social positions, or by trade bodies, institutions, or civic representatives. That is, they were sought after as people able to provide and exercise patronage (Latin: *patrocinium*; Greek: *prostasia*; legal, material, or other assistance or protection, or, in concrete terms, financial support), especially in dealings with state tax collectors or other officials. One of the negative aspects of patronage was that the clientele of such powerful personages (*dynatoi*) not infrequently ran the risk of becoming completely, or almost completely, dependent on their patrons—through the transfer of land, for example. This was one of the main reasons for repeated imperial measures against the institution of patronage (cf. Tinnefeld 1977: 36–44; Demandt 1989: 333–7; Saradi 1994: 69–83, 320). Another characteristic of the Late Antique or early Byzantine period can therefore be found in the extension of patronage, with ambivalent consequences.

There is presumably a certain degree of correspondence between the growing importance of patronage in the early Byzantine period and the increased tendency, especially at the end of this period, towards the formation of various types of retinue. Anyone who assembled around themselves a retinue (or personal followers: there is some degree of overlap), of whatever composition, probably did so initially for personal protection and to protect property (from robbers and external enemies), as well as to intimidate potential internal opponents and safeguard and increase their own power and influence—but also, of course, to enhance their personal prestige.

Thus, between the fifth and seventh centuries one comes across increasing numbers of so-called *bucellarii* (cf. *ODB* 316): that is, militarily organized bodyguards or elite defence forces, made up of ‘barbarians’ (i.e. men of foreign extraction), in the service of high-ranking military figures (e.g. Belisarios) or civil office-holders. With their formation tolerated by the state, the *bucellarii* served to defend both private territories and the power and security of powerful personages in either the civil or the military sphere, but also came to be employed against internal rivals. One is dealing, therefore, with large, private or semi-private retinues of military character, which were nevertheless tolerated or even endorsed by the state. However, these were fully integrated into the army (probably already by the beginning of the seventh century) as elite troops in their own right—a development which eventually culminated in the creation of the theme of Boukellarion in Asia Minor (cf. *ODB* 316–17).

On the other hand, it is difficult to determine the details of the process which led to the creation of those retinues which have—somewhat misleadingly—been termed *Factiones* (cf. Winkelmann 1987: 75 ff.; but see *ODB* 773–4). From around the beginning of the ninth century, their presence can be partly assumed, partly proven, with varying degrees of clarity, within or alongside different branches of the state organization, civil or military. They apparently developed, on the one hand, out of the clientele system of patronage, personal friendship groups, or groups of dependants, and, on the other hand, out of dependence on armed defence or bodyguards. Retinues of this type were based upon a purely personal dependence by followers on their lord, without official regulation, and are designated as ‘private’ retinues. However, even a retinue of this kind could not offer its lord complete protection in the long term; one only need think of internal rivalries. On the other hand, for young people with little means at their disposal by which to attain lucrative positions through the usual channels, admittance to a retinue of this kind offered the opportunity of coming under the protection of a powerful, influential person, albeit by accepting almost total dependence upon that person. In these circumstances, they could hope not only to be promoted by their lord, but also to climb both socially and politically, and, with a little luck, continue to climb, and reach even the highest offices in court and state.

The sources which relate the rise of the future emperor Basil I (867–86) (cf. Lilie and others 1998–2002: no. 832) provide a perfect example of this. Since the sources divide into two groups, there is some divergence in the accounts they give. There are therefore irreconcilable discrepancies concerning many details of the emperor’s biography. However, the main lines of his life have largely been established. The future emperor was born between 832 and 836 and grew up near Adrianople. His parents were simple, poor people (although the *patrikios* and *logothetes tou dromou* Konstantinos Maniakes may have been his uncle; Lilie and others 1998–2002: no. 3962). Basil, young and of impressive physical stature, evidently had no prospects at home, and moved to the capital around 855. There he developed a close friendship with Nikolaos, the *prosmonarios* (doorkeeper) of the monastery of Diomedes, a friendship reinforced by means of a ritually established spiritual blood-brotherhood (*adelphopoïia/adelpophoïesis*, cf. *ODB* 19 and III.13.2 Families and kinship). Nikolaos’ brother in his turn was a physician in the service of the high-ranking *komes tou teichous* Theophilos (or Theophilites; Lilie and others 1998–2002: no. 8221), who was not only a relative of the emperor Michael III (Lilie and others 1998–2002: no. 4991), but also the head of a *hetaireia* which he himself maintained, clothed, and armed. Through the physician’s mediation, Basil now became a member of Theophilos’ *hetaireia* and advanced within it to reach the rank of *strator*. When Theophilos had to travel to Patras on official business, he did so accompanied by his retinue. Through this, Basil there became acquainted with the influential widow Danielis, who possessed large landholdings (Lilie and others

1998–2002: no. 1215). She, completely fascinated by Basil, induced him to form a spiritual blood-brotherhood with her son, and, through gifts of money, made him a rich man. Having returned to the capital, Basil used the money to purchase land in his homeland, and acquired influence and fame. Despite this, at first he remained within Theophilos' retinue. Theophilos, however, also had good contacts with the emperor, who was himself surrounded by his own personal retinue which took the form of a *phatria/phratria*—that is, a dedicated, almost conspiratorial group or 'political shock troop' (Beck 1965: 16). Because of this, Michael III's group and that of Theophilos at times acted together. In the course of this, when the emperor's glance fell upon Basil, he took him into his own retinue, where Basil was at first given the rank of *strator*, but subsequently advanced ever further in Michael III's favour: in 858 he became *protostrator*, and, c.865, *patrikios* and *parakoimomenos*. At this point at the very latest, once again aided by adroit usage of spiritual blood-brotherhood, he acquired a sworn circle of close followers, with himself its leader (*kyrios*). He was able to depend completely on this group in the plot to murder the caesar Bardas which he himself led (April 866). With the removal of his most powerful opponent—who had himself had a personal retinue at his disposal—Basil had now cleared the way for the final stage of his rise to imperial status. Michael III first appointed him *magistros*, then adopted him and, on 26 May 866, elevated him to the rank of co-emperor. From this position, Basil once again made use of the men of his own retinue, this time against the emperor himself: Michael III was murdered on 23 September 867, probably in the palace of St Mamas, and the following day Basil was proclaimed sole emperor (Beck 1965: 17; Winkelmann 1987: 79–94; Lilie 1994: 96–8).

In this sketch of Basil's rise to power—as meteoric as it was unscrupulous—the following points can be clearly identified: (1) the central role played by the different retinues; namely, Theophilos' *hetaireia* and Michael III's *phatria*, as well as Basil's own *hetaireia*, the existence of which can legitimately be posited, although it is less tangible in the sources; (2) the extensive material support from the wealthy and influential widow Danelis, which helped Basil to acquire wealth, reputation, and greater influence; (3) the ritually established spiritual blood-brotherhood, emphasized by the sources (cf. also the detailed treatment in Rapp 1997: 286–90, 304–14), which, in the absence of other legally binding forms, served to give so to speak both formal force and secure validity to the merging of particular groups, as well as to the friendship with Danielis. (For his part, Michael III broadened the scope of this by taking on the role of godfather—that is, forming *syntekniai*—at the baptisms of children of members of his *phatria*.)

But does this mean that the form of *patrocinium*—patronage—as described above had already gone out of use at this time, and was no longer of significance? Hardly. For rural patronage had been greatly reduced as a result of the seventh-century changes, but it had by no means disappeared. On the contrary, in some areas it continued even into the Late Byzantine period. In order to guarantee tax

revenue, the emperors (especially Romanos I and Basil II) legislated repeatedly against excessive acquisition of land, often accompanied by use of force, by patrons, amongst whom could be included the Church as an institution. But the success of these laws is difficult to measure, and therefore probably somewhat doubtful (Saradi 1994: 84–99, 314 f., 320 f.).

By way of contrast, the growth, from the tenth century onwards, of a new form of personal *prostasia* is all the more striking. This is the form of *prostasia* which, according to Kekaumenos, should be discreetly granted by the patron/*prostates* (again, these are the *archontes*, *dynatoi*, and everyone possessing power, influence, and connections, including members of the church hierarchy and large monasteries) in favour of a protégé. In practice, however, it was based increasingly on reciprocity. In other words, even in the case of those recommended to the patron or entrusted to his care, it was increasingly—and, in the end, generally—expected that they should demonstrate their gratitude for the granting of *prostasia* through some kind of material recompense, in the form of a gift, a particular service, or some other kind of ‘good deed’ (cf. Mullett 1988; 1990; 1997: 176, 221; Angold 1995: 378, 389; Saradi 1994: 69–83, 316). However, in the later period, under Michael VIII, an attempt was made—and expressed programmatically, although doubtless scarcely put into practice—to legally prohibit this kind of reciprocity, at least in the case of office-holders or officials subject to the emperor (cf. Burgmann and Magdalino 1984: 382; Saradi 1994: 318). So much on the subject of patronage, which, by the way, should be distinguished from religious and cultural patronage in the sense of endowment.

To return to the subject of retinues. As we have seen, from the ninth century onwards new strategies came increasingly into play in the quest for friends, patrons, helpers, or associates, especially when positions at court or at the centre of political and military power and its surroundings were at stake. In this quest, it was necessary not only to recognize the paths and possibilities on offer, but also to make them serve one’s turn as much as possible. Indeed, it was necessary to make unscrupulous and opportunistic use of them to one’s own advantage (cf. Winkelmann 1987: 96). Because of its relative clarity (despite some uncertainties in interpretation of the sources), Basil I’s rise to power—practically a unique example in Byzantium—offers a lesson in how to deal with the ‘institution’ of the retinue (Beck 1965: 28).

There are other, less spectacular examples from the period between 800 and the mid-eleventh century of the rise—or, at least, attempted rise—of individual pretenders or emperors with the help of (semi-)private retinues, maintained either by themselves or provided by a third party on their behalf. These examples give additional confirmation of the important part played by such groups in the struggle for imperial rule, as well as in the struggle for central positions of control in court and state administration (Beck 1965: 18–30). But at the same time they demonstrate—particularly the examples of failed attempts at seizure of power—how fragile these

alliances of convenience, based on 'loyalty and attachment' often were (Beck 1965: 21). In any case, from the end of the eleventh century at the latest it became ever more difficult for an ambitious man of the type of Basil I to carve himself a similar path to the highest political echelons, or even the throne. Even in the case of a usurper such as Andronikos I Komnenos (1183–5), who consciously broke with many conventions, it is very difficult (*pace* Lilie) to find a *homo novus* even amongst his closest associates. Instead, Andronikos depended principally on people from almost the same circles of officials and nobility of office from which his predecessors had already chosen their top officials and close associates (cf. Cheynet 1990: 431–4; Lilie 1994: 102).

With Andronikos I we have already reached a time in which it seems that retinues, as either the means of acquiring and securing power, or as the means by which the conspiratorial interests of the opposition could be brought together, are scarcely to be found. In the meantime, the principle of family or clan-supported, dynastic rulership, introduced and brought well-nigh to perfection by the Komnenoi, had become established (Lilie 1984: 83–119; Magdalino 1993: 181–217; 1996: 147–52; Haldon 2002: 146; Stanković 2006: 39–147, 301). This system, retained and developed further by the Palaiologoi, remained in force until the end of the empire.

Nevertheless, under the Komnenoi and Angeloi there were also other groups, more or less in opposition, and circles of conspiratorial activity with characteristics similar to those of retinues. But in the case of groups found after the end of the eleventh century, it is often difficult to be precise about their particular characteristics and the specific composition of their membership. This is partly because the sources favour unspecific and richly varied expression, and partly because they lack detailed information. Even in the case of new research in the field, which is overwhelmingly directed towards prosopography and social history (see Cheynet 1990), one rarely encounters clearly demarcated retinues. Instead, in the struggle for imperial favour or the throne itself, and for offices, honours, and power, both in Constantinople and in the provinces, one is left with the impression of having to deal with a myriad of closely connected groups of friends and relatives, alliances and circles, sometimes competitive, sometimes closely allied, as well as with cliques or conspiratorial groups. Their leaders—leading aristocratic or bureaucratic figures—mostly acted, exercising roles at court, in the central or provincial state administration, or in the military, or in some cases worked in collaboration with high-placed ecclesiastics. And if the protagonists were based in the provinces, this was also reflected on occasion in the regional, sometimes even ethnic, 'colouring' of the composition or background of their retinues (cf. in general terms Cheynet 1990, and Magdalino 1993: 217–27). In this context, it should be borne in mind that there were also *archontes* or powerful figures in the provinces who only functioned there, in 'their' territory. With regard to these, the sources occasionally report assaults in which they used their (armed) retinues (but

were they always really 'true' retinues?) to pursue their own personal purposes, tormenting individual citizens, their wives, and families (cf. e.g. Cheynet 1990: 318; Angold 1995: 415).

The wide-scale fragmentation of the empire which resulted from the events of 1204—and to a large extent remained the case even after the reconquest of Constantinople in 1261—doubtless provided a fertile breeding ground for antagonisms and conflicts which the protagonists attempted to resolve with the support of groups of followers or retinues. These conflicts culminated in the civil wars and internal dynastic feuds of the fourteenth century. It is therefore no surprise that retinues are once again easily detectable in the milieu of John VI Kantakouzenos (Weiss 1969: 11–13, 23–53, 138–50).

He, like other (mostly aristocratic) magnates and military figures of both capital and province, had a retinue at his disposal alongside the regular troops under his command, in a manner similar to that witnessed for the eleventh century by, amongst others, Kekaumenos and Skylitzes (cf. Beck 1965: 23; Ostrogorsky 1971: 13; Magdalino 1984: 97). This retinue was made up partly of family members and relatives, partly of household servants and other 'dependants' (both 'slaves' and free servants) and friends with close personal connections to that particular lord (*oikeioi, oikeiotatoi, philoi*) (cf. Ostrogorsky 1971: 27; Weiss 1969: 27 f., 138–50; Bartusis 1992: 221–3). In the case of Kantakouzenos, Weiss differentiates between two types of followers: the 'political' or 'broader' retinue, including friends of every type as well as various relatives, who had committed themselves to him also by taking oaths; and the 'more restricted retinue': that is, his servant retainers (a group made up of various ranks of servants, retainers, and slaves), other members of his family group, and close friends (Weiss 1969: 143–7).

To conclude with a word on the subject of the relative numbers involved. One learns very little about this from the sources. In general, one should not think of retinues as having been particularly extensive, but in the Middle Byzantine period they could, under certain circumstances, reach several thousand. The *parakoimomenos* Basil (the Nothos), for example, according to Leo the Deacon (Leo Diac. 47), mobilized and armed over 3,000 of his servants/slaves in order to support Nikephoros Phokas on 9 August 963. Lilie (1994: 95) conceives this as a 'private entourage' in the sense of the retinue of Basil I. This can be doubted. Basil's core retinue of free retainers—which, in my opinion, was of rather narrower composition and numerically considerably smaller—was probably extended *ad hoc* by considerable additional contingents drawn from amongst his servants. In any case, when it comes to late Byzantine retinues one is generally operating on a significantly smaller scale: contingents of more than 500 were particularly large. On average, one is probably to calculate on the basis of a few dozen men; in any case, the extent of the following depended on the fortune and the position of its lord (Bartusis 1992: 221–34).

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CHAPTER III.13.4

FOOD, WINE, AND FEASTING

ANTHONY BRYER

TODAY these three topics may sound related, but what they actually have in common is that Byzantine names for food, drink, and feasting outlive most survivals on the modern table. Before selective breeding Byzantines could pick up a pig in one hand, yet the taste of its bacon is irretrievable. A more enduring factor is cultural: those who could not, or would not, eat pork. Most important, Byzantines would not look for this entry in a contemporary Handbook such as the *Souda*. But they would share the approaches of modern social anthropologists by consulting Byzantine dream-books, dietaries, or orders of precedence. Food, Wine, and Feasting are now filed among today's topics of economy, medicine, and authority. True 'foodies' need look no further than the colossal *The Oxford Companion to Food* (Davidson 1999).

FOOD

There was no diet common to all Byzantines, any more than there was common produce from the classical lands they inherited. Exploitation and exchange, snobbery and display in fasting as well as feasting, even response to climatology and microclimates, are variable. But three specifically Byzantine *constants* may be ventured. The *first* constant is the peasant virtue of autarky or self-sufficiency, which

inhibited the development of agricultural technology and discouraged the growth of surplus for market, unless stimulated by state imposition or the initiative of large landowners (Harvey 1989: 120 ff.). The *second* constant is the striking difference between urban and rural diet, especially cereal. The *third*, and most challenging, constant is cultural—constant because inconstant. For example, it is misleading, as has been done, to record the present practices of resettled European Turkish farmers in an eastern Anatolian village as indicative of those of their immediate Armenian predecessors, let alone of far remoter ‘Hittite’ agriculturalists in the same place. In northern Greece today settled ‘Vlachs’ use quite different tools beside those common to the places they colonize—yet for the same purposes. Evidence is as patchy as the questions asked of it. In Byzantium, no wooden thresher’s finger-guard survives and much textual record is monastic. Monasteries included large landowners, but nevertheless preached abstinence as a virtue. Today’s dietitians may (for different reasons) recommend peasant or Lenten fare, which in Byzantium had its own inverted snobbery.

Take three illustrations of such cultural slippage. *First*: in the second century Galen found the rustic grains, cooked only a few miles outside Pergamon, were quite indigestible (to him and fellow townsmen): ‘We suffered from appalling wind, our heads ached and our eyes watered’ (Mitchell 1993: I, 168). *Second*: further inland in Galatia was Sykeon, where in the Life of St Theodore (d. 613) ‘we hear for the first time anywhere in the world of an inn that attracted customers by the quality of its food’ (Davidson 1999: s.v. ‘Byzantine Cookery’). This is one way of describing a roadhouse better known to others for its prostitutes, one of whom was St Theodore’s mother. But she was more concerned about his school meals and subsequent rejection of white bread and roast or boiled fowl at his oratory. Yet this example simply warns us against taking both hagiographic convention and modern food discourse at face value. There is only one source. It is only safe to say that wheat was desirable and available in Sykeon. St Theodore, champion of peasants against the demons of the threshing floor, was himself to become a large ecclesiastical landowner and dine couched at the imperial table. *Third*: the late tenth-century metropolitan Leo tells his emperor that in highland Synada, in Phrygia, they could not live on chrysobulls alone. This is closer to ‘real’ life. The Constantinopolitan cleric found that there was no oil or wine, no wheat but barley, no firewood but dungcakes to serve for fuel. Why are dungcakes not used for manure? (Vinson 1985: 68–70.)

Byzantine food was as varied and limited as its local climates and economies before the widespread introduction of the potato, tomato, rice, spinach, maize, aubergine, cane sugar, and new methods of production and conservation from the sixteenth century. Since Antiquity the state had instigated some dietary uniformity through the need to control and supply armies and large conurbations (Rome, Constantinople until the seventh century) with grain, granaries, oil, and wine. Western medieval walled towns, including their Frankish colonies such as Galata

opposite Constantinople, Caffa in the Crimea, or Acre in the Holy Land, shared a high density of population. By contrast, those Byzantine cities which lay within earlier classical walls, such as Constantinople, Nicaea, or Thessalonike, had the population texture of a modern garden suburb. Nikolaos Mesarites described the surrounds of the Holy Apostles in the heart of Constantinople in about 1200 as a self-sufficient community and economy with its own wheat fields, orchards, groves, and vineyards, making it unnecessary to brave the city granaries and ports on the Sea of Marmara below (Downey 1957). This is another literary trope, but in fact the principal industries of the Byzantine capital, intramural and extramural, were probably horticulture and agriculture. Its vegetables, greenstuffs, and fresh fish were local. But the cuisine of Constantinople derives from an overlap, supplied by land and sea, of both olive oil and animal grease for cooking. Much market food from afar was necessarily pickled or preserved—such as Paphlagonian bacon, pressed *pastirma* (*pastrami*), sturgeon's roe (*botargo*), and that universal Roman fish-gut relish, *garum*. The Byzantine contribution to modern packet soup was the *trachanas* (*tarhana*) of cracked grain nodules from the lowlands, later revived in milk or yoghurt in the summer pastures. Provisioning the army was the classic challenge to state demand, as was the supply of *annona* (civilian food allocations) under various guises: a levy in kind. Byzantine armies had biscuit, the Ottoman introduced rice, but both armies assembled in *aplekta*, meadows outside market towns, where there was fodder and grazing.

Texts such as the *Book of the Prefect*, the Prodromic poems, Hierophilos the Sophist, Byzantine Dreambooks and dietaries do not give an idea of what urban food tasted like, but what was most esteemed in literary convention. This has its own *taxis*: in fish, large and roasted; in flesh, pork and venison; in fowl, chicken and migrants. Milk was an essential, but Vlach *feta* was a fasting food, like caviar typically all that could be found in a monastic larder. There is strong concern for the social distinctions of different kinds and grades of bread. The whiter durum-wheat flour was prized over all dark wholemeal or barley bread.

WINE

Wine was the most distinct Byzantine beverage and also essential for medicinal and liturgical purposes. As in Antiquity grapes were grown for wine in a littoral circuit of the Balkans and Anatolia, roughly coterminous with the cultivation of the olive for oil. The two are linked, for vines were commonly trained on olive trees and their fruits required pressing, crushing, and storing. More importantly, vine and olive production commonly had access to the sea by which it was

exported—and could be taxed. Both were carried in amphorae or large pottery jars, of which excavations of shipwrecks are adding archaeological evidence, especially of Early and Middle Byzantine trade (see II.8.4 Ceramics). The use of amphorae and *pithoi* survived until late Byzantium, but Western traders and invaders seem to have preferred wooden barrels in the later period, for which their accounts are important.

In 968, Liudprand of Cremona's complaint that the wine in Constantinople was undrinkable because it was tainted with pitch, resin, or gypsum, is perhaps the first stranger's recorded reaction to *retsina*. Both amphorae and barrels were sealed with resin or pitch. Nevertheless the tenth century may be taken as a very rough divide in the development of Byzantine wine and feasting. Classical convention, and liturgical practice, prescribe wine taken mixed with water; later it was commonly drunk neat. *Phouskaria* taverns perhaps served a vinegary near-wine. More prized was *conditum* (*konditon*) or spiced wine punch.

In the later period various vines and wines still recognizable by name appear as exports to the West, the sweeter the better to survive shipping—and the better appreciated. The Hospitallers exported wine (today called *Commanderia*) from Cyprus. By the fourteenth century their Commandery on the island also exploited sugar cane mills. Cypriot wine and sugar are connected. Both came West by way of Venetian 'Candia' or Crete, although etymologically 'candy' comes from further east. Venice exported *Malvasia*, *Malvoise* or *Malmsey*, from Crete, but the name of the grape comes from the Morean staging post of Monemvasia, while its cultivation has now ended up in Madeira. Wine from Santorini (Thera) was marketed as *vino santo* in Italy.

From the thirteenth century, Genoa imported *Muscat* from northern Aegean islands such as Lemnos and Samos. Around the Sea of Marmara the wines of Raideostos (Tekirdağ) and 'Triglia' (Trilye) were prized even after 1453. The Ionian Islands and eastern Adriatic shipped a wine still called *Robola* in Zante and Venice. There were other wines (date, pomegranate), meads, beers, near-beers, and fermented drinks of various kinds, but no distillations or spirits. Having no word for alcohol, Byzantines described it as 'heat'.

Monastic economies, such as the Athonite, exploited vineyards especially. By the early fifteenth century over 80 per cent of the traceable income of two major monasteries in Trebizond came from wine. This was widely exported to the Crimea, but the trade has been reversed and no wine is made in the Pontos today. Islamic conquest of former Byzantine lands certainly inhibited the making of wine but not necessarily the cultivation of vineyards. Unfermented grape syrup (English *must*, Turkish *pekmez*) was still taxed. *Zibibbo* wines and raisins (the name is the same) reached Sicily from cape Zebib in Tunisia. Currants came from eponymous Corinth, but were actually shipped from nearby Vostiza, which remains a brand name. Despite Ottoman conquest, the maritime taverns of Constantinople and Frankish Pera never closed. By 1490 the endowment of the mosque of Aya Sofya

included thirty places selling *boza*, or millet beer. Whatever the etymology, English seamen called it 'booze'.

FEASTING

Feasting was an essential cultural element of Byzantium, but food and even wine were incidental to display. A common feature was the conspicuous consumption at marriage feasts. Late Byzantine depictions of the Marriage at Cana of Galilee offer idealized details of current fashion (such as napkin or tablecloth etiquette) not found in the Gospel (John 2: 1–10).

Table *placement* is the Byzantine contribution to such feasting. It displayed the order (*taxis*) of political and social authority and legitimacy: a *Notitia Dignitatum* or declared 'placement', *kleterologion* or *taktikon* of the table. The question is which sort of 'table', or rather couches surrounding it? Were they disposed for a Greek *symposium*, a Roman imperial banquet, or for a Judaeo-Christian Passover-Last Supper? Here we need more than what Eusebios tells us of what and how the Roman emperor Constantine served the 318 Fathers at Nicaea in 325. Eusebios just stressed that bishops entered the imperially guarded hall without fear and lay couched to drink with their ruler, in representation of the kingdom of Christ.

This 'table' or dining-tray was open to waiters to replenish on one side and within reach of each encircling diner's right hand, as they reclined on their left elbow. In picture, if not practice, the three couches of a (Π) *pi*-shaped *triklinion* developed into an open (C) *sigma*-shaped couch by the fourth century. But the principle of placement was the same. Looking down on the stage of the Last Supper, as in the sixth-century mosaic in S. Apollinare Nuovo in Ravenna, or in the Rossano Gospels, Christ (perhaps then in imitation of the emperor) takes the commanding position as host, which is on the right-hand horn of the C. He faces the most favoured guest (say Peter) on the left-hand horn. The Twelve are disposed in descending order from left to right until they reach the lowliest (say Judas) who is paradoxically closest to his host—who has necessarily turned his back on him. Hosts give guests least honour by speaking to them over their shoulder (Malmberg 2003: 79–88).

In Constantinople this arrangement developed into the *Triklinion* hall of the Nineteen Couches, between the Hippodrome and Sacred Palace. The emperor presided over twelve guests at a C in the apse and the hall was lined with nine facing Cs, each for twelve guests, being a total of 229 diners.

In 899 Philotheos the *atriklines* (head waiter) recorded the protocol of a Christmas Day banquet in the Nineteen Couches (one of a sequence of twelve to Epiphany), which reflected sixth-century practice. The emperor entered first,

probably at the 'east' apse end, and reclined at the high table. With five heralds (who cried out in Latin) and the sound of hydraulic organs his twelve immediate guests of honour joined him from the 'west' portico. To eighteen tables and couches on the (in stage terms) left (more esteemed) and right sides, waiters showed in order 168 senators in uniform *chlamys* cloaks and distinctive sandals, twenty-four Arabs in white, twelve Bulgarians, and twelve paupers (last right). The Arab and Bulgarian categories had perhaps replaced Goths, Isaurians, and Armenians in earlier feasts. Each stage of the banquet, the arrival of courses, intercalated performances, to the final bringing on of ewers and napkins and exits, were punctuated by heralds, standing acclamations by guests, and choral praises when the organs were silenced (Malmberg 2003: 96–8).

Such literary and pictorial sources, antiquarian in their own time, raise questions of culture and authority. If an imperial banquet imitated a couched symposium, how could it be reconciled with a Christian feast and the Last Supper? In not invariable practice, emperors couched and clerics sat when they dined together (such as Maximus and St Martin of Tours in 386). In 899 Philotheos the *atriklines* specifies that the patriarch sat to dine with his reclining emperor and host. No commentator seems to have asked whether the putative patriarchal dining quarter in the south-west of Hagia Sophia, where the emperor was guest, was designed for couching as well as sitting. But in the palace the *Augusta* had her own dining room, where women sat apart in their own reflected *taxis*. Inferior persons just sat.

The imperial distinction of pre-Christian couching had the disadvantages of cultural slippage. Using one hand only, there could be no carving or cutlery at 'table' or dining tray, which itself was in reach of only about twelve guests. But in Christian and imperial iconography the throne became a symbol of authority and bishops spoke from the *kathedra* long before the Triklinion of the Nineteen Couches fell out of use in Constantinople (and its equivalents in Trier, Ravenna, the Lateran, and elsewhere). In Constantinople there was more than cultural slippage. The palace focus itself moved downhill from the Hippodrome to the Sea of Marmara. How far was couched dining in the old hall a studied piece of antiquarian re-enactment?

The next stage may be dated. In 949 Liudprand of Cremona also recorded a Christmas feast in the Nineteen Couches, where emperor and guests reclined, but in 968 he had other things in mind and makes no mention of the old hall. The Triklinion may have been extramuralized from the Great Palace by Nikephoros II Phokas in 969. More interesting is the proposal that its nineteen marble tables were moved to the surviving refectory of the monastery of the Great Lavra on Mount Athos, founded by St Athanasios and his patron Nikephoros in 962/3 (Malmberg 2003: 89–90). Here the arrangements are the same: two rows of nine C tables and the abbot's in the apse, each open at the end. There is a vital distinction. Monks do not recline but sit. This allowed them to use table forks, introduced from the ninth century. In contrast to later wall-paintings of the Last Supper in the refectory, the

trapeza of the Great Lavra is the most realistic survival of a formal Byzantine dining room.

Later monastic refectories (such as on Patmos and the Nea Moni on Chios) have two lines of flanked benches and solid tables, in which there are niches for cutlery, with a high table in the apse. From the late eleventh century Frankish, and then Turkish, emissaries, merchants, and invaders found Byzantine audience chambers and dining rooms increasingly familiar to them. They were large upper rectangular halls with throne-niches, above offices and kitchens and overlooking courtyards. Surviving examples are at Nymphaion (Kemalpaşa) in the Nicaean 'empire', Tekfursarayi by the old Blachernai palace in Constantinople, the palace of the despots of the Morea at Mistra, and the palace of the Grand Komnenoi in Trebizond. Emperors and Sultans would have broken every convention or *taxis* by dining at the same table. But they came close. Sphrantzes reports that in 1420 Manuel II Palaiologos, on ship in the Bosphoros, and Mehmet I, on the tented shore, were 'eating and drinking and sending food to each other' (Sphrantzes, *Cron.* 16 (VII.3)).

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ENTERTAINMENTS,
THEATRE, AND
HIPPODROME

CHARLOTTE ROUECHÉ

THE BACKGROUND

THE concept of entertainments in the ancient and medieval world is problematic. To a modern reader it implies marginal and inessential activities geared to offer pleasure to individuals and groups. In the Graeco-Roman world public performances and spectacles were an essential element in the life of a properly constituted community. In both east and west rich citizens were required to undertake the funding of such events, for the benefit of all their fellow citizens. Moreover, the most important spectacles were provided as part of festivals, held in honour of divinities—including the emperors. In order to ensure that such spectacles were as excellent as possible, they were presented within the framework of a contest. Not only did sportsmen compete in athletic activities, but plays, recitals, and musical entertainments were presented within a competitive structure, which both ensured the production of excellence, and also emphasized the importance of victory: this latter aspect came to have increasing prominence, and to be stressed and appropriated by rulers.

In the Greek-speaking world of the eastern Mediterranean festivals were characterized by a procession, contests, and a sacrifice to the divinity being honoured, and they increased steadily in number and range throughout the Hellenistic and Roman

periods. In the Latin-speaking west festivals were equally important, although the spectator events did not necessarily take the form of multi-themed contests: instead, the idea of struggle and victory might be embodied in fights with wild animals, and between gladiators, and by chariot-races. These shows were particularly expensive, and their lavish presentation reflected the glory of the donor: such events therefore became increasingly dominated by imperial benefactors. But the worlds of east and west did not remain separate; Greek-style contests spread to the west, and gladiatorial and wild-beast fights spread to the east, where, if a round amphitheatre was not constructed to accommodate them, city theatres or stadia were adapted. A circus, or hippodrome, built on the enormous scale required to enable four chariots to race, turn, and race back, such as the Circus Maximus in Rome, became a mark of an important centre of Roman imperial government, where the emperor, or his representative, would share the excitement with his people; Diocletian built a hippodrome at his new capital of Nikomedeia (for an overview see Humphreys 1986).

The framework for such entertainments was provided by festivals, which steadily increased in number; there were more days set aside for festival celebrations at Rome in the mid-fourth century CE than in the mid-third. Festivals could also be held to mark a particular event, such as an imperial victory. Around this structure developed a population of professional performers, who could also provide entertainments on unofficial or private occasions.

LATE ANTIQUITY

It was against this background that Constantine established his city of Constantinople, a city of Greek traditions founded by a Latin-speaking Roman emperor, with a hippodrome linked to the imperial palace as a central feature (Dagron 1974). The Hippodrome had a special imperial box (the *kathisma*) with a direct passageway to the Palace. It was adorned by Constantine and his successors with significant images, including the monument from Delphi which celebrated the victory of the Greeks over the Persians in 479 BCE. Constantius installed an Egyptian obelisk in the Circus Maximus in Rome, and its pair was erected, with some difficulty, in the Hippodrome at Constantinople. Constantine inaugurated the foundation of his new city with a contest and festival of the Greek type; and during his reign he also gave permission for the construction of an imperial temple at Hispellum, in Italy, where theatrical shows and gladiatorial contests would be held in honour of his family (*ILS* 705). Such activities were deeply woven into the fabric of civic life. The performances of Late Antiquity are illustrated in the contorniate medallions

(for which see Alföldi 1976) and on the ivory consular diptychs (most fully published in Delbrück 1929); they are also echoed in many of the rich mosaics of the period.

At the core of almost all such activities lay the concept of competition; without, as far as we know, any tradition of gambling, the audiences of the Greek, Roman, and Late Roman worlds threw themselves into passionate partisanship for a particular dancer, a chariot colour, or a type of gladiator. These spectacles had long been criticized by pagan philosophers, both as an unworthy distraction, and because of the passions which they aroused; famously Marcus Aurelius disdained such feelings (*Commentarii* 1.5). Christian authors took up these themes, and added to them. They were from the beginning antipathetic to activities which originated in pagan cult; but they also saw such entertainments both as distracting their flock from church attendance and as fostering excessive passions. To this they added specific objections to the theatre, where immoral scenes, and pagan mythology, were re-enacted. But the criticisms of the fourth-century preachers, most famously John Chrysostom, were addressed to activities which were still flourishing. The conversion of Constantine and the actions of his Christian successors did remove one element of the festivals—the public sacrifice; but the role of procession and contest were still central, and public expectations of being entertained and excited were well established.

The nature of such activities was, however, steadily evolving. While all entertainments were under pressure from Christian disapproval, it is noticeable that those which disappeared first were the most expensive. Gladiatorial combats, forbidden by Constantine in 325, continued into the fifth century but then petered out. Wild-beast shows could also be expensive: there was much pressure to display the most exotic of animals, and we learn from the correspondence of Symmachus (late fourth century) how difficult these could be to obtain. But such shows were still expected to be presented by a new consul in the sixth century (Justinian, *Novel* cv, of 537). The costs could always be reduced by using local rather than exotic animals such as bears (attested in sixth-century Constantinople) or bulls (a bull breeder is attested at Aphrodisias: Roueché 1993: no. 44).

Both these forms of activity could be wastefully extravagant. Performance, by sportsmen or entertainers who would survive to perform again, required infinitely less expenditure. Athletic contests had, over the centuries, involved well-trained members of the comfortable classes, as well as some professional athletes. But the changes in society and self-perception from the third to the fourth century saw one major transformation with the disappearance of the gymnasium, the institution which in every city had trained and prepared the young men for athletic activities. The gymnasia seem to have vanished by the end of the fourth century, and with them went the tradition of competitive athletics. What survived was professional acrobatics, such as can be seen on the consular diptychs, and private 'exercise sports' for the aristocracy.

Theatrical performances came in different forms. There were still actors who could present part, or all, of tragedies, or comedies, suitably dressed (as shown in the consular diptychs). But far more widespread were the mime and the pantomime. The pantomime was performed by a single dancer, who presented stories without speech, but with a musical accompaniment, in a manner similar to ballet. Pantomime was designed to excite emotion, and pantomime performers had come to compete in the contests, so that their appearances were also a matter of partisanship. In consequence, they were seen, by pagan philosophers and Christian bishops, as dangerously over-exciting, and as encouraging the basest passions.

Mimes performed plays, without masks; the subject matter was sometimes mythological but often drawn from everyday life, crude and often obscene. Mimes had originally added entertainments to the festivals, but eventually they too came to compete. Companies of mime actors, however, would also travel about performing for rich patrons of local communities.

Finally, most extravagant of displays, came the chariot races. The provision of such spectacles had come to be required as part of the normal functions of a Roman emperor; and so these had to be provided, at imperial expense, in Rome, Constantinople, and the great cities of the empire. Since Republican times, the four chariots had been distinguished by four colours, Blue, Green, Red, and White, each with its own organizing stable, and with enthusiastic partisans.

FROM LATE ANTIQUITY TO BYZANTIUM

By the mid-fifth century, the principal remaining forms of entertainment in the Roman Empire were the chariot races, the pantomime, and the mimes, with some wild-animal shows. Gradually, the organizations which existed to present the chariot races—the four ‘factions’—came to take responsibility for the other entertainments as well. Thus the father of the empress Theodora was a bear-keeper for the Greens (Prok. *SH* 9.2) and Green mimes are attested in an inscription (Roueché 1993: text 1.1.iii). This tended to intensify rivalry between fans: the supporters of the Greens at the chariot races were now also supporters of the Green pantomime dancers. Conflicts between the partisans of different colours, always a feature of Roman life, became more and more troublesome, culminating in the great revolt of 532, in Constantinople, when the mobs shouted ‘Nika’ (‘Win’), the normal slogan shouted to urge on a competitor (Cameron 1973, 1976).

But the fact that entertainments of this kind were so entrenched by centuries of tradition meant that there was no possibility of suppressing these activities. Moreover, the ceremonies which were essential to the display of imperial power

were inextricably intertwined with the world of performance and spectacle. The partisans of performers were also responsible for the acclamations of the rulers. An inscription at Ephesos acclaims a new governor with the command 'Enter', using the term which normally describes an actor entering the stage (Roueché 1999). By the sixth century the rivalries had polarized around two of the four colours, the Blues and the Greens; and these groupings were increasingly involved in the public validation of emperors. The factions and their supporters therefore played an important part in the civil strife of the late sixth and early seventh centuries. As the empire of Herakleios and his successors evolved into its new form, the factions did not disappear, but evolved as well. Performance and processions remained essential elements in the public life of the Byzantine Empire, and with them the factions; but all were ritualized, until in the tenth century the Book of Ceremonies could set out the precise order of events, with the role and the acclamations of the Blue and Green factions written out, for a whole series of ceremonial occasions. The fixed chariot races only took place three times a year; but they were also put on to mark special events, such as imperial victories (McCormick 1986).

The survival of the chariot races was imposed by the presence, in the heart of Constantinople, of the Hippodrome, and its function in imperial ceremonial: to withdraw such activities would have reflected a lack of generosity by the rulers. Moreover, the imagery of circus victory was regularly appropriated as a symbol of imperial victory. The church fathers had criticized the races for distracting Christians, and rousing excessively strong passions, but these criticisms were not sufficient to eradicate such an essential demonstration of imperial splendour and power. The Hippodrome remained a symbol of Byzantium, best expressed by the choice of images of the Hippodrome and its races to adorn the cathedral at Kiev in the eleventh century (Ivanov 1992).

Moreover, ancient festival traditions survived in the many processions and ceremonial events of the capital; processions took place throughout the year, and the factions were regularly involved in providing antiphonal acclamations. Those acclamations still included Latin terminology, transliterated in the days of a bilingual empire; such ceremonies conveyed a reassuring sense of continuity which survived until the end of the empire. In the provinces, such traditions continued in a less recognizable form; but the local festival, honouring the local divinity, with a procession and a fair, survived in the celebrations of local saints with a *panegyris*, the ancient term for such a festival (Vryonis 1981).

Less expensive than chariot races, the wild-beast fight seems to have continued at least into the sixth century, and indeed the tradition was to linger on into the bullfights of the modern world. In the provinces, some stadia, no longer needed for athletic competitions, were adapted, probably during the fifth century, to create a 'ring' for wild-beast fights (so at Aphrodisias and Ephesos); and criminals in the late sixth century could still be condemned 'ad bestias', to be killed by animals. Under the Ostrogothic kings the Colosseum in Rome was still in use for such shows, and

Roman senators were still having their names inscribed on the seats. But by the seventh century the amphitheatre of Constantinople (the Kynegion) appears only to have been used for public executions, a grim echo of its earlier function.

There was no association with the assertion of imperial prestige to ensure the survival of pantomime and mime. These had been criticized by the church fathers even more vehemently than the hippodrome for their corrupting tendencies, since they corrupted not only by over-exciting the audience but also by their essential content. The pantomime, with its very particular skills and close association with the pagan tradition, seems to have disappeared during the sixth century. Less clear is the fate of the mime, since this term really encompasses a range of performances from plays and scenes to clowning about and buffoonery. The Council in Trullo, of 691, found it appropriate to ban mime performances. But far more important had been the withdrawal of public funding by Justinian. All public entertainments in the ancient world had depended on funding from the rich or the rulers; by the sixth century there was no reason for either to fund 'dramatic' performances.

From the sixth century onwards, therefore, the term mime seems no longer to be used to describe the troupes of actors, with standard roles, found in the Roman period; instead, it is used as a term of abuse, to describe buffoons and clowns. Such clowning did continue, and seems to have retained some of the association with the Hippodrome and the factions: the frescoes on the cathedral at Kiev show clowns as well as chariot races (Ivanov 1992). Emperors can be criticized for consorting with mimes; the references imply individual 'jesters', who lived by amusing the rich.

It is therefore unsurprising that there are no textual references to public buildings intended for theatrical performance in use beyond the sixth century. The actual fate of such buildings is hard to determine, not least because archaeologists have tended to assume decline without searching for specific evidence. In many cities in East and West the theatres, solidly built and often in dominating positions, were eventually used as the basis for fortifications, although such adaptations are rarely dated, particularly in the East. But individual buildings may have been used, perhaps only sporadically, for entertainments at least into the sixth century, although the evidence is often overlooked; graffiti from the stage buildings at Ephesos, showing mime performances and performers from the late fifth or early sixth century, were discovered in the 1890s, but only published a century later (Roueché 2002). There remains work to be done, therefore, in determining the evolution of such buildings, and of the performers who had acted in them.

There has been much debate as to what kinds of performance survived into medieval Byzantium. The fact that Byzantine authors continued to read Greek dramatic texts, and to use the language of the theatre extensively, has sometimes given the impression that theatrical performances continued in some form. Typically, the word 'theatron' came to be used of the Hippodrome, the last surviving place of public spectacle. It was also used to denote small groups gathered for lectures

and rhetorical displays, or to describe various kinds of public spectacle. Similar developments can be traced with other theatrical terms (Puchner 2002).

The most energetic efforts to uncover dramatic performances in Byzantine society have been unsuccessful. Perhaps one way to explain this is to understand how public and religious ceremonial events, absorbing so much from the world of performance, with the deployment of the factions, fulfilled far more than we realize of the taste for excitement and display for the inhabitants of Constantinople, and perhaps of less well documented communities also. The other neglected area of Byzantine performance is that of public rhetoric, and preaching, both emphasized in a recent volume (Mullett 2003; Cunningham 2003). Here, as elsewhere, our understanding of Byzantine attitudes and expectations is still developing and changing. After removing the invented idea of theatrical continuity, which has been built on the continuity of terminology, we may now be able to locate the performative entertainments of the Byzantine Empire more precisely.

Just as dramatic performance was privatized, so also the athletic sports of the Graeco-Roman past survived as the private preserve of emperors and the court. Emperors might excel in athletics, and, above all, in the equestrian skills associated with hunting. These activities evolved; and at least by the Middle Byzantine period the court enjoyed playing and watching Tzykanion, a Persian game similar to polo. From the West came the idea of jousting. Both of these were sports which offered the nobility the chance to display their skills to one another. For humbler classes there remained simpler pursuits, and the various kinds of game-board which are found cut or scratched, often in an undatable context, throughout the empire are a reminder of these. In the fifth century some sense of public provision lingered on: donors set up game-boards, sometimes cut on the back of old statue bases, apparently for public recreation (Roueché 2007). Richer people could have elegant portable boards, and the popularity of such activities seems to have increased steadily throughout the Byzantine period, contributing towards the modern sense of entertainments and games as private and individual sources of pleasure.

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Further Reading

On hippodromes, see Humphreys 1986; on the particular character of the Hippodrome of Constantinople, see Dagnon 1974. On the circus factions there is a substantial bibliography; the essential modern studies are still those of Cameron 1973 and 1976. On theatrical performances in the Byzantine period, all modern work is based on the studies of Walter Puchner, conveniently summarized in English in Puchner 2002.

CHAPTER III.13.6

HEALTH, HYGIENE, AND HEALING

PEREGRINE HORDEN

ABOUT the hygienic and medical concerns and practices of the whole diverse Byzantine Empire across the millennium and more of its history, no generalization is possible. That is the one general statement on the subject that can be made with any confidence. If there were in fact certain attitudes in matters of health that were common to distinct social groups or geographical regions, we would not usually be able to identify them: even at that modest level of particularity the evidence is simply lacking. It is no coincidence that the *ODB* lacks entries for ‘health’ or ‘hygiene’, and includes only brief ones for ‘healing’ and ‘disease’.

The problems begin immediately when we ask the most basic questions about what diseases afflicted *homo byzantinus*, the notional average Byzantine person (Kazhdan and Constable 1982). Even for a restricted period of time, nothing like a full ‘pathocenosis’ (Grmek’s (1969) term for a tableau of prevalent diseases) is possible. The material evidence of palaeopathology is insufficient (Sodini 1993), and in any case offers only a ‘keyhole’ view of the range of common ailments because it tells us nothing about those diseases that affected only soft tissue (Horden 2000). Textual evidence, especially hagiography, gives us some vignettes (Magoulias 1964): Evelyne Patlagean has been able to supply a limited catalogue of diseases that impressed themselves on writers of the fourth to seventh centuries, especially writers of miracle stories (Patlagean 1977: 105–12); and Alice-Mary Talbot derives a longer list from the Dumbarton Oaks database of Middle Byzantine hagiography (Laiou 2002: 55). Byzantine medical manuscripts—simple lists of illnesses and remedies proceeding from head to foot—can also be pressed into service (Bennett 2003). But the overall

result, when allowance has been made for the predilections of particular kinds of text, is a preponderance of unspecific fevers and paralyses, gastro-intestinal and eye problems. Which is as much as to say that Byzantium was like most other pre-modern cultures of the eastern Mediterranean and Middle East in the variety of diseases to which its people were subject (compare Sallares 1991: ch. II.7, on the illnesses of ancient Greece).

Of particular diseases, as distinct from the broad tableau, still less can be said with confidence. The diagnosis of the recurrent epidemics of plague that struck the empire, from the reign of Justinian onwards into the eighth century, is more uncertain than was once thought, and whatever we say about its effects is if anything even more conjectural (Horden 2005*b*). And we lack detailed studies of endemic diseases such as leprosy and malaria in Byzantium (contrast Sallares 2002 on antiquity).

As for other determinants of health, such as diet, little can be said beyond the fact that emperors, monks, and peasants alike were in different ways malnourished, some through excess but most, of course, through deficiency (Kazhdan and Constable 1982: 55). The staple diet may have been 'well balanced' in terms of its main ingredients—grains, pulses, olive oil, wine, fruit and vegetables, with (perhaps) an increasing consumption of meat by those who could afford it (Laiou 2002: 53). It is less clear that the proportions were commonly appropriate. Nor can we straightforwardly connect the 'profile' of recorded Byzantine diets with any particular disease burden.

Retrospective diagnosis of Byzantine diseases is not only very difficult: it has been declared impossible on conceptual grounds (Cunningham 1992). The implication is that all the historian of disease can do is analyse representations of illness, never going beyond the nosology and aetiology (that is, the disease classification and causation) of those who produced the evidence. In practice, the historian returns, chastened, to the same evidence as before—mainly medical and hagiographical texts—but freed from the pressure to diagnose. The problem then becomes one of deciding how well any given set of illness descriptions can stand for the experiences or beliefs of a significant group rather than just the preoccupations of whoever wrote them down. Whether or not we eschew diagnosis, we are left ultimately with the inescapably vague conclusion that the Byzantine Empire was a pre-modern society, and a Middle Eastern society, in its health problems and concerns. Nothing is gained by detaching it from that larger geographical and chronological framework. Indeed, much is lost, because the Byzantine evidence, by itself, does not tell us enough.

Much the same is true of Byzantine responses to disease. Take hygiene in its basic modern sense as just one example of disease prevention. Did Byzantines wash? Naturally there can be no single answer. Jews in the empire had their own ritual hygiene. At the point where extremes in Christian society meet, presumably only voluntary ascetics of the most rigorous kind and wholly destitute beggars never washed

(although we might remember that, in the Middle East, sand is a more salutary cleansing agent than polluted water). In between the extremes we find a predictably wide range of habits. Of peasant and artisan cleanliness we may only guess that it was minimal, again on the basis of comparative Middle Eastern reports. One literate and quite prominent figure, the scholar John Tzetzes, boasted of bathing only two or three times a year while yet (like Alexander the Great) remaining fragrant (Wilson 1996: 191). A good many monks, on the other hand, bathed monthly—more frequently than we might have expected (Kazhdan and Epstein 1985: 80). And the best indication that washing remained important in Byzantine civic life is the Church's taking control of it, and giving it a charitable emphasis, even before the decline of ancient public baths, so that institutional bathing remained a regular, if not necessarily an everyday, feature of life in Constantinople and other major cities (Magdalino 1990).

Poor hygiene in the modern sense was, of course, not to be linked to disease until over 400 years had elapsed since the fall of Constantinople. Smells were more serious than dirt, a foul stench being a sure sign of corrupt air and hence the threat of disease. The collective response was limited nonetheless. Some legislation governed the disposal of human waste in cities, but there was apparently nothing comparable in scale to the urban environmental regulation of some parts of later medieval Europe (Bouras 2002: 509–10, 519; Zupko and Laures 1996; *ODB* s.v. 'latrines'). If we ask how Byzantines tried to guard against falling ill we have to take a much wider view of the kinds of evidence that we need to embrace. This is, for example, one of the points at which prophylactic amulets and charms fall within the sphere of medical history (Maguire 1995: 6, 132–3; Vikan 1984). The sacraments are equally relevant: baptism with its health-preserving 'built-in' exorcism, and the Divine Liturgy with its further psychosomatic benefits—healing the soul (in a far less metaphorical sense than is normally assumed) as an indispensable prelude to healing the body (Horden 2001). To avoid disease a certain way of life might have to be cultivated. There were places to skirt round: places such as ruined temples or marshes, which might harbour demons (Horden 1993). But that is not to say that Byzantines believed that all or even most diseases were demonic in origin, any more than they assumed all diseases to be the result of sin. A naturalistic explanation of even such traditionally 'special' afflictions as epilepsy was quite entertainable, and perhaps not just for the educated (Horden 1993: 186–7). Throughout Byzantine history, many people had some notion that natural balance within the body was the prerequisite of health. As modern studies of two-humoured (usually 'hot' and 'cold') cultures show, there can be vernacular humoralism, a simplified version of the Hippocratic-Galenic four-humour paradigm.

It was on the basis of such understanding that some Byzantines were interested in written regimens. As in the ancient Mediterranean and in medieval Europe, the wealthier and more health-conscious might commission highly detailed and

personalized programmes of disease prevention, regulating every aspect of their lives—food, sleep, exercise, even the emotions—so as to minimize the risk of falling ill (Delatte 1939: 455–99; Romano 1998). Yet, once again, discussion is halted by lack of evidence. We do not know how far, if ever, these prescriptive regimens were ever followed, or by whom. Patrons were probably more interested in the idea than in the practice of healthy moderation; more pleased by the status of receiving a regimen (because only a few had the means to lead a balanced lifestyle) than in the strain of implementing it.

What if preventive medicine, of this or any other kind, had failed? When illness struck there were several overlapping explanations for illness which suggested strategies of response just as they might already have prompted strategies of avoidance. Perhaps most attempts at healing began at home, by waiting on the *vis medicatrix naturae* (i.e. doing nothing); by the self-help of simple herbalism, prayer, or incantation; by calling upon a family member, especially a woman (mistress of the household, mother, wife). Awareness of having sinned led to the priest and the sacraments, or *in extremis* to the saint in his or her tomb (e.g. Crisafulli and Nesbitt 1997, with Vikan 1984). Belief in the possibility that the ailment had been inflicted by malevolent magic, or the evil eye, might suggest resort to counter-magic. A naturalistic aetiology was more open-ended. Remedies that scholars would call magical might still provide a last, or even first, resort. A doctor of some kind might also of course be consulted, though the fact that a man, or more rarely a woman, had earned the title *iatros* (or *iatraina*) told the prospective patient nothing about the level of learning or therapeutic know-how to be expected. In the capital, doctors belonged to a guild, and they may perhaps have submitted to some form of quasi-professional accreditation (Grumel 1949). Elsewhere, healers had to live by their wits, with only their fragile reputations to rely upon in attracting new patients and keeping old ones.

Byzantine medicine was not, however, just the ‘refrigerator’ of late antique medical learning (Nutton 1984: 2). Many of its surviving texts are practical, sophisticated, responsive to changing needs. They are even, on occasion, and within the inherited Galenic paradigm, innovative (Scarborough 1984; Bennett 2003). They also became associated with new loci of healing. One such is the hospital (see III.11.6 Charitable institutions). We should not overestimate the number of hospitals, that is, charities for the overnight accommodation of the sick that had access to the services of doctors. Nor should we assume that the general quality of medical care in them differed radically from that available in the Christian West or the Islamic Middle East (Horden 2000; 2005a). The Byzantine hospital remains, none the less, in many ways the perfect expression of Byzantine health concerns: a blend of the learned and the practical, the ancient and the new, that belies the charge of stagnation to which Byzantine medical history has so long been subject (see also Miller 1997).

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Further Reading

Orientations that are particularly helpful will be found in: Scarborough 1984, Maguire 1995, Miller 1997.

CHAPTER III.14

JUSTICE

LEGAL LITERATURE

BERNARD STOLTE

BYZANTIUM has produced an extensive legal literature (Pieler 1978; Van der Wal and Lokin 1985; Troianos 1999), though little in the way of legal theory. Most of it is normative or descriptive, and the legislation tends to repeat rather than reform. The Roman past played an important role, ideologically as well as textually. It is often difficult to ascertain the extent to which legislative texts were able to play a role in actual practice.

In the field of secular law, the reign of Justinian I (527–65) brings the transition from Late Antiquity to Byzantium. Justinian's codification of Roman law in the *Digest* (and *Institutes*) and *Code* both brings ancient Roman law to its conclusion and forms the beginning of Byzantine law (Stolte 1994; Liebs 2000: 244–52). The *Digest* (533) is an anthology of the writings of Roman jurists of the first century BCE to the third century CE, the great majority of which is case law, but which now is presented as a normative system (ed. Mommsen and Krüger 1882). The *Code* (second edition, 534; the first has not survived) is an anthology of Roman imperial constitutions, the earliest of which dates to the reign of Hadrian (117–38) (ed. Krüger 1877). Both collections are almost entirely in Latin. Their promulgation had the legal effect of making obsolete what had not been included in them; the existing writings and collections became worthless. Justinian also published a Latin textbook for first-year students, the *Institutes* (533), after the model of the *Institutes* of Gaius (2nd cent. CE; ed. Krüger 1872). Again the model was made obsolete by its successor. Our manuscripts reflect the expected

effect on the transmission of these superseded texts, which were not copied any more.

Justinian had instructed the committees responsible for drafting the codification to adapt the writings of the jurists and the constitutions of the emperors to the law of his own time. It is now generally conceded that the alterations made by the commissioners were far less numerous than had long been thought, and that such alterations in many cases had been first submitted to the emperor and sanctioned in special constitutions (Lokin 1995).

As a result of this intensive programme of legislation during the first few years of Justinian's reign the law had been modernized and codified. Its immediate use, however, was hampered by its continued employment of Latin and by its ambitious intellectual level. Both obstacles were being tackled in the law schools, for which Justinian had provided a detailed curriculum. In practice, courses given aimed first at improving linguistic understanding and subsequently at legal exegesis. From this programme an extensive literature for the class-room has been preserved: literal as well as summarizing translations, and commentaries, in the form of lecture notes and as separate treatises. (A good example is the 'paraphrase' of Justinian's *Institutes* by Theophilus: ed. Ferrini 1884–97.) The various Greek renderings of the Latin texts inevitably tended to replace the originals fairly soon, although an official translation was not issued until the *Basilica* (c.900; see below). These renderings circulated and were to be used as the basis of the 'law-books', the several smaller collections issued until almost the end of Byzantium, of which the Isaurian *Ecloga* (see below) was the first.

Justinian issued a great number of *novellae constitutiones* or *Novels* (ed. Schoell and Kroll 1895). They were amendments to his codification, some of them extensive and drastic. At first they were regularly promulgated in Latin and Greek, but soon only in Greek except for a few special cases. The *Novels* were never collected officially; a private collection of 168 *Novels*, seven of which were later than Justinian, came to fulfil this role. Summaries of these long texts, for example, the *Syntagma* by Athanasios of Emesa (ed. Simon and Troianos 1989), were understandably popular. Emperors continued to issue *Novels*, though with different intensity: after Herakleios (610–41; ed. Konidaris 1982) perhaps not at all for some time, but Leo VI composed them again in great number (ed. Noailles and Dain 1944).

The Macedonian emperors Basil I (867–86) and Leo VI (886–912) reorganized the legislative texts in the so-called *Basilica* (short for *ta basilika nomima*) (Pieler 1989), but still kept very close to the Justinianic example, so close that they in fact promulgated a Greek version of Justinian's legislation, but in which extracts from *Digest*, *Code*, and *Novels* could now be found grouped together according to subject-matter. In all probability it was not their intention to abrogate the Justinianic texts. Although occasionally minor changes may be observed, it is essentially the sixth century that speaks from the *Basilica*. The history of their genesis is not entirely

clear; there have been versions in 60, in 40, and again in 60 books. More important is the fact that they were compiled from existing sixth-century Greek versions of the Latin *Digest* and *Code*; relevant chapters of the *Novels* are usually present in their original full text, while the *Institutes* are almost entirely absent. The version that has reached our day is in 60 books, not all of which have been preserved (Van der Wal 1989). Most manuscripts carry scholia. It is important to distinguish 'old' scholia, which, just as the main text, are in fact fragments from sixth-century versions of and commentaries on the Justinianic texts, and 'new' scholia, which have been written as a commentary on, and therefore are later than, the *Basilica*. Several of these scholia are preceded by an author's name, but otherwise their attribution and dating is a difficult matter. The edition (Scheltema, van der Wal, and Holwerda 1953–88) presents the text and the scholia in separate volumes and keeps the scholia of one manuscript together: occasionally therefore the reader finds more than one series of scholia to the same book one after the other.

In addition to the two major codifications there are a number of 'law-books'. In 741 Leo III and Constantine V issued a legal compendium in 18 titles, the *Ecloga* (ed. Burgmann 1983). It exemplifies the problem facing the modern student of Byzantine legislation: it is a law which does not replace, but at the same time at certain points differs from, the existing legislation. The differences have been exaggerated in the past, but their existence is a reality, which makes one wonder about the problem of application of conflicting but valid rules.

Similar problems arise in the case of the *Procheiron* and the *Eisagoge*. Both date to the end of the ninth century, both are laws and do not replace the Justinianic legislation. An additional problem is the order in which these law-books were issued. Whether it was the *Eisagoge* that replaced the *Procheiron*, as was the traditional view and has been defended by van Bochove (1996), or the *Procheiron* that was issued as a substitute for the *Eisagoge*, as has been suggested by Schminck (1986)—neither chronology solves all problems—the most interesting difference between the two is the political theory expounded in the titles on the emperor and the patriarch in the *Eisagoge*, which have been associated with patriarch Photios. The other differences are far from substantial and both law-books remain very close to the Justinianic texts. Versions in which both law-books had been combined have also been preserved.

The same close adherence to essentially Justinianic texts is to be observed until the end of the Byzantine Empire. The *Hexabiblos* by Harmenopoulos (1345), a compilation of existing Byzantine law, draws for a large part on the *Basilica* and thus maintains a continuity with the Justinianic past (ed. Heimbach 1851).

There are, however, sources which reflect contemporary life more closely. Imperial legislation in the form of *Novels* continued after Justinian: generally these *Novels* addressed the problems of the day. Thematic compilations such as the *Nomos georgikos* (ed. Ashburner 1912) are a different case: they are private collections of existing legal material and as such probably were meant for a specific area in a

specific time, but have proved very problematic to locate and date; they also have complicated histories.

Byzantium has also produced an extensive ecclesiastical legal literature. Church councils promulgated decisions, *kanones*, and their collections form the nucleus of canon law. The first four ecumenical councils enjoyed a special status, but soon standard collections came into being, eventually comprising these together with later ecumenical councils, a number of local councils, and excerpts from church fathers (ed. Joannou 1962). The manuscripts preserve this material in a great variety of collections; each of them reflects the ideas of its compiler, since the Church never issued an authoritative *Corpus iuris canonici*. A special type are the *nomokanones*, which originated from the fact that Church and State were inextricably bound up together. The emperor could and would intervene in the affairs of the Church and vice versa, with the result that both Church and State might have legislated for a given problem, so that both *kanones* and *nomoi* were relevant. It was therefore convenient to have these together, and the sixth century saw collections of canons accompanied by appendices with secular law, the most extensive of them being the *Collectio Tripartita* (ed. Van der Wal and Stolte 1994). It was even more convenient to have an integrated collection arranged according to subject, and the most popular one became the *Nomocanon of Fourteen Titles* (ed. Pitra 1868: 433–640). Obviously only collections in which canon as well as secular law are found are proper nomocanons, but terminology in the sources and the secondary literature is very erratic.

After the Council in Trullo (691–2) the *kanon* ceased to be the principal vehicle for development of canon law, a role taken over by decisions of the patriarch of Constantinople, by consultation with spiritual leaders and by authoritative commentary on the existing body of canon law. Of the latter the writings of Theodore Balsamon are a good example; his commentary on the *Nomocanon of Fourteen Titles* and the *Corpus canonum* belonging to it convey an impression of the material to which the canon lawyer of the twelfth century referred: apart from the canons proper one finds imperial legislation, court cases (see below), synodal decrees, etc., many of which would have been lost but for his commentary (ed. Rhalles and Potles 1852–9: vols. 1–4). Other important commentaries are those by Zonaras and Aristenos (*ibid.*: vols. 2–4).

In 1335 the monk Blastares did for canon law what ten years later Harmenopoulos would do for secular law: his *Syntagma alphabeticum* (Rhalles and Potles 1852–9: vol. 6) presented a fairly concise summary of canon law, for which he drew on existing (also secular) texts, and, as did the *Hexabiblos*, his work gained wide circulation.

This survey of Byzantine legal literature is by no means complete, of course; fuller treatments are available elsewhere. Conspicuously absent here are sources relating to legal practice, although a work like the *Peira* (11th cent.; ed. Zachariä von Lingenthal 1856; Oikonomides 1986), which reports a great number of court

cases, was meant by its author as a legal textbook and as such is a representative of a literary genre which starts in Byzantium with Justinian's *Institutes*. Together with Balsamon's work, the *Peira* provides an insight into the application of Byzantine normative sources in actual cases.

A treatment of legal literature cannot dispense with considering its role in shaping the 'legal life' of a society, even more so in the case of Byzantium. For the purpose of this Handbook the dichotomy between legal literature and practice has been interpreted pragmatically: legal literature is every written source that does not originate directly from legal practice. Thus an imperial law and a legal textbook, a conciliar canon and a treatise of marriage impediments, an abridgement of secular or canon law and a *notitia episcopatuum* are all legal literature, while an individual deed pertaining to a contract or the documentation of a trial are not. It is not fruitful to debate borderline cases, for example, the decisions of Demetrios Chomatianos (ed. Prinzing 2002) or those of the patriarch's court, preserved in the patriarchal register (ed. Hunger and Kresten 1981–), nor is it useful to ponder on the question whether something is legal or not. More important seems the question of the value of this legal 'literature' to the historian of Byzantium, who usually feels more at ease with documents from legal practice.

First of all, the distinction between literature and practice obscures the enormous variety within the literary sources. An imperial law is not the same as a textbook, nor can a scholarly treatise carry the same authority as a formal legislative act. To complicate matters even further, there are many writings belonging to more than one genre, or, though having started life as one, have ended up being considered quite another. The *Peira*, for example, was conceived as a textbook but acquired an authority putting it almost on a level with a legislative act. Worst of all, the formal authority of an imperial act of legislation did not operate with the same binding force as a modern Act of Parliament, nor did an abrogated law disappear from the legal theatre. Our modern models of derogation—for example, a younger law supersedes an older one, a special law has precedence over a general one—did not quite work that way in Byzantium, which in that respect did not learn from its Roman ancestor. Peculiar to Byzantium, moreover, is the never solved problem of the relation of Church and State, of *kanon* and *nomos* (Troianos 1991). Generally speaking, legislation was relevant to the extent that it provided a voice of authority, which could be and was invoked to support a decision and thus directed the opinion of judges and justiciables.

These considerations, to which attention has been drawn above all by the Frankfurt équipe of legal historians of Dieter Simon and his colleagues, have changed the face of Byzantine legal history during the last thirty years (e.g. Simon 1973). They are especially relevant to the historians of Byzantium, who will wish to know to what extent legal literature can provide them with information about social and economic realities. While legal practice will always be more directly informative to them than legal literature, it would be wrong to dismiss the latter out of hand

because of the difficulties sketched above. The task ahead is to evaluate more thoroughly in each individual case the background of a legal literary source and the way it is made use of by the Byzantines themselves. Attention in these sources to a particular phenomenon will ultimately be an indication of that phenomenon playing a part at that particular moment, even if it is hard for us to discover precisely how. Needless to say, arguments *e silentio* are particularly dangerous.

That said, it remains to discuss some general characteristics of Byzantine legal literature. While Byzantine law is much indebted to Roman law and for its formation is especially dependent on the Justinianic legislation, Byzantine society was not the Roman society of the late Republic and the early Empire, the period in which Roman law arguably had its 'finest hour'. In particular the gradual shift of emphasis from private case law to imperial legislation, completed already in the late Empire, changed the shape of Roman law. The shift coincided with the centre of the empire moving gradually from West to East and its culture from Latin to Hellenistic Greek. From that perspective the Justinianic legislation was an uncharacteristic harking back to the past, but with far-reaching consequences: its form and content were to be a mark of orientation for future Byzantine lawyers. (That legal historiography has mostly studied Justinian's legislation with the exclusive aim of ascertaining to what extent it has preserved a glorious 'classical' past is another matter.) The language problems have already been mentioned, but even after Latin had disappeared for practical purposes, for a long time Roman legal terminology remained in unchanged use in Byzantine legal discourse: in manuscripts technical terms stand out by being written in Latin letters, though treated as Greek words. Much later they were being replaced by proper Greek terms, but Latin-Greek lexica (Burgmann and others 1990), part of a revival of the study of the Justinianic heritage, kept being copied for a long time (Troianos 2000, with extensive bibliography).

Imperial legislation fulfilled other roles than just communicating the legal substance of the emperor's wishes, an aspect scholars have learned to appreciate more than in the past. There is a continuous tradition in observing rhetorical conventions from the later Roman imperial legislation onwards. An equally continuous tradition is to be found in the fairly simple prose style of the ancient Roman jurists and their Byzantine successors.

The greatest contrast between 'classical' Roman and Byzantine legal literature lies in the intellectual quality of the legal thinking that speaks from them. With the exception of the Justinianic age, in which Tribonian was the directing genius behind the codification (Honoré 1978), Byzantine lawyers did not reach the level of legal sophistication of their Roman predecessors. To that extent our interpretation of Byzantine legal literature probably suffers from the difficulty we experience when trying to place ourselves in the position of these Byzantine lawyers, who apparently found it harder to grapple with a Roman legal heritage than, for example, the Italian lawyers of the high Middle Ages. It is not easy to ascertain to what extent they

understood and put to good use the rich material at their disposal in, for instance, the *Basilica*. When dealing with Byzantine law it is probably best to abandon the modern habit of thinking too much of law as a system, an approach advocated in any case by the eclectic way the Byzantines have mostly proceeded in legal questions. At the end of the day, they lacked the legal mind characteristic of the ancient Romans.

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Further Reading

There is no good modern history of Byzantine law; therefore still valuable is K. E. Zachariä von Lingenthal, *Geschichte des griechisch-römischen Rechts* (Berlin, 1892, 3rd edn.). A. Kazhdan, 'Do we need a new history of Byzantine law?', *JÖB* (1989): 1–28 should of course be answered with a firm yes, but not for all his reasons; see B. H. Stolte, 'Not new but novel: notes on the historiography of Byzantine law', *BMGS* 22 (1998): 264–79. Problems raised by the transmission of the sources have been identified, by and large, and numerous new editions have appeared or are in preparation. The Frankfurt series *Forschungen zur byzantinischen Rechtsgeschichte*, among which eleven volumes of *Fontes Minores*, contains many such editions as well as material towards Kazhdan's New History; see also the Athenian Reihe of the *Forschungen* and the series *Subseciva Groningana*. Modern editions are usually accompanied by a translation; for the *Basilica*, however, the reader without classical Greek has to refer to the Latin translation accompanying the old and defective edition by Heimbach.

A willingness to consider Byzantine law in its own right instead of as a repository of Roman law transmitted in Greek guise is a relatively recent phenomenon: see the papers given at the Paris congress of Byzantine studies (in 2001), offering a survey of the achievements of the last decades, published in *Fontes Minores* 11 (2005).

III.15. THE SPIRITUAL WORLD

CHAPTER III.15.1

BYZANTINE THEOLOGY

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THE understanding of the nature of history and the cosmos that evolved in Orthodox Byzantine theology was indebted both to the Christian Scriptures and to ideas developed by the philosophers of classical antiquity, especially Plato and those thinkers who developed his insights. The Scriptures taught Byzantine theologians about a sovereign God who created the world and rules it through his providence; it also led them to think of God as more than an ultimate principle, but rather as a subject who is in some sense personal (though the modern notion of 'personality' is a later development), to whom one must at least ascribe will and purpose. God is also understood to have created the cosmos out of nothing, *ex nihilo*, even though such a doctrine is only explicitly stated once in the Scriptures (2 Macc. 7: 28). The Fathers' conception of the cosmos was, with very few exceptions (e.g. the 'fundamentalist' Severian of Gabala (fl. c.400) and Kosmas (mid-sixth century), the author of the *Christian Topography*), greatly indebted to the account in Plato's *Timaios*, in which the cosmos is conceived as a living being, uniting soul and body in a way analogous to a human being, so that the latter can be regarded as a 'little cosmos' (*mikros kosmos*). Although the idea of a world soul, together with the idea of the cosmos as a living organism, is either explicitly rejected by the Fathers or at least recedes into the background, the idea of the human as a microcosm, reflecting

in himself the diversity-in-harmony of the cosmos, retains its importance. Other aspects of the Platonic-Stoic understanding of the cosmos, notably the idea of the stars and planets as living beings with the endorsement of astrological notions that entailed, are also dropped (at least in the writings of the Fathers, though their polemic against astrology suggests that many Christians retained these ideas); indeed the idea of the heavenly bodies as broaching the intellectual world tends to be replaced in Christian cosmology by the angelic beings (and the glorified patriarchs, prophets, and saints): something manifest in Christian adaptation of Hellenistic art. The idea of the human as microcosm is fitted into the Scriptural view by way of the doctrine that God created human beings 'in his image and likeness' (Gen. 1: 26), a doctrine that looms much larger in the thought of the Fathers than in the Scriptural text itself (Camelot 1956).

This general view of the cosmos found classic expression in the works attributed to Dionysios the Areopagite that make their appearance in Byzantine intellectual history in the first third of the sixth century. These writings present a view of God and the created order that was hugely influential amongst the Byzantines, an influence largely due to the extent to which they gave vivid expression to ideas and themes already deeply cherished in Byzantium. According to Dionysios, all reality has a triadic structure, from God, who exists (or rather transcends existence and reality) as a Trinity, or Triad, of Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, through the heavenly realm, consisting of three ranks of three kinds of beings each: first, seraphim, cherubim, and thrones; secondly, dominions, powers, authorities; thirdly, principalities, archangels, and angels—to the human hierarchy of the Church, in which three sacraments: baptism, the Eucharist, and chrism, are administered by three ranks of ministers: bishops, priests, and deacons—to three ranks of laity: monks, the laity, and those seeking baptism or excluded from communion (catechumens, penitents, and the possessed). These ranks are called by Dionysios 'hierarchies', a coinage of his own, which does not mean (though it entails) subordination in ranks, but 'a sacred order, knowledge, and activity, which is being assimilated to God as much as possible' (*Cael. Hier.* III. 1. 1; Suchla 1990–1: vol. 2, 17), for the sole purpose of the ranks of the hierarchies, heavenly or human, is to manifest the glory of God and draw back into union with him the whole manifold of creation. God's glory is manifest as beauty, which calls back to itself those who perceive it (Dionysios knew Plato's derivation of the word for beauty, *kallos*, from 'to call', *kalein*). For Dionysios it is *par excellence* in the liturgical action of the Church that this encounter with the beauty of God's glory takes place. This calling back to union with God involves another triad, the triad of the operations of purification, illumination, and union or perfection: the threefold nature of hierarchy symbolizes and effects this threefold process of purification, illumination, and union (Louth 1989; Rorem 1993).

Dionysios' vision picked up and cast in heady Neoplatonic language (how far such language entails the conceptual world of Neoplatonism is a matter of dispute amongst scholars) themes and ideas already familiar and cherished in Greek

patristic theology, and bequeathed to virtually all later Byzantine theology both its intoxicating vision and the language used to express it (even in Byzantine hymnography Dionysios' tortuous epithets become commonplace). The period of the accommodation of the Dionysian vision in the Byzantine world—roughly the sixth and the seventh centuries—form a kind of watershed in Byzantine theology. Up to the end of the seventh century, a great deal of energy is devoted to clarifying and defining orthodox belief in the Trinitarian nature of God and the union of the divine and human natures in Christ, whereas from the beginning of the sixth century there is increasing concern to elucidate the nature of human response to the love of the uncreated God for his creation, especially humankind, and the consequences for human beings of the following through of this response (Grillmeier 1987–96; Louth 2002: 147–55).

There was much greater argument, and far more conciliar decisions, over problems of Christology—how God became man in Christ—than over the doctrine of the Trinity. Indeed, conciliar definitions about the Trinity are quite sparse: the doctrine of the co-equality of the persons of the One Godhead expressed in the doctrine of the *homoousion* ('consubstantial', sharing the same essence, or equal in essence) was only unambiguously affirmed of all three Persons at an ecumenical council long after it had ceased to be a matter of dispute; there is no direct conciliar definition of the terms used to express the doctrine of the Trinity (*ousia*, *hypostasis*), in contrast to the case with Christology; and the expression, 'one of the Trinity', is used in conciliar texts, rather than defined. The reason for this is of fundamental importance: it is the consequence of the universal acknowledgement among Byzantine theologians that God in himself is utterly unknowable. This sense of the incomprehensibility of God is given expression in various ways. Byzantine theology draws a distinction between *theologia*, theology in the strict sense, our understanding of God in Himself, that is, the doctrine of the Trinity and the attributes of God, and *oikonomia*, God's engagement with the created order, both in creation and redemption; we know very little in the realm of *theologia*, and what little we know mainly serves to prevent misunderstanding, whereas in the realm of *oikonomia*, although there is much hidden from us, it is something that comes within the scope of our created minds. The attributes of God, that belong to the realm of *theologia*, are, for the most part, negations of inappropriate ascriptions (often represented in Greek by the alpha-privative): God is without beginning, uncreated, immortal, boundless, uncircumscribed, incomposite, bodiless (*anarchos*, *aktistos*, *athanatos*, *apeiros*, *aperigraphtos*, *asynthetos*, *asomatos*), and so on (John of Damascus, *Exp. Fid.* 2, 8 (ed. Kotter 1969: 8–9, 18–19); Louth 2002: 91–2).

Dionysios introduced into Byzantine theology the term (of Neoplatonic inspiration) 'apophatic theology', theology of negation, pointing out that this kind of negation does not mean that God lacks these attributes, but that he transcends them (a point made by Dionysios by use of the prefix *hyper-* as an alternative to *a-*). Opposed to apophatic theology is 'kataphatic theology', characteristic of

God's revelation of himself in the *oikonomia*; a later way of putting this (though used less systematically much earlier) is to say that God, known through his energies or activities (*energeiai*), is unknown in his essence (*ousia*). The doctrine of the Trinity, belonging to the realm of *theologia*, is then more akin to apophatic than kataphatic theology: 'the summit of kataphatic theology,' it 'belongs also to apophatic theology,' as Vladimir Lossky put it (Lossky 1930: 283). For the doctrine of the Trinity is not some intellectual conundrum, in which threeness and oneness are reconciled, but rather simply an affirmation that the one God transcends even unity, and manifests himself as God, and nothing else, in the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit. The Cappadocian Fathers—Basil the Great (c.330–79), his friend Gregory of Nazianzos (329/30–389/90), and his younger brother Gregory of Nyssa (c.330–c.395)—introduced the distinction between using *hypostasis* for the members of the Trinity and *ousia* for the Godhead they shared, though they do not use this terminology systematically, and illustrate this distinction in several ways. The fact that the members of the Trinity share a single divine *ousia* is expressed by the use of the term introduced into the creed of the first ecumenical council, that held at Nicaea in 325, *homoousios*: the Son and the Spirit are said to be *homoousios* with the Father. The doctrine of the Trinity advanced little beyond these bare statements (Louth 2002: 96–100). John of Damascus, summing up the Trinitarian theology of the Fathers, introduces the notion of *perichoresis*, a mutual interpenetration of the persons of the Trinity. The controversy that haunted the last half-millennium of Byzantium over the double procession of the Spirit—whether the Spirit proceeds from the Father, or from the Father and the Son, as the Latin version of the Niceno-Constantinopolitan creed came to affirm by the addition of *Filioque*—was, on the Byzantine side, less the confident assertion of something known, than a reluctance to go beyond the word of Scripture (John 15: 26, which speaks of 'the Spirit of truth who proceeds from the Father'; Swete 1876).

Kataphatic theology, the theology of affirmation, is the affirmation of what God has revealed in creation and through revelation. For Dionysios, and for Byzantine theology in general, kataphatic theology is not so much opposed to apophatic theology as grounded upon it. In his activity in the *oikonomia*, God reveals something of himself, and that we can and must affirm in faith; but as we seek to follow it back and apply it to God in himself, we must acknowledge that God transcends even our most lofty conceptions, and that ultimately we are most true to God's revelation in ultimately denying it. This introduces into theology a tentativeness, characteristic of Byzantine theology at its best, though often quite lacking; it also disposes theology to an openness to imagery, both literary and visual, rather than reliance on logic and concepts, though these latter have their place. It was the fundamental place of the image in Christian theology that John of Damascus saw himself defending in the controversy with the Iconoclasts.

The Iconoclast controversy was regarded, on both sides, as a controversy about the Incarnation: the Iconoclasts came to regard any depiction of Christ as entailing

either a Monophysite confusion of natures or a Nestorian separation of them; for the Iconodules the depiction of Christ and the saints in material form amounted to a reaffirmation of the reality of the Incarnation, in which God assumed a material, human form (Hussey 1986: 30–68; Dagron 1993: 93–165). Behind this controversy lay centuries of discussion and dispute over the way in which divine and human natures were united in the one person of Christ. Christology was already implicit in the controversies that led to the formulation of the doctrine of the Trinity, and the affirmation of the Nicene doctrine of the *homoousion* led to the Christological problem being posed in a stark form. For if the Word or Son of God, who became incarnate, was ‘one of the Trinity’, lacking nothing in divinity compared with the Father, then the assertion of the Incarnation involved the simultaneous affirmation in Christ of unqualified divinity and unqualified humanity. Prior to Nicaea, many Christian thinkers had conceived of the Incarnate One as some kind of intermediary being, less than God, more than human. That was ruled out by the doctrine of the *homoousion*. For Athanasios of Alexandria (c.296–373), this doctrine entailed that in Christ we encounter the fully divine Word of God living a human life, through the assumption of human nature. The paradox of the divinely human and the humanly divine was affirmed, and the incomprehensible lowering (*synkatabasis*) of God to the human regarded as an index of the immeasurable love of God for humankind. This descent to the human condition called human beings to a corresponding ascent to the divine condition, the fallenness of human nature having been overcome by God’s taking on himself human frailty and suffering: as Athanasios put it in an oft-quoted phrase, ‘the Word of God became human, that we might become divine’ (*De Incarnatione* 54; Kannengiesser (ed.) 1993: 458). The reality of this assumption of human nature by God meant that Jesus’ mother, Mary, could be called *theotokos*, one who gave birth to God, a term that Athanasios is the first to make much use of. One of the earliest uses of the term *theotokos* is in a prayer, preserved in an Egyptian papyrus dated no later than the fourth century: the logic of the Incarnation, as Athanasios understood it, had a corollary in growing popular devotion to the Mother of God.

However, the attempt to think through the implications of this understanding of the Incarnation by Athanasios’ friend and supporter Apollinaris of Laodikeia (c.310–c.390) seemed to affirm the consubstantiality of the Son with the Father only by denying the integrity of the human nature assumed by the Son: he denied that the humanity of Christ had a human soul or intellect. Such a denial was quickly rejected, especially by the two Cappadocian Gregories, who argued, in the words of Gregory of Nazianzos, that Christ’s humanity must be undiminished, for ‘the unassumed is the unhealed’. Apollinarianism also sparked off a reaction, characteristic of some theologians associated with Antioch (thus called the ‘Antiochenes’), who sought to safeguard the integrity of Christ’s divinity and humanity by carefully distinguishing them (or indeed holding them separate), so that neither would encroach on the other. In their exegesis of the Gospel narratives (and exegetical

concerns probably inspired their Christology), they distinguished between the *prosopon* of divinity and the *prosopon* of humanity (*prosopon* probably having the sense of 'character', in the sense of characters of a play, *dramatis personae*): each episode of the Gospels was attributed to one or other *prosopon*, the miracles to the divine Word and the limitations and suffering to the human *prosopon*. This 'Antiochene' position was probably very much a minority position in the Church of the late fourth century, and it has very little resonance with later Byzantine theology. Most Christians seem to have followed the 'Alexandrian' approach of Athanasios and Cyril (Fairbairn 2003).

The Antiochenes remained suspicious that any attempt, like that of Athanasios, to emphasize the profound unity of divine and human in Christ entailed some form of covert Apollinarianism. These suspicions finally provoked open controversy, when Nestorios (d. c.450), a priest from Antioch, newly appointed patriarch of Constantinople in 428, protested against the ascription to Mary of the title *Theotokos*. Nestorios' protest aroused the zeal of Cyril of Alexandria (c.380–444). In the ensuing conflict, involving matters of both theology and ecclesiastical politics too complex to enter into here, a council was called at Ephesos in 431 at which Nestorios was condemned. With Nestorios condemned, Cyril was prepared to accept a reconciliatory statement (the 'Formula of Reunion', 433), proposed by John, patriarch of Antioch, in which Cyril's insistence on the unity of Christ and the legitimacy of the title *Theotokos* was balanced by an equal insistence on the integrity of the two natures, the divine *homoousios* with the Father, the human *homoousios* with us. Fifteen years later, controversy was stirred again in Constantinople by an aged and distinguished archimandrite, Eutyches (c.378–454), who held that faithfulness to Cyril, increasingly regarded as the touchstone of Christological orthodoxy in the Greek East, meant that after the Incarnation it was imperative to speak of 'one nature' (*mia physis*). Again a complex series of events led to the calling of the fourth ecumenical council, held at Chalcedon in 451, at which a statement of Christological orthodoxy was drawn up, based on the Formula of Reunion, though incorporating language characteristic of Latin theology, as expressed by Pope Leo (d. 461), whose legates played an important role at the council. The Christological Definition spoke of Christ as a single person (*hypostasis*) acknowledged 'in two natures' (*en duo physessin*) (Tanner 1990: 86).

Both councils—Ephesos and Chalcedon—asserted Christological orthodoxy at the expense of division: Ephesos led to the secession of those who remained faithful to Nestorios, who quickly left the Roman Empire for Persia, where they flourished, both under the Sassanians and later under the Arabs, as the 'Church of the East'; Chalcedon alienated many in the East, who felt that Cyril had been betrayed, leading to a schism in the East, especially in Syria and Egypt, that has never been healed. This group, called by the Orthodox 'monophysites' (nowadays called 'Oriental Orthodox'), was not easily suppressed, and in the centuries after Chalcedon represented a serious theological challenge to the Orthodox Chalcedonians. The greatest

theologian in the immediate wake of Chalcedon, Severos of Antioch (c.465–538), belonged to their number (Allen 2004). Pressure from the Monophysites, combined with the genuine respect Cyril commanded in the Greek world, led, in the sixth century, to an attempt to interpret the decisions of Chalcedon in Cyrilline terms (a movement called ‘Cyrilline Chalcedonianism’, formerly ‘Neo-Chalcedonianism’), which clarified the Chalcedonian Definition by identifying the Incarnate *hypostasis* with the Son, the second person of the Trinity, reinforcing this by affirming that ‘one of the Trinity suffered in the flesh’ (the so-called ‘Theopaschite’ formula), and accepted that the Cyrilline formula for the Incarnate Word, ‘one incarnate nature of God the Word’ (*mia physis tou Theou Logou sesarkomene*), was patent of an orthodox interpretation. The clarification formed the basis of the emperor Justinian’s ill-fated attempts to achieve unity between Orthodox and Monophysite, and was endorsed by the fifth ecumenical council, held in Constantinople in 553. Further Christological controversy followed in the seventh century, when Christological compromises—first, monenergism, and then monotheletism (the doctrine that Christ had one divine-human activity, and that he had one divine will, respectively)—promoted by the emperor Herakleios in a desperate attempt to unite Orthodox and Monophysite, were refuted, principally by Maximos the Confessor (580–662) (Louth 1996). For him this was a continuation of the struggle against Apollinarianism: both heresies infringed the integrity of Christ’s human nature, and, as Gregory of Nazianzos had argued earlier, ‘the unassumed is the unhealed’. Given that it was the human will that led to the Fall, there was no question for Maximos that the human will was in need of healing.

This sketch of the Christological controversies is intended to clarify the kind of theological pressures that lay behind the final formulation of Christological Orthodoxy that remained determinative for Byzantine theology. Without diminishing his divinity, by an incomprehensible process of *kenosis* (self-emptying: cf. Phil. 2: 7), the Word of God assumed an undiminished human nature, ‘like us in all respects except for sin’ (Chalcedonian Definition, cf. Heb. 4: 15). As God made man, he conquered the power of sin and saved fallen humanity, thus enabling human beings to fulfil the purpose for which they were originally created, to become, as Athanasios had put it, God: to God’s Incarnation there corresponds human deification.

Byzantine theology was deeply occupied by the problem of what was involved in this process of deification. After the Dionysian watershed, mentioned above, this became more and more the focus of Byzantine theology. The literature that explored this was almost entirely written by monks for monks, though there are many exceptions, some of Maximos’ works being written for a group of what appear to be his spiritual children in the imperial court, while Symeon the New Theologian (949–1022) (ed. Darrouzès, Krivochéine, Koder) also gave counsel to lay people in Constantinople, though what has survived of his works is entirely monastic. The basis of this literature was the accumulated wisdom of early monastic asceticism, especially the collected sayings of the fathers of the fourth-century Egyptian desert.

There are two sources in this early material that were hugely influential for Byzantine ascetic theology, and are in some respects complementary: Evagrius (346–99) and the Makarian Homilies (Louth 1981: 98–131). Evagrius was a pupil both of Basil and Gregory of Nazianzos and of the two Makarioi, monks of the Egyptian desert. His writings are almost all concerned with elucidating the struggle of monks to pray and find union with God (though among Basil's letters, Letter 8 is a dogmatic letter by Evagrius on the doctrine of the Trinity). In this process of elucidation, Evagrius makes use of a predominantly Platonic psychology: the human soul consists of an intellect and two irrational powers, the incensive (*thymos*) and the desiring (*epithymetikon*). Prayer is the task of the intellect, indeed it is the 'natural state' of the intellect, but it can be (and usually is) hindered in this task by the irrational parts of the soul, which disturb and distract it. Evagrius provides an analysis, which demonstrates great psychological insight, of the way in which the intellect can come to a state of pure prayer. Both the irrational parts of the soul must be led to a state of calmness, the *thymos* being aroused by anger and resentment in its various forms, which, as it were, darken the soul and prevent prayer, while the *epithymetikon* is a constant source of distraction. In the course of his analysis, Evagrius develops the notion of distracting or absorbing trains of thought, called *logismoi* (each of which has its own demon), which he reduces to eight categories: gluttony, fornication, avarice, grief, anger, accidie or listlessness, vainglory, and pride (*gastrimargia*, *porneia*, *philargyria*, *lype*, *orge*, *akedia*, *kenodoxia*, *hyperephania*). The state of calmness that makes it possible for the intellect to engage in prayer is called *apatheia* (freedom from passions, that is being unaffected by what is going on around one). *Apatheia* releases the intellect to pray, or to contemplate: it enables the intellect to behold reality, both the reality of the created order, and beyond that the reality that is God, and as God is beyond any human conception, such prayer was understood to transcend the need for images. Evagrius often envisages the soul as passing through three stages: *praktike*, the stage of ascetic struggle, *physike*, the stage of natural contemplation made possible by the attaining of *apatheia*, and finally *theologia*, a state of pure prayer in which the intellect is united with God (Louth 1981: 102–12). Much of this terminology has roots in Hellenistic philosophy, and it came to be determinative for virtually all Byzantine ascetic theology.

Progress towards union with God involves ascetic struggle, because human beings are born into a fallen world, the Fall being the result of Adam's sin in paradise (Gen. 3). The Byzantines mostly took the story of Adam's fall as historically true, though they were also aware of its symbolic significance in revealing the nature of sin and separation from God. The dire effects of the Fall are the starting-point for the approach of the Makarian Homilies, the other principal source, alongside Evagrius, for Byzantine ascetic theology (Dörries 1978; Stewart 1991; Plested 2004). Despite their ascription to one or other of the great Makarioi of the Egyptian desert, these homilies do not emanate from Egypt, but from Syria; we do not know who wrote them. They paint a picture, complementary to that of Evagrius,

of the labyrinthine complexity of the human soul, which, as a result of the Fall, is in the possession of demonic powers of darkness. The only way in which human beings can be freed from this dark possession is through the grace of the Holy Spirit. Deprived of the Spirit, all one can do is pray for his coming: one must force oneself to pray, night and day lamenting one's sinful state and beseeching God. The coming of the Holy Spirit is something felt, an experience (*peira*), bringing a sense of assurance (*plerophoria*); it is sometimes experienced as rapture. With the coming of the Spirit, the soul attains a state of *apatheia*, and its whole life becomes one of prayer. However, the author of the Makarian Homilies does not concentrate on the soul, as does Evagrius, rather he tends to think of the heart as the organ of prayer, and of human beings as consisting of both soul and body. He therefore envisages not just a transformation of the soul, but of the body, too, and compares this transformation of the body to the Transfiguration of Christ on Mt Tabor.

These two traditions complement each other in Byzantine ascetic theology; attempts to unite their several emphases are found early on in the spiritual chapters of Diadochos of Photike (mid-fifth century) (ed. des Places 1966; Louth 1981: 125–31), and in the theological-ascetic synthesis of Maximos the Confessor (ed. Laga, Steel, Declerck, Van Deun, Janssens; Thunberg 1995). Later theologians complement these traditions in various ways. For instance, Maximos, and following him, John of Damascus (c.670–c.750), draw on the much more elaborate analysis of the human soul found in Aristotle, taking this directly from Nemesios of Emesa (fl. c.390), and Maximos himself draws on Neoplatonic concepts in his account of the union of the soul with God, almost certainly via Dionysios the Areopagite. But more important than such details is the way Maximos the Confessor draws together the dogmatic tradition we have already discussed, the (not simply) Dionysian cosmology, and these ascetic traditions into an extraordinary synthesis, in which all these strands form an interlocking whole and mutually illuminate one another, a synthesis that is not simply an intellectual construct, but something celebrated in the Church's liturgy, and worked out in a personal asceticism. The notion of the human as microcosm gives personal asceticism a cosmic role; for just as the cosmos participated in some way in the human fall, since the human, as microcosm, functions as the 'bond of the cosmos' (*syndesmos tou kosmou*), so the harmony achieved, through grace, by personal asceticism contributes in some way to the restoration of the cosmos. Maximos' vision is of a cosmic liturgy, in which each human being is called to play a part.

Both the ascetical strands we have looked at see ascetic struggle, in response to God's grace, as making possible a real transformation of humankind. This transformation, manifest in exceptional individuals as transfiguration by divine light, was interpreted as analogous to Christ's transfiguration on Mt Tabor. An emphasis on the experience of transformation led to the acknowledgement of spiritual authority (and also claims to such authority) based on such experience. As early as the sixth century, in the monastic tradition, one finds sacramental efficacy justified in terms

of the visions experienced by holy men when celebrating (often in a polemical context: the authenticity of the Orthodox against Monophysite Eucharist, and vice versa). There emerges a conflict between hierarchical sacramental authority and spiritual authority based on experience, a striking example of which is found in the life of Symeon the New Theologian, who claimed for himself experiences of transfiguring light, and also claimed that only those who had received such experiences should celebrate the sacraments (Holl 1898).

By the thirteenth century (if not before), there emerged among the ascetics on Mt Athos a movement that laid stress of the reality of such transfiguration achieved through prayer. Prayer of the heart, as it was called (echoing the language of the Makarian homilies), was achieved through practice of the Jesus prayer, understood as a way of overcoming distraction and attaining a state of imageless prayer, in which the ascetic became conscious of the presence of transfiguring light. The Jesus prayer was the result of a long evolution in monastic practice, which combined devotion to Jesus as the Incarnate Word with the use of short prayers as a way of holding the mind before God, free from distraction; by the thirteenth century it took the form of this prayer: 'Lord Jesus Christ, Son of God, have mercy on me, a sinner'. In the fourteenth century, the claims of these ascetics, or hesychasts, as they are usually called (from *hesychia*, stillness or quiet), to behold in their prayer the uncreated light of the Godhead attracted dissent and ridicule (Meyendorff 1959: 65–70). In the ensuing controversy, Gregory Palamas (c.1296–1359), who had himself been a monk on Mt Athos, and who later became Archbishop of Thessalonike, took the part of the monks (ed. Christou and others). In response to the claim that God is utterly unknowable and therefore cannot be experienced in prayer, Gregory developed a distinction, already present in the Byzantine tradition, between God's essence (*ousia*) and his energies or activities (*energeiai*), arguing that in his essence God is unknowable but that he makes himself known through his activities or energies, which are God himself, and not merely some effect produced by God, and that the divine light experienced by the hesychasts is one of the divine energies. Much of the argument turned on the interpretation of the Gospel episode of the Transfiguration, in which it was argued that the light beheld by the disciples was the uncreated light, emanating from Christ's divine nature. Gregory's defence was endorsed by the monks of the Holy Mountain, and also by a series of councils in Constantinople (Meyendorff 1959: 141–53).

The Byzantines' understanding of their spiritual world was expressed in theological doctrine and ascetical teaching often of considerable sophistication. However, a sense of the mystery of God and an openness to image and poetry meant that this vision was not confined to a learned elite. The celebration of the Divine Liturgy, in a church building representing the spiritual cosmos, with beauty in colour, song, smell, and gesture, reached out beyond the conceptual, and imparted something of that vision to all who were present, even the then unconverted Russian ambassadors in the Great Church of Hagia Sophia, who 'did not know whether we were in heaven

or on earth. For on earth there is no such splendour or such beauty ...' (*Russian Primary Chronicle*; Zenkovsky 1974: 67).

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CHAPTER III.15.2

PHILOSOPHIES

KATERINA IERODIAKONOU
DOMINIC O'MEARA

THE STUDY OF BYZANTINE PHILOSOPHY

MODERN study of philosophy in Byzantium may be described as in its infancy. Much basic work has yet to be done before our knowledge can be called adequate. Many Byzantine philosophical texts are still not available in critical editions which include not only a reliable Greek text but also discussion of authorship and precise information concerning the writer's ancient sources (two matters of special importance in assessing a Byzantine philosophical text). Modern translations and commentaries are hardly ever available. Satisfactory monographs on individual philosophers are generally lacking, as in the case, for example, of perhaps the most prominent Byzantine philosopher, Michael Psellos, whose work remains largely unpublished. For many periods of Byzantine history little is known of the concrete conditions in which philosophy was taught or of the broader intellectual and social contexts for philosophical reflection. Various factors have contributed to the neglect of this field of study. Byzantine philosophers have tended to be seen as (mere) scholars transmitting and glossing ancient philosophical texts. A restrictive modern view of philosophy has also meant that for a long time only 'classical' Greek philosophy was taken seriously and the philosophies of the Hellenistic period and of Late Antiquity (Neoplatonism, the starting-point of Byzantine philosophy) were largely neglected. A further factor is the impression of some subordination of philosophy to Christian theology, if not confusion, although this factor, relevant also for the medieval West, did not prevent the very much greater development of the modern

study of philosophy in medieval western Europe. Byzantine philosophical texts could thus be left to modern theologians whose interests might not be primarily philosophical or indeed historical. Finally, the emphasis in Byzantine studies has tended to lie elsewhere, in disciplines such as art, archaeology, or institutional and social history. This situation is now changing. Adequate critical editions of texts are appearing regularly, in particular in the series *Corpus philosophorum Medii Aevi—Philosophi Byzantini* and in the *Bibliotheca Teubneriana*; there are some detailed investigations of the teaching of philosophy in Byzantium and of its intellectual and social context (Lemerle 1971; Podskalsky 1977); some studies have shown in specific areas that Byzantine thinkers make original philosophical contributions (Ierodiakonou 2002; Cacouros and Congourdeau 2006). The recent development of the study of philosophy in the Hellenistic and Late Antique periods will also help to increase understanding of Byzantine philosophers.

‘PHILOSOPHY’: DEFINITIONS AND STRUCTURE

The term *philosophia* has a wide range of meanings in Byzantine authors, signifying eloquence, education, encyclopedic knowledge, the Christian way of life with reference, for example, to martyrdom and the monastic life (Dölger 1953: 197–208). If this range is too wide for our purposes, it would also be too restrictive to define Byzantine philosophy within the limits of what would count as ‘philosophy’ in a modern university department of philosophy. New students in the Neoplatonic philosophical schools of Athens and Alexandria in the fifth and sixth centuries were provided with a standard list of six definitions of philosophy: (1) the knowledge of beings (*onta*) as beings; (2) the knowledge of divine and human matters; (3) a preparation (*melete*) for death; (4) the assimilation (*homoiosis*) of man to God to the extent possible; (5) the art (*techne*) of arts and the science of sciences; and (6) the love of wisdom. The six definitions of philosophy correspond to Aristotelian (1, 5), Stoic (2), and (Neo-)Platonic (3, 4) conceptions of philosophy, indicating also (6) the origin of the word (cf. Westerink, Trouillard, and Segonds 1990: xlix–liii). These school definitions, understood as complementary and as unified by the purpose of philosophy expressed in definition 4, appear again in various Byzantine authors, for example in John of Damascus’ *Dialectica*. For our purposes, we might speak of ‘Byzantine philosophy’ in terms of the interest taken by Byzantine authors in the complex heritage of ancient philosophy, in particular Aristotelian, Stoic, and (Neo-)Platonic texts, their work with these texts, their contributions to issues raised in these texts, their application and development of concepts and theories

originating in these texts in relation to the intellectual issues of their own time and society.

The philosophical schools of Late Antiquity also provided Byzantine thinkers with an articulation of philosophy, a division into various sciences constituting a scale of rising value. At first 'practical philosophy' (including ethics, 'economics' (i.e. domestic ethics), and politics) teaches a rationally ordered moral life of the soul as joined to the body (cf. O'Meara 2003: 50–65). The moral virtues thus acquired allow progress to a higher life, that of the intellectual virtues cultivated in 'theoretical philosophy', which includes physics, mathematics, and 'theology' (in the Aristotelian sense, i.e. metaphysics). 'Theology' is the highest philosophical science because it has to do with knowledge of transcendent, first (divine) principles, bringing the soul nearer to assimilation to the divine. This division of philosophy also constituted a curriculum in which the works of Aristotle and of Plato were read as exemplifying the different sciences arranged in the rising scale. Logic, considered often as the instrument of science, was studied at the beginning of the curriculum, before practical philosophy (Roueché 1974). The division of philosophy is found again, for example, in John of Damascus and can be traced, much later, in Psellos' description of his intellectual development (*Chron.* 6. 36–8). Psellos also seems to have used it in his own teaching of philosophy. However, the philosophical curriculum in Byzantium in most cases probably did not extend beyond the beginning stage, logic, going on sometimes perhaps to ethics, physics, mathematics.

PHASES IN BYZANTINE PHILOSOPHY

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At Athens Proklos (d. 485), Damaskios (head of the school when it closed after Justinian's ban of 529), and his pupil Simplicios, at Alexandria Ammonios (Proklos' pupil) and his pupils and successors (Asklepios, John Philoponos, Olympiodoros, David, Elias) represented later Neoplatonic philosophy, a systematic and varied interpretation of Aristotle and Plato aiming at the divinization of the human rational soul (Westerink, Trouillard, and Segonds 1990: x–xlii). These Athenian and Alexandrian schools provided Byzantine thinkers with concepts and a curriculum of philosophy (see above) as well as a library (their commentaries on Aristotle and Plato), transmitted in particular to teachers in Constantinople.

The impact of the Neoplatonic schools is found in the work of Pseudo-Dionysios, John of Skythopolis, Maximos the Confessor, and John of Damascus. There is evidence of some elementary teaching of philosophy (logic and ethics) in the seventh and eighth centuries (Roueché 1974). Philosophy was taught at Constantinople by

Leo the Mathematician (ninth century) and by Constantine 'leader of the philosophers' (tenth century; Lemerle 1971). In the same period Aristotelian logic was taught and revised by Photios, who also criticized Plato's metaphysics (theory of Forms) and politics, whereas Arethas of Caesarea, also commenting on Aristotle's logic, did important editorial work on manuscripts of Plato.

A veritable renewal of philosophy began with Michael Psellos in the eleventh century. Given the title of 'head of the philosophers', he taught all branches of philosophy, making full use of a very extensive library of philosophy inherited from Late Antiquity. Close to Proklos in his sympathies, he saw himself as a philosopher in his own right and made use of his vast erudition in discussing problems raised by his pupils and acquaintances (see his short compendium *De Omnifaria Doctrina*) (ed. Westerink 1948). Such indeed was the interest in Proklos stimulated by Psellos that Nicholas of Methone, in the next century, felt his *Refutation of Proklos' Elements of Theology* necessary (ed. Angelou 1984). Psellos' pupil and successor John Italos, who used philosophical analysis on theological questions, was succeeded by Theodore of Smyrna, author of a summary of physics. Italos' pupil Eustratios of Nicaea collaborated with Michael of Ephesos, under the sponsorship of Anna Komnene, in filling the gaps in available late ancient commentaries on Aristotle, compiling commentary on Aristotle's ethics, politics, and physics. Their work was instrumental in the transmission and revolutionary rediscovery of Aristotelian thought in the Latin West (Mercken 1990).

After the fall of Constantinople in 1204, some continuity in the philosophical tradition can be found in Blemmydes' teaching and handbooks of logic and physics. However, it is especially in the Palaiologan period (thirteenth–fifteenth centuries) that renewal can be found. Pachymeres prepared a summary of Aristotelian philosophy and copies of Neoplatonic commentaries, supplementing Proklos' commentary on the *Parmenides*. Sophonias, Leo Magentinos, and Theodore Metochites paraphrased Aristotle, Metochites also reading, like Pachymeres, rare Neoplatonic texts, and criticizing the scientific claims of Aristotelian physics and metaphysics in debate with Nikephoros Choumnos, who in turn attacked Neoplatonic psychology (Bydén 2003). Nikephoros Gregoras, a pupil of Metochites, shows Neoplatonic sympathies recalling Psellos and criticizes logic, which is defended by Barlaam of Calabria, who was at home in both Latin and Byzantine culture (see below). A new factor in these debates is the increasing presence of western Latin scholasticism, marked in particular by Aristotelian logic and method, translated into Greek by Manuel Holobolos (Boethius), Planudes (Boethius, Augustine, Macrobius, Cicero), and, in the fourteenth century, by Demetrios and Prochoros Kydones (Augustine, Anselm, Thomas Aquinas, Boethius) (Nikitas 1990; Papat homopoulos and others 1995; Papat homopoulos 1999).

As important thinkers in a final phase (fifteenth century) might be mentioned George Gemistos Plethon, Gennadios Scholarios, and Bessarion. Plethon seems to have attempted a renewal of late Neoplatonism as a theological and political

alternative to Christianity, whereas a pro-scholastic defence of Aristotle was led by Scholarios. Bessarion attempted a mediation between his teacher Plethon and Scholarios. These debates, involving also other Byzantine thinkers, were of considerable importance for the evolution of philosophy in the Italian Renaissance (Woodhouse 1986).

PHILOSOPHY AND CHRISTIAN DOCTRINE

The question of the implications of philosophy for Christian faith was posed in Byzantium in a way different from that in which it occurs in the medieval Latin West. In Byzantium, Christian theology did not become an institutionalized science (as in the West): this could mean both greater room for philosophy and greater precariousness in the face of radical anti-rationalist (in particular monastic) movements. Philosophy could be valued as part of the Hellenic background to Byzantine cultural identity, and, in any case, with rhetoric and law, it formed part of a higher education, indispensable, as such, to Byzantine culture. However, Christian scriptures, vital to Byzantine identity, could also say that philosophy was useless and dangerous (I Cor. 1: 18–25; Col. 2: 8). The reactions of Christian writers in the Patristic period were important. At first in competition with philosophical schools, Christian authors (often themselves having philosophical training) asserted their faith as the only true philosophy. Philosophers (Celsus, Porphyry) rejected these claims, provoking Christian refutations by Origen, Methodios of Olympos, Eusebios of Caesarea (and others), who were ready, however, to find value in philosophy as a preparation for faith, as useful in developing an understanding of faith, and as a means for refuting heresies. Clement of Alexandria, Origen, Gregory of Nyssa, Pseudo-Dionysios show, implicitly or explicitly, this approach. Psellos' enthusiasm for philosophy, in particular for the (pagan) theology of Proklos, went very far. But in presenting this theology, he noted heretical aspects, distanced himself from them, or removed them (as did Isaak Sevastokrator in his excerpts from Proklos). A developing crisis led to the condemnation of Italos in 1082. The debates between Metochites and Choumnos and between Plethon and Scholarios concerning Plato and Aristotle turned in part on the compatibility of Platonic or Aristotelian philosophy with Christian doctrine (Ševčenko 1962; Bydén 2003; Woodhouse 1986). To problematic themes in Platonism (subordination of first causes, eternity of Forms and of matter, pre-existence of souls, metempsychosis) could be opposed difficult positions in Aristotelianism (a first god who exercises little providence, eternity of the world, no felicity beyond terrestrial existence). However, the late antique commentators left much room for Byzantine thinkers

in the interpretation of the exact bearing of these themes and positions. And of course the interpretation of Christian doctrine was itself open to debate in which philosophical ideas could prove influential.

LOGIC IN BYZANTIUM

Besides the study of individual thinkers, the context of their activity, their knowledge of philosophy, teachings, writings, and contributions to discussion, modern research may also explore developments in particular branches of philosophy: logic, ethics, physics, metaphysics. This requires reliable editions and detailed analysis, starting from the Byzantine reception and interpretation of the relevant ancient texts (Plato, Aristotle, Stoics, Aristotelians, and Neoplatonists) and production of summaries, manuals, and treatises. For the most part, this work remains to be done for the different branches of philosophy. The case of logic is taken here as an example of an approach of this kind.

The debate among Byzantine philosophers about the value of logic constitutes one of the most intriguing issues in the study of the intellectual life in Byzantium. There are many Byzantine authors who praised and themselves made use of, to a lesser or greater extent, logic in its ancient traditional forms; yet, at the same time, there were also many others who fiercely rejected the logical doctrines of pagan philosophers and their use, especially in theology. For instance, Photios underlined in his letters and philosophical writings the importance of the role of logic in the search for true knowledge. Later on, Psellos and Italos repeatedly advocated the systematic use of logic, to such a degree that Eustratios considered it appropriate to state that even Christ had argued with the help of Aristotelian syllogisms (Joannou 1952). Nikephoros Gregoras, on the other hand, claimed that logical studies should be altogether dismissed, and logical theory should be regarded as completely useless (cf. *Flor.* 932–41 (ed. Leone); *Antirrh.* 1: 2.3.281.1–14 (ed. Beyer)). Many of his contemporaries, however, including Barlaam and Gregory Palamas, adopted a more complex attitude towards logic. They both stressed that logic is indeed useful in defending Christian belief against pagans and heretics, but they expressed quite different views as to its limitations; whereas Barlaam argued that logical methods can be used to prove the Christian dogmas, Palamas insisted that logical arguments are of no help in our attempt to acquire knowledge of God and of his attributes (Sinkewicz 1980).

There is no doubt that logic, in particular Aristotle's syllogistic, was taught extensively throughout the Byzantine era as a preparation for dealing with philosophical topics as well as with the doctrine of Holy Scripture. This is amply attested not only

by biographical information concerning the logical education of eminent Byzantine figures, but also by the substantial number of surviving Byzantine manuscripts of Aristotle's logical writings and of related Byzantine scholia and logical treatises (Benakis 1988). In fact, the predominance in Byzantium of Aristotle's logic was so undisputed that, even when Byzantine scholars suggested changes or tried to incorporate into it other ancient logical traditions, for example Stoic hypothetical syllogisms, they considered these alterations only as minor improvements on the Aristotelian system. By the eleventh century the standard syllabus of a course at the advanced level of the Byzantine educational system started with the study of Porphyry's *Isagoge*, Aristotle's *Categories*, the *De Interpretatione*, and the *Prior Analytics* 1.1–7. Hence, there was always a need for easily digestible works on logic, which were supposed to make Aristotle's treatises more accessible to students.

The educational purpose of the Byzantine logical writings shows in their style and content. Though there are, of course, some Byzantine commentaries in the ancient tradition, most Byzantine authors had a distinctive preference for writing paraphrases and *compendia* which were meant to be introductions to logic, small logical treatises on particular topics which often had the structure of a disputation (*quaestiones*), and glosses on certain Aristotelian passages which were usually added in the margins or between the lines of the text. For the most part these works do not contain detailed comments for persons already initiated into the subtleties of Aristotelian logic; rather they are introductory texts which did not presuppose any significant knowledge of the subject. The students who used them were not interested in a scholarly, in-depth study of logic, but wanted, or were required to know, its fundamental elements.

To mention only a few of the most influential Byzantine logical writings from the ninth to the fifteenth centuries, we have Photios' synopsis of the *Categories*, Arethas' scholia on the *Categories*, an anonymous *compendium* of logic edited in 1929 by Heiberg, Psellos' paraphrases of the *De Interpretatione* and the *Prior Analytics*, Italos' *quaestiones* on logical issues, Theodore Prodromos' commentary on the *Posterior Analytics*, Blemmydes' and Pachymeres' introductions to logic, Magentinos' paraphrasis of the *De Interpretatione*, Sophonias' paraphrasis of the *Sophistici Elenchi*, Joseph Philagrius' scholia on the *Isagoge*, the *Categories*, and the *De Interpretatione*, and finally, Gennadios' long commentaries on the *Isagoge*, the *Categories* and the *De Interpretatione* (for editions see Ierodiakonou 2002 *passim*; Kotsabassi 1999).

Although the Byzantines generally did not reveal their sources, it is obvious that different philosophical traditions influenced their works on logic. The main influence comes from the Neoplatonic commentators (Porphyry, Ammonios, Philoponos, Simplicios, Olympiodoros, Elias), whose texts the Byzantines knew well and whose scholia they sometimes adopted with very few changes. It is not, however, clear in most cases whether the Byzantines had direct access to the

ancient commentaries or whether they borrowed their material from previous compilations. Another tendency of the Byzantines was to incorporate into their logical writings views expressed by the Christian fathers, for example John of Damascus or Gregory the Theologian, in order to show that logical doctrines are in perfect agreement with Holy Scripture. Moreover, right at the end of the Byzantine era, the frequent and extensive use of Latin works reflects an important development in the logical interests of Byzantine scholars. Therefore, the project to uncover the influences on the Byzantine logical works is a rather complicated one, especially given the fact that not all ancient and Byzantine commentaries have survived.

But it would be an oversimplification to present Byzantine logical works as mere compilations of views already found in ancient sources. There are occasions on which Byzantine authors proudly stress their own contribution to logic or explicitly criticize Aristotle's logical theories. Indeed, we can detect different degrees of independent thinking on their part; sometimes they gave a slightly different argument to support an established position, sometimes they made a small but interesting addition to an ancient doctrine, sometimes they considerably diverged from the generally accepted view and tried to incorporate their own ideas, some of which may have originated in their aim to reconcile the Christian tradition with ancient philosophy. So, although the Byzantine logical texts seem at first to be very similar to the sources they drew their material from, upon a closer look, they turn out to be at the same time very different, since they also contain elaborations of traditional problems which are now dealt with in a distinctive manner. This does not mean that the Byzantine logicians have been original thinkers; after all, there was no claim on their part that they aspired to be original. On the other hand, the Byzantine logical writings are quarries for information about earlier logicians, and offer numerous clarifications, developments, and modifications of Aristotle's doctrines, many of which are interesting and some of which are remarkably subtle.

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III.16. THE SYMBOLIC WORLD

CHAPTER III.16.1

ART AND TEXT

HENRY MAGUIRE

EKPHRASIS

AN important question that is raised by all written sources used by historians, but especially by Byzantine documents, is how to characterize the engagement of texts with objective reality. In the case of Art History, much of the discussion of this issue in recent years has focused on the rhetorical genre of ekphrasis. In the ancient rhetorical handbooks, ekphrasis was defined as the description of 'persons, deeds, times, places, seasons, and many other things' (Rabe 1913: 22; Webb 1999a: 7–18). However, by the late antique period ekphraseis were frequently devoted to works of art and architecture, and the ekphrastic description of art continued to be a popular literary form in Byzantium until the fifteenth century. These ekphraseis sometimes were composed as separate pieces, to stand on their own, but more frequently they were incorporated into other texts, such as homilies or panegyrics.

The many ekphraseis of buildings and works of art that have survived from Byzantium, coupled with the disappearance of many of the described monuments, have prompted some scholars to use the Byzantine descriptions as guides to the reconstruction of lost monuments and works of art (Webb 1999b: 61). But an ekphrasis was not a straightforward description, and several authors have pointed out the problems inherent in using the Byzantine ekphraseis for the purpose of archaeological reconstruction.

Because ekphrasis was a rhetorical form which had been formulated in antiquity, it deployed the conventions of ancient rhetoric, especially the use of *topoi*, or quotations. The extensive use of *topoi* can give a strongly archaizing character to later Byzantine examples of the genre; an ekphrasis of an icon of the Virgin and Child by the fifteenth-century author John Eugenikos (Boissonade 1844: 335–40), for example, quotes extensively from a third-century ekphrasis of the education of Achilles which had been written by Philostratos the Elder (*Imagines* 2.2.2). A particularly puzzling feature of the Byzantine ekphraseis is that they borrow from antiquity *topoi* whose original purpose was to praise the realism and verisimilitude of ancient art. Some modern commentators, who have admired Byzantine art for its abstract qualities and for its resemblance to twentieth-century modernist art, have seen the application of such *topoi* to Byzantine art as inappropriate. Cyril Mango has spoken of the ‘fossilisation of artistic criticism in the face of completely different artistic phenomena’ (1963: 66).

A more positive evaluation of the role of rhetoric in Byzantine writing on art was given by John Onians, who pointed out that the rhetoric of praise became the most important form of oratory during the absolutist political system of the Roman Empire, and that amplification, or exaggeration, was an essential element of panegyric (1980: 12–17). Thus, from the second to the sixth centuries, orators, as they embroidered what they saw, increasingly read more into images than was actually there. Amplification encouraged the development of the imaginative faculties of the orators and of their hearers, who, by the sixth century, were actually able to see more in an abstract image than their predecessors. Through rhetoric, according to Onians, there was a kind of inflation of the imagination, and at the same time a progressive disengagement of the spectators’ response from the actual appearance of the object.

An article by Liz James and Ruth Webb also argues for a positive evaluation of the role of rhetoric in Byzantine writing on art (1991: 1–17). Pointing out that all representations of reality are partial and selective, they claimed that the ekphraseis are irrelevant to the reconstruction of the material appearance of art, but should be appreciated as cultural artefacts in their own right, not merely as sources of archaeological information. They described the ekphraseis as providing a ‘living response to works of art, one which is perceptual rather than objectively descriptive’. Furthermore, the tendency of the ekphraseis to provide a chronological narrative that goes far beyond what could have been seen in the images means that they functioned as descriptions of the *events* that were depicted in the paintings (for example, stories from the gospels), rather than as descriptions of the *images* that depicted them. As such, according to James and Webb, the ekphrasis is a form of description that is parallel to the image, and not dependent on it; it is therefore not a reliable description of the work of art.

The debate over the relationship of the ekphraseis to the works of art they purported to describe centres on the question of whether it is possible to reconstruct

archaeological data from written accounts or whether one can only create a history of perceptions or interpretations. In this respect, art historians have an advantage over other historians, in that a text can no longer be checked against a battle, for example, but it can be against a surviving work of art. Even though perceived discrepancies have led to doubts concerning the subjects of some ekphraseis—for example, the homily which the ninth-century patriarch Photios devoted to an image of the Virgin and Child in the church of Hagia Sophia at Constantinople (Maguire 1995: 109)—in other cases the subject matter of the description is certain and still survives. Thus, when the courtier and historian Psellos described the eleventh-century gardens constructed by Constantine IX Monomachos at his urban palace at the Mangana, he rhetorically set up an implied comparison (*synkrisis*) between the scale of the gardens laid out by Constantine and those extravagantly created by Nero in the centre of Rome (*Chron.* 6.173–5, 186–7, 201). However, the site of the Mangana gardens, which still survives today with its extensive terracing, confirms the accuracy of the description given by Psellos; in this case rhetoric and objective reality come together to illuminate each other (Maguire 2000: 260–1).

In general, it can be seen that the Byzantine authors of ekphraseis often did describe precisely what they saw in the works of art themselves, and did not limit themselves to expanding on the stories that the art reproduced. However, the Byzantine writers made their observations in a descriptive language very different from our own. Their language was not the language of formal analysis, as created by critics of art in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, nor was it the language of semiotics or contemporary critical theory. Rather, as shown above, the Byzantine writers employed a critical vocabulary derived from ancient rhetoric, a vocabulary that had originally been formulated to describe a different kind of art. Because the Byzantines used the language of ancient art criticism to characterize their own art, their descriptions have often appeared stilted to modern readers, and have frequently been misunderstood to indicate that the Byzantines had no awareness of the element of abstraction in Byzantine art (see, especially, Grigg 1987: 3–9). In fact the Byzantines were acutely attuned to the distinctions between what modern observers would describe as realistic and abstract styles, such as, for example, the distinction between passages of drapery executed with illusionistic modelling in light and shade and those rendered in the more stylized technique of gold chrysography (Maguire 1995: 110). Such stylistic distinctions were described by the Byzantines not in aesthetic terms, but in terms of what they signified, such as the human and the divine natures of Christ, or the spiritual characteristics of different categories of saints.

Another consequence of the Byzantine employment of the vocabulary of ancient art criticism is that they often used *topoi* not as precise descriptions, but in order to convey a general impression. For example, it was conventional to describe a multicoloured floor or building as similar to a meadow in the springtime, with its covering of variegated flowers. This *topos*, which can be traced back to the

second-century author Lucian (*De Domo*: 9), was applied by medieval writers to pavements composed of pieces of cut marble (*opus sectile*), as in the case of a description of the twelfth-century floor of the Cappella Palatina in Palermo by the contemporary Greek preacher Philagathos (Rossi Taibbi 1969: 175). Since the Cappella Palatina floor is an abstract composition that does not portray any flowers, it can be seen that in this case Philagathos employs the *topos* not as a precise description of the floor, but as a metaphor to convey the general idea of its colourfulness.

EPIGRAMS

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Less well known than the ekphraseis, but equally important, are the numerous epigrams that were composed by the Byzantines either as inscriptions to be written on works of art, or as independent poems that responded to works of art. The problems of interpreting these epigrams are in some respects similar to those of the ekphraseis, since the poems embody many of the same *topoi*, and they have a similarly problematic relationship to their referents. The problems are encountered even if the epigram appears inscribed upon an object as an inscription. In many cases, it can be shown that a poem that is written on a given icon, painting, or mosaic, was originally composed for a different work from the one to which it is now attached. Often, the epigram had been composed centuries earlier so that the whole inscription was a quotation (Maguire 1996: 6–7). In some cases the epigram had not originally been composed for a specific work of art at all, but as an independent poem, which was only subsequently used as an inscription attached to a work of art. Collections of epigrams on various subjects may even have been composed by Byzantine poets with the potential to be used as inscriptions, without the author having any specific works in mind for them (Lauxtermann 1994: 56–7, 143). However, in other cases, particularly in manuscripts, one can argue that the composer of the epigram was also the artist of the very work on which it is inscribed, or else the patron. Even if they were reused, the epigrams, like the *topoi* in the ekphraseis, were not re-employed unthinkingly. Because of the conservatism of Byzantine religious iconography, sometimes the physical description provided by the reused epigram precisely matched the work of art to which it had been newly attached. In other instances, however, the reused poem did not fit the physical appearance of the image exactly, but it was still appropriate in that it conveyed the spiritual content of the image (Maguire 1996: 12–14).

The act of inscribing a particular poem on a particular work of art was an act of viewer response—even if the poem was much older than the painting. The responses show that there was a constant dialogue between the images and their Byzantine spectators. For example, when the reactions of Byzantine viewers to their

religious images, as expressed by the selection of epigrams, became more emotional, so also the images themselves were adapted to their viewers' needs, becoming more expressive and dramatic in their presentation. Conversely, the more emotive images must have inspired a stronger response from their viewers (Maguire 1996: 14–25).

METAPHOR AND SYMBOLIC IMAGERY

Metaphor was an important element in Byzantine literature, especially in various forms of panegyric, such as the homilies and hymns composed in praise of the Virgin, or the encomia of the emperors. Many of the metaphors employed by Byzantine writers also appeared in Byzantine works of art, but subject to certain limitations. In imperial panegyric, the emperors and the members of their families were compared to gardens, or to trees, plants, or flowers. The presence of the emperor and the empress was compared to the coming of spring with its birdsong (Maguire 1997–8: 122–3). The emperors' virtues were like the dances of the graces, while their enemies took the form of wild beasts which the emperor would either tame, like Orpheus, or else destroy, like the shepherd David (Maguire 1994: 192). All of these metaphors were illustrated in Byzantine imperial art. For example, cypress trees, birds in a garden setting, and dancers are shown on the enamels that make up the so-called Crown of Constantine Monomachos now in the Hungarian National Museum at Budapest (Evans and Wixom 1997: 210–12), while the emperor's role as a slayer of lions and other wild beasts is portrayed on the tenth- or eleventh-century ivory casket preserved in the treasury of the Cathedral of Troyes (Evans and Wixom 1997: 204–6).

In contrast to imperial art, medieval Byzantine church art was much more restrained in its adoption of metaphorical imagery, for specific doctrinal reasons. Even though the literature of the Byzantine Church was rich in metaphors, especially the hymns and sermons praising the Virgin, relatively little of this imagery was illustrated in religious art. For example, the illustrations of the *Akathistos* hymn tended to avoid depicting the many images of fertility through which the Virgin is described in that poem (Lafontaine-Dosogne 1984; Pätzold 1989; Spatharakis 2005; Velmans 1972). The rich symbolism of nature that evoked the Virgin in texts appeared only seldom in works of art, most prominently in scenes of the Annunciation, where a tree, a plant, or a potted plant could allude to life and fruitfulness. In an exceptional work, such as a well-known late twelfth-century icon of the Annunciation now at Mount Sinai, a whole landscape, including nesting birds and a river teeming with aquatic life, illustrates the burgeoning of nature in the spring, the season in which the feast of the Annunciation took place on 25 March (Maguire 1981: 42–52; Fig. 1). A few manuscripts, such as the two illustrated copies

of the twelfth-century homilies on the Virgin by James of Kokkinobaphos, also go some way towards illustrating the metaphorical richness of their texts (Hutter and Canart 1991). Such departures from the rule, however, are famous today precisely because they are exceptional.

In general it seems that the religious art of Byzantium tended to avoid metaphorical imagery drawn from nature of the kind richly evoked in church literature, even though a similar repertoire of images was embraced by imperial art. The principal reason for this dichotomy can be sought in the eighty-second canon of the Quinisext council of 692, which forbade artists to depict Christ in the form of a lamb (Mango 1972: 140). This canon represented a decisive turning away from the symbolic motifs of the Early Christian Church in favour of portrait images, which more explicitly expressed the dogma of the incarnation that supported the iconophile position. The attitudes enshrined by the Quinisext council effectively blocked post-iconoclastic Byzantine artists from matching the rich nature-derived imagery of hymns and sermons, except in unusual cases.

ANTITHESIS AND SYNKRISIS

Rhetoric was an extremely important element in Byzantine literature and we have seen that one of its genres, ekphrasis, engaged directly with works of art. But other forms of rhetoric also were relevant to Byzantine art production, since their techniques were transferable from the written or spoken word to the painted image. The most important of these techniques were *synkrisis*, or comparison, and *antithesis*. In a *synkrisis*, a person, or a place or an event, is compared to another, either as a way of praising the subject or as a means of condemning it. To take two common examples, in an encomium a good emperor may be compared to David, or his supplanted predecessor to Saul (Evans and Wixom 1997: 188). In the panegyrics of saints, a lesser saint may be compared to a greater saint, or even to Christ (Maguire 1988: 95). In *antithesis*, which is closely related to *synkrisis*, a contrast will be made, so that, for example, the image of Christ entering Jerusalem sitting on a donkey will be contrasted to that of Christ enthroned with the Cherubim in heaven (Maguire 1981: 68–74). Such comparisons and oppositions could be expressed as readily in the visual arts as in verbal rhetoric, and it is easy to match the juxtapositions found in panegyrics, hymns, and sermons with those set up by works of art. A particularly close correspondence can be found between literary treatments of Christ's passion and its depiction in wall-paintings and icons, especially from the eleventh century onwards. The laments of the Virgin, with their juxtaposition of a happier past (the birth of Christ) with a painful present (his death and burial) find a correspondence with bilateral icons, which present Christ held by his mother as an infant on one



Fig. 1 Icon with the Annunciation, Monastery of St Catherine, Sinai

side, and dead on the other (Belting 1981: 142–98; 1994: 285–7). Programmes of paintings in churches also juxtaposed scenes of the Annunciation and the Nativity with Christ's Crucifixion and Entombment (Maguire 1981: 101–8). In both literature and art the juxtapositions of contrasting scenes were underlined by shared motifs, such as the swaddling clothes that become the winding cloth, or the cave of the birth that becomes the cave of the tomb. Artists also linked the juxtaposed episodes through similarities in their compositions, creating works in which visual harmony was accompanied by opposed content.

While there can be no denying that both writers and artists employed the techniques of *synkrisis* and *antithesis*, the nature of the relationship between text and images in this respect is still difficult to define. Were the artists in some sense illustrating the texts of the panegyrics, hymns, and sermons when they used these rhetorical methods, or did these techniques become part of the artistic repertoire independently of the texts? Probably both propositions are true, for while comparing and contrasting undoubtedly became a habit of expression for both writers and artists, there are occasionally specific links between a particular text and a particular image which argue for a direct connection between the two (Maguire 1981: 105–8).

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Further Reading

The literature on ekphrasis is very large. For recent discussions of Byzantine ekphrasis and the problems of its interpretation, see James and Webb 1991 on ekphraseis relating to works of art, and Webb 1999b on ekphraseis relating to buildings, also James 2007. These studies responded, in part, to Maguire 1974, which presented a more archaeological perspective. A collection of translations of Byzantine ekphraseis of works of art and architecture will be found in Mango 1972, who gives many descriptions in their entirety, but excerpts others. A full translation of the long description of the Church of the Holy Apostles in Constantinople, which was written by Nikolaos Mesarites on the eve of the Fourth Crusade, is provided by

Downey 1957. For an account of Paul the Silentiary's long ekphrasis of the rebuilt Hagia Sophia at Constantinople in its context as imperial panegyric, see Macrides and Magdalino 1988. The problems of interpreting epigrams attached to works of art are reviewed by Lauxtermann 1994 and Maguire 1996; see also Papalexandrou 2003. Some are translated by Mango 1972. On the relationship of Byzantine imperial art to imperial panegyric, see Evans and Wixom 1997: 183–91. On church art and the rhetoric of homilies and hymns, see Maguire 1981.

CHAPTER III.16.2

ART AND LITURGY

NANCY P. ŠEVČENKO

As the rhythm of the ecclesiastical year dominated daily life, so the liturgy of the Orthodox Church affected in one way or another nearly all the arts of Byzantium (Stefanescu 1932–3, 1935; Walter 1982). Because this liturgy has been associated for so long with a particular form of architecture (the domed cross-in-square church) and a codified system of decoration, we tend to assume that liturgy, architecture, and decoration developed hand in hand in a perfect wedding of form and function. This is simply not the case. The liturgy did not reach its present form until the fourteenth century: not only the performance but even the text itself was still evolving throughout the Byzantine period (see III.11.4 Liturgy). Architectural and iconographic innovations do sometimes reflect contemporary liturgical developments (e.g. Pallas 1965; Babić 1969; Mathews 1971), but often the relationship is elusive and complex.

It is therefore important that before any assessment of the effect of liturgy on art is made, every bit of available evidence be consulted, both the history of the text of the liturgy, and the history of its performance. Textual studies have addressed the development of the Divine Liturgy, the Eucharist or mass (Taft 1975), but also the development of orthros, and of compline and vigil services (Mateos 1961; Raes 1951; Arranz 1976 and 1980), and close studies have been made of the liturgical celebrations on a specific day (e.g. Good Friday: Janeras 1988). When it comes to the performative aspect of liturgical life, the best evidence can be found in the *typika*, both the many monastic foundation documents now translated into English (Thomas and Hero 2000) and the few surviving liturgical *typika* that once supplemented them. One valuable example of the latter is the liturgical *typikon* of the Evergetis monastery, which reveals what was supposed to be read aloud or sung,

at what office and in what area of the church, every day of the year in an influential Constantinopolitan monastery of the third quarter of the eleventh century (Jordan 2000, 2005, 2007). Thanks to such texts we learn of services important in their time but no longer in use (Pallas 1965; Ševčenko 1991), of the function of certain architectural spaces (e.g. Darrouzès 1976), and of the extent to which founders of these monasteries were entitled to shape aspects of liturgical life in their foundations at will, even to the extent of adding to certain offices phrases of their own composition.

Essential too for the study of the influence of liturgy on art are the various commentaries on the Divine Liturgy from Maximos the Confessor to Symeon of Thessalonike, which visualize the church as an image of the cosmos and offer interpretations of specific church spaces, vestments, and implements, or attach the progress of the Divine Liturgy to the narrative story of Christ's life on earth (Bornert 1966). Archaeology, especially of the Early Christian period, also helps corroborate or refute the evidence of texts with respect to the use of specific church spaces. Since these spaces and their decoration could survive for centuries essentially unchanged despite liturgical developments, or be altered despite the consistency of the liturgy performed there, any study of the interaction of art and liturgy in a particular case should ideally take into account the date, location, and scale of the church, whether it is situated in an urban centre, in an isolated monastery, or in a country village, whether it is new or built centuries before, has been enlarged or reduced, damaged or repainted. Only then can the relationship be properly assessed.

In the early centuries of its existence, Constantinopolitan liturgical life was dominated by a limited number of daily services; by grand city-wide processions involving clergy, court, and populace to mark the major feasts of the church year (Baldovin 1987), and by the steady growth of a uniformly recognized church calendar of saints (Mateos 1962–3). Studies on the architecture of the period have succeeded in connecting the plans of particular Early Christian churches, with their large open interiors, galleries, low templon screens, and wide aisles, to their liturgical function (Mathews 1971; for a thorough survey of the recent literature, see de Blaauw 1991: 1–10 especially). With the increased impact of Palestinian monasticism in the capital from the eighth century on, this rather bare skeleton of cathedral services was enriched in the monasteries of Constantinople by new texts, prayers, and hymns that together constituted the elaborately interwoven cycles of monastic offices. The development of the cross-in-square church, the major innovation in Byzantine architecture which emerged in roughly this period, is usually attributed to this monastic movement (Mango 1985; Krautheimer 1986). The new form, far more intimate in scale than pre-Iconoclastic basilicas, and consisting of a square ground plan that incorporated a traditional sanctuary, a central dome, four cross arms, and chapels (sometimes also domed) in the four corners of the square, has been connected also with the growth of private liturgies (Mathews 1982). The closing of the sanctuary barrier, a process by which the open templon of the early Christian period evolved into a closed iconostasis, was another architectural

development of the Middle Byzantine period, though the liturgical reasons for it are not fully understood (Walter 1993; Gerstel 1999: 6–10; 2006). Architectural features of the narthex can be explained on the basis of the liturgical actions taking place there (Ćurčić 1971); this is true also of *parekklesia* and other subsidiary chapels (Babić 1988). It is evident, however, that many areas of a church, especially in smaller churches, could have a number of overlapping functions, including baptisms, funerals, the commemoration of a patron saint or of revered founders, and that a one-to-one relation between architectural space and liturgical rite, outside the sanctuary at least, should not be taken for granted.

The decoration of the sanctuary is, of all the areas in the church, the one most closely bound up with the events that take place in that space (Jolivet-Lévy 1991; Gerstel 1999; Liveratou 1999). The institution of the Eucharist by Christ at the Last Supper is regularly illustrated on the apse wall in the form of two rows of apostles approaching Christ (or a double figure of Christ) from the left and right, to receive from Him the bread and the wine; Christ's words cited in the Gospels, and by the officiating priest as well, are often inscribed on the background of the painting. The clergy, who perform the Eucharist at the altar against this backdrop, are accompanied also by images of their venerable predecessors: lines of church fathers in episcopal vestments, headed by the two bishops to whom the liturgies are attributed, John Chrysostom and Basil the Great. References to the Eucharistic sacrifice in the sanctuary itself range from Old Testament prefigurations of sacrifice such as the Sacrifice of Isaac (e.g. S. Vitale, Ravenna) to graphic images of Christ as an infant, lying on the paten awaiting partition, in a composition known as the *Melismos* (e.g. at St George, Kurbinovo), to angel deacons performing the Divine Liturgy in Heaven in fifteenth-century Mistra. The Virgin, as the vehicle of the Incarnation, and as mankind's primary intercessor with Christ at the end of time, generally occupies the conch of the apse, visible, despite the *templon* screen, to the congregation in the *naos*. With the expansion of the prothesis rite in the later Byzantine period, the prothesis too acquires a repertory of new liturgical themes (Altripp 1998; Pott 2000, especially 169–96).

The decoration of the rest of the church includes representations of the major feasts of the church year, which outline the story of salvation, along with portraits of prophets, New Testament figures, and saints (Demus 1948; Dufrenne 1967; Mathews 1988; Spieser 1991). The images of the feasts, which vary in number (usually no more than twelve and often far fewer), are distributed about the church, usually rather high off the ground, without an absolutely fixed place or order but just enough of each to suggest a rotating cycle. The holy figures are arranged as if they were members of a heavenly court assembled according to rank around the figure of Christ in the dome (warriors, healers, monks, female saints). This stark hierarchical conception persisted throughout Byzantium. But in those monasteries founded by individuals enlisting the aid of monks to mediate their own salvation, there was a growing focus on themes of intercession not always pegged to a specific

liturgical moment and cutting through the hierarchy (e.g. the Deesis, the lives of saints, donors shown approaching holy figures, the Virgin, petition in hand, shown interceding with Christ). In the process, certain images in a church programme might acquire a particular meaning for the local community, and be honoured above the rest by special framing devices or lighting arrangements to encourage private devotion.

From the twelfth century on, the performance aspect of the liturgy begins to be reflected in the painting: the images of the bishops in the sanctuary start to carry scrolls inscribed with the prayers recited by the celebrant during the Divine Liturgy and they bend towards the altar as though concelebrating with the living clergy (Gerstel 1994); hymnographers join the assembly of saints, gesturing as though conducting choirs (e.g. St Panteleimon, Nerezi) (Moran 1986; Ševčenko 2002). Such developments serve to break down the distinction between the heavenly and earthly celebrants. Images reflect—and may even determine—where liturgical ceremonies are performed: portraits of hymnographers stand probably where the choir itself was positioned (Babić 1988); the Washing of the Feet takes place in the narthex under an image of the feast (Tronzo 1994), and portraits of female saints mark areas reserved for women involved in paraliturgical ceremonies such as laments for the deceased (Gerstel 1998). The narthex acquired an especially rich repertory of themes to reflect the diversity of its liturgical functions (Tomeković 1988) and suit its role as ‘prologue’ to the main church: Old Testament visions, burial themes, or compositions relating to the penitential ‘count-down’ times in the liturgical year, the weeks before Christmas and the weeks of Lent preceding Easter (Todić 1997).

Late Byzantine church decoration continued to be enriched by ever more developed Eucharistic themes (e.g. Christ clad as High Priest), along with expanded Passion cycles, calendar cycles (Mijović 1973), and, above all, the illustrations of hymns (Grabar 1979; Bakalova 1994) such as the Akathistos, a sixth-century hymn to the Virgin (Velmans 1972; Pätzold 1989), and of individual psalms. These images incorporate elements drawn from the actual performance of the liturgy; this is especially true of the painting of Thessalonike and the Balkans in the Palaiologan period. Individual hymnographers such as John of Damascus and Cosmas of Maiouma flank or even enter the narrative representation of a church feast, unfurling into the scene scrolls on which are inscribed the hymns they have composed for the occasion, hymns had come to constitute an essential part of the annual feast-day ritual. Their presence serves to conflate the historical event being depicted with its present-day liturgical celebration. Illustrations of the consecration or the funeral of a saint, or of the strophes of the Akathistos hymn include contemporary details such as the display of icons, funeral procedures, and the massing of cathedral choirs, with their elaborate vestments and headgear (Moran 1986).

Though icons played a considerable role in church interiors, whether fixed to the barrier dividing the naos or main body of the church from the sanctuary, or being



Fig. 1 Hamilton Psalter: veneration of an icon of the Theotokos

carried in processions within and without the church, and though rubrics to texts of the liturgy provide ample evidence that icons were illumined with special lighting, approached, and kissed, they were not, in the Byzantine period at least, addressed directly, or referred to, in liturgical texts themselves, even in the vast monastic corpus of hymns and prayers (Ševčenko 1991). A fairly low proportion of Byzantine icons have strictly 'liturgical' themes; most bear images of holy figures, Christ, the Virgin, and saints, images for all seasons, so to speak, which are not narrowly bound to one specific liturgical passage or moment. Exceptions include icons of the Great Feasts, arranged above the iconostasis or set out for display on the day of the feast (Spieser 1999); Middle Byzantine calendar icons on Mount Sinai with figures of all the saints celebrated in a certain month, and Palaiologan icons that illustrate the Akathistos Hymn with twenty-four scenes arranged around a central image of the Virgin. Icons of Christ as the 'Man of Sorrows' in conjunction with the figure of the mourning Virgin have been associated with a specific monastic service on Good Friday evening thought to have originated in the eleventh century (Belting

1980–1), although if and how these icons were actually integrated into the ceremony remains unclear. The evidence for the integration of the Epitaphios, the textile embroidered with the figure of Christ laid out for burial, into a late Byzantine ceremony on Good Friday and Holy Saturday is more tangible (Ćurčić 1991) (see also III.16.5 Icons).

As regards manuscript illumination, we find that texts of the Divine Liturgy and books of hymns were rarely illustrated (but see Carr 1989; Vocotopoulos 1994; Ševčenko 2004), certainly far too rarely to have acted as intermediaries between written liturgical text and church or icon decoration (Ševčenko 1998). Liturgical scrolls containing the priest's 'secret' prayers (these are the texts held by the bishops depicted in the apse) are illustrated with little more than images of John Chrysostom and Basil and/or illuminated initials marking the beginning of each new prayer. In a few rare cases, marginal illustrations in these scrolls do make reference to the content of the prayer or to its liturgical context (Grabar 1954). Other service books reveal the influence of the liturgy mainly in the ordering of their texts. In Gospel lectionaries, for example, Gospel texts were arranged according to the date on which the passages were to be read in church, and these passages were then illustrated in a carefully ordered hierarchy of scale that reflected the relative importance of the feast (Dolezal 1996); this system retroactively affected the illustration of manuscripts of the Four Gospels (Meredith 1966). Psalters too might be illustrated by reference to the feast at which the passage was read (Cutler 1980–1). Homily manuscripts and manuscripts of saints' lives were also ordered according to the yearly sequence of feasts, and illustrated, often quite lavishly (Ehrhard 1936–52; Galavaris 1969; Ševčenko 1990). But church calendar manuscripts are rarely illustrated, with the exception of the 'Menologion' of Basil II in the Vatican Library (Vat. gr. 1613; a manuscript of the Synaxarion of Constantinople dated c.1000 containing images and short vitae of 430 saints and feasts) (*Menologio* 1907; facsimile 2006), and a calendar manuscript of the fourteenth century in Oxford (Oxford, Bodl. Gr. th. f. 1) which has pictures for every day of the year but no accompanying texts (Hutter 2007). Some Komnenian manuscripts have frontispieces which are accompanied by quasi-liturgical poems evidently meant to be recited when viewing the image (Carr 1982; Parpulov 1999). The private use of illustrated liturgical manuscripts is a subject only now beginning to be explored; their mode of use has implications for the study of ivories and steatites as well.

The only categories of Byzantine works of art whose design and decoration is indissolubly connected with their liturgical use are the vestments (Johnstone 1967) and the liturgical implements, such as patens, chalices, censers, fans, aer or veil, spoons, and stamps for the Eucharistic bread (Boyd 1998; Galavaris 1970). As early as the sixth century a paten was adorned with an image of the Communion of the Apostles (in Dumbarton Oaks, Washington, DC), and form continued to follow function here as in no other of the arts, throughout the entire Byzantine period.

The main feature of Byzantine liturgical art, however, is not its consistency, but its polyvalence, and its ability to function and communicate in a variety of settings and on a variety of levels at once (Ševčenko 2006). The works of art were not generally thought of as liturgical implements, designed for one specific liturgical purpose, nor were they intended to convey a single allegorical or dogmatic message. The image always conveyed something wider than the text that might have inspired it. Though the liturgy profoundly influenced the choice of themes, Byzantine liturgical imagery always maintained its independence from a precise liturgical moment or interpretation. By linking past, present, and future through the sacred image, this art aimed to provide a contact with the divine that paralleled, rather than merely illustrated, that offered by the liturgy itself.

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CHAPTER III.16.3

ART AND PILGRIMAGE

JAŚ ELSNER

THE visual arts of Byzantium (at least insofar as they survive) were fundamentally focused around matters of religion. Within this generally sacred emphasis, the problematic of pilgrimage featured large and early—after all, Constantine’s own mother, Helena, had set the model for making the long trip to the Holy Land and her son had built the first great pilgrimage churches in Christendom within a few years of the legalization of the Church (Hunt 1982: 6–49). The pilgrimage arts in general span a wide range of image-making from cheap souvenirs and tokens (such as the clay ampullae associated with numerous late antique saints’ cults like those of Thekla and Menas; see Lambert and Demeglio 1994 for a survey) to super-expensive masterpieces designed to adorn the reliquaries of imperial churches (such as the Lateran *fastigium* to cite an early and expensive though not specifically pilgrimage-related example; see de Blaauw 2001). One difficulty is separating those objects or sites specifically associated with pilgrimage from ones which acquired a pilgrimage-related significance in later times. Hagia Sophia, for instance—although not in itself a pilgrimage church in the way that the Holy Sepulchre or the Nativity Basilica or even St Peter’s in Rome are clearly founded upon fundamental sites of holy presence—came to be one of Byzantium’s premier venues of sacred travel, as related in the accounts of Russian pilgrims from the fifteenth century (Majeska 1984; Belting 1994: 192–5). And objects, whether mosaics or icons, which had once been made for cult use or sanctuary decoration came, through the vicissitudes of time, to be regarded as sacred and worthy of the special extra journey which pilgrimage implies. The fifth- or sixth-century mosaic of Hosios David in Thessalonike, for

example, became a holy icon when the plaster with which the Iconoclasts had covered it fell off, revealing miraculously an 'icon not made by human hands' (Cormack 1985: 132–3; Mathews 1993: 115–19).

One might divide the objects of pilgrimage art taxonomically into those which constituted the sacredness of a site, those which were made to adorn and embellish a site by the people who controlled it, those that were brought to a site as votive-offerings and left there, and those that were taken from sites as souvenirs or tokens. Each of these categories, which I will examine in turn in their Byzantine context, is inherited from pre-Christian patterns of piety and each is found equally in Roman Catholic as well as Orthodox religious practice both in the Middle Ages and later. Not all of these categories coexist together in every site. What is interesting, in the site-specific formulation I have chosen here, is that by their relation to particular locations (so that a clay token of St Symeon the Stylite inevitably evokes the place of his sacred activity atop the column at Qal'at Si'man as well, potentially, as the shrine in Antioch to which his body was moved after his death; Barber 2002: 22–3) the objects of pilgrimage participate in the dynamic of site and movement which defines the pilgrim's own sacred journeying.

THE HOLY ITSELF

In principle, in Christendom, it is not the work of art itself that is holy, but rather the thing which visual decorations are made to adorn. So what matters about the Holy Sepulchre, for instance, is the actual site of Christ's crucifixion and burial, what matters about a saint's cult (whether in Byzantium or the medieval West) is the relics themselves—the bones which were once part of a sacred body and remain infused with its still-living sanctity or the objects used by a saint, from the Column of Symeon at Qalat Siman to such surpassing relics as the Crown of Thorns, brought to the Sainte Chapelle in Paris after the Crusader sack of Constantinople in 1204. Yet the distinction between object and decoration, sacred essence and man-made container, so apparently clear in logic, is not so easy to affirm in actuality. In the case of the Holy Sepulchre, what came to be regarded as supremely holy was a spot—the tomb of our Lord, from which He rose from the dead—that was marked by a small shrine, known as the Aedicula (Biddle 1999: 5–73). Without the shrine, the spot would be like any other: it was only the adornment of material culture (the decoration and not the thing) that affirmed the thing really was the thing. By the time we have images of the Holy Sepulchre—for example on the pewter ampullae produced in Palestine in the sixth century, some of which found their

way to Italy to collections still in Monza and Bobbio that can be traced back to the early seventh century (Grabar 1958: 55–8)—it is the Aedicula itself that comes to represent the site (see e.g. Grabar 1946: vol. 1, 257–82 and Biddle 1999: 20–52 for surveys of such representations). In these secondary images (which include ivories, stone carvings, mosaics, and painting) not only does the building evoke the site, but (with the addition of an angel and the women visiting the tomb, as on many of the Bobbio and Monza ampullae) it may come to stand for the event of the Resurrection and by extension for Easter day, the time in the liturgical cycle when that event was celebrated. Likewise, in the case of a saint's bones (never very easy to distinguish from other bones on the face of it), it was the container that defined the presence inside. The more lavish and spectacular the container—from elaborate ivory boxes to *lipsanothekai* in precious metal to the glorious enamel reliquaries produced in Middle Byzantium—the more certain one could be (ran the visual logic) of the sanctity of the contained. Here the use of inscriptions and images together was essential to denote the identity of the object inside the reliquary. The Monza and Bobbio ampullae are as scrupulous as a modern museum label in announcing that they contain 'the oil of the wood of life from the holy places of Christ'.

But in Byzantium, and especially after the Iconophile victory over Iconoclasm, there was always a special case where the work of art itself might be seen as sacred, and this was the icon (see for instance Brubaker and Ousterhout 1995; Maguire 1996; Cormack 1997; Eastmond and James 2003). In a sense all icons to which one might pray, from grand processional images to small portable devotional panels, were holy. But among these were some that attained a special status as the focus of pilgrimage from their miracle-working abilities or their formidable social and cultural focus as *palladia* for a city or a region. Great images like the Hodegetria or the Blachernitissa icons in Constantinople, or the Virgin of Vladimir in medieval Rus (Lidov 2000; Angelidi and Papamastorakis 2000; Vassilaki 2005; Pentcheva 2006: 106–87), were accorded processions, regular worship, and profound veneration as living founts of the presence of the Virgin, as proved by her miraculous acts. The Nikopoios icon of the Virgin and Child, seized by the Venetian crusaders in 1203 from the chariot of a defeated Byzantine commander, moved from being an apotropaic *palladium* of the enemy to becoming a defining victory symbol of the Venetian state, housed in San Marco (Belting 1994: 4, 196, 200, 203–4). One way of escaping the problem of according such human works the special presence of divinity was to argue that such major icons were the work of St Luke and hence the product of a holy man in direct contact with the divine who painted the Virgin from life, an attribution accorded to the Nikopoios in Venice and the Hodegetria in Constantinople (on the Luke trope, see Cormack 1997: 44–57; Bacci 1998 and 2000). Alternatively, one might point to a miracle in the times of Christ, like the so-called mandylion of Edessa or Veronica's cloth, both of which carried the divine imprint of Christ's living features (Belting 1994: 208–24; Wolf 1998) or to a more recent miracle

whereby the image simply appeared as an *acheiropoieton*, ‘not made by human hands’ (e.g. Trilling 1998), as in the Hosios David Christ mosaic. The very form of such icons was a kind of guarantor of sanctity, and their sacred presence could be replicated through copying (see e.g. Kessler 1998). Hence we have numerous versions of the Hodegetria, including representations of the worship of the icon (such as in the British Museum’s Constantinopolitan Triumph of Orthodoxy icon from about 1400; see Cormack 1997: 62–3), which may themselves by extension have been regarded as possessing some of the original’s spiritual power. (See also III.16.5 Icons, below.)

ADORNMENTS OF THE SITE

As we have seen, it was not so easy to distinguish the sanctity itself from the visual and textual means by which it was indicated and established: the sign was not always separable from the signified. A wonderful example of the richness of this process is the pilgrimage complex at Sinai, attested as early as the pilgrim diary of the Latin lady Egeria in the 380s. Here a whole topography of spots were identified with major scriptural theophanies, including the site of the Burning Bush, the peak where God handed Moses the Tablets of the Law, and the cave in Horeb where Elijah hid from king Ahab and watched the Lord pass by. Archaeology has shown that the terrain was mapped by a complex of paths, steps cut into the mountainside, prayer niches and chapels to designate these spots (Finkelstein 1981, 1985). Within the main monastery, built by Justinian at the site of the Burning Bush, a series of inscriptions were carved to define its special nature—such as ‘This is the gate of the Lord: the righteous shall enter by it’ (Psalm 118: 20) over both the main gate and the main entrance to the nave of the church. At the entrance to the church in addition was carved a conflation of texts from Exodus relating to the visions of Moses on Sinai (Jacoby 2006), which recur on a huge bronze cross, also dating from the Justinianic foundation, that must have been in the church, perhaps over its first iconostasis-barrier (Coleman and Elsner 1994: 78–81). These references, simultaneously biblical and local, were picked up by the spectacular sixth-century mosaics of the apse and triumphal arch, where Moses’ vision of the Burning Bush and his receipt of the Tablets (images of events that had happened at the site of the monastery) were made to culminate in a great mosaic of the Transfiguration of Christ, who appears in his divine nature as God Incarnate before not only the three key apostles (Peter, James, and John) but also before Sinai’s own two prophets, Moses and Elijah (Elsner 1995: 99–123; Nelson 2006: 10–19). There is little doubt that this textual and visual

programme provided an invocation for the pilgrim to go beyond the images to the sites themselves in search of the vision of God vouchsafed by Christ after the Incarnation.

What is striking is that some time after the seventh century, this model of highly sophisticated scriptural pilgrimage seemed insufficient, and a new saint was added to make Sinai more attractive. St Catherine was said to have been brought by angels after her martyrdom at Alexandria in the third century and placed atop yet another peak in the Sinai complex of mountains. This site was added to the topography of paths through a sacred landscape and a new martyr-shrine containing the relics of Catherine was placed in the apse of the church (Tomadakis 1990: 14). These changes, especially in the arrangements of the church's sanctuary area, indicate a transformation in the kind of pilgrimage to Sinai (from scripturally orientated to charismatically focused on relics) in which the structures of decoration and furniture were altered to account for the changes in pilgrims' needs. The later production of icons on the site—a wonderful series celebrating the local saints Catherine, Moses, and Elijah, as well as icons related to other saints produced by the monastery, such as the ladder icon of St John Climax, one of its abbots—attest to the continued need to nuance the direction and flavour of worship with specific material signs (Mouriki 1990: 107, 109; Ševčenko 2006).

VOTIVE OFFERINGS

Although many of the surviving Sinai icons were made at the monastery or given at its foundation, others whether in provincial or non-Byzantine styles appear to have been brought there, perhaps as gifts of pilgrims. A striking example of this kind of votive culture, of choices made by pilgrims to adorn the sanctuaries they visited in ways not necessarily or always planned and controlled by the local hierarchy, is the twelfth-century Limoges enamel hammered onto the sixth-century Justinianic wooden doors of the church at Sinai, where it remains as a mark of a singular meeting of Eastern and Western Christendom (Ikonomoli-Papadopoulos 1990: 266). Of course, such objects would have been removed if the local hierarchy had not approved, but it is significant that pilgrimage sites (encompassing large numbers of pilgrims from different provenances and cultures with different needs and expectations) had the flexibility to adapt to pilgrim-led choices. Effectively, the offering of objects to shrines allowed the pilgrim to affirm a personal presence at a sacred centre, possibly emphasized by an invocation to the depicted saint asking for help or healing.

SOUVENIRS

Arguably as important as the actual journey to a place of pilgrimage is the pilgrim's return and the memories of the voyage. Souvenirs formed a specific and tangible link to the site, especially if they combined objects from the site or relics as well as images (e.g. Hahn 1990). They could function both by visual mimesis (in replicating a particular icon or image) and by metonymy in bringing home a material fragment from the place of worship. A striking example is the sixth-century box, from the treasury of the Sancta Sanctorum in the Lateran at Rome (moved to the Vatican Museums in the twentieth century), that contained images (effectively a cycle of little icons) of Christ's life and Passion along with carefully labelled bits of soil and stone from the places in Palestine where the events depicted had taken place (Morey 1926; Barber 2002: 15–17). Although a relatively large souvenir, large enough to have served perhaps as a portable altar, this was not an expensive item, its materials being no more than wood, encaustic paint, and bits of earth. Yet its reliquary value, as a kind of metonymic summary of Palestine that made the Holy Land available elsewhere, led to its inclusion as a venerable relic in the grandest of all the relic collections of medieval Christendom (on the Sancta Sanctorum in the Middle Ages, see Kessler and Zacharias 2000: 38–63). Similarly, the Monza and Bobbio ampullae, brought from Palestine in the late sixth century, although relatively cheap and mass-produced, were regarded as sufficiently illustrious relics to be donated as a collection to a royal church in the case of Monza, and to be buried in a casket with the holy body of St Columban in the case of the Bobbio group. Both collections of ampullae are interesting in that they gather a range of iconographies signalling not only the narrative pattern of Christ's life from his birth to his death but also the geographic pattern of the sites where those narratives had taken place and which were evoked through the images. Thus each collection, in its new context as a memorial of Palestine in Italy, was an evocation of the totality of the Holy Land as scriptural narrative, topographic witness, and a liturgical pattern of feasts related to both the stories and the sites (Elsner 1997: 118–23; Barber 2002: 20–2).

Admittedly, the ampullae came to fulfil a rather complex function of evoking the distant Holy Land through a kind of reliquary mimesis. But other souvenirs were simpler in their offering of a direct link with a particular saint as a personal intercessor for the owner or wearer. We have very cheap terracotta tokens and flasks from popular shrines like those of Thekla and Menas near Alexandria in Egypt (Davis 2001: 114–20), or from the Holy Sepulchre and Qal'at Si'man in Palestine and Syria (Barber 2002: 20–3), and we have extraordinarily wrought and expensive gold and enamel reliquaries (with hidden internal compartments) from the cult of St Demetrios in Thessalonike (e.g. Evans and Wixom 1997: 167–8), or of the True Cross (e.g. Evans and Wixom 1997: 169–74, 302, 331–2, 461–3). Clearly these catered for pilgrims from radically different ends of the social spectrum, but arguably in

function they provided for similar needs: a personal link to the original site through the tangibility of a token which contained some 'stuff', earth, water, oil, or bone, that was itself from the shrine.

CONCLUSION

It might be objected that much of what has been said here is equally true of art and pilgrimage in the medieval West (especially Italy, although admittedly there was much Byzantine influence in Italy in the Middle Ages) and of both Orthodox and Roman Catholic pilgrimage arts after the Fall of Constantinople and the Renaissance. Such patterns of the use of art within pilgrimage are not even exclusive to Christianity, since much was borrowed from pre-Christian polytheist practice and much might be paralleled in the uses of art by pilgrims and pilgrimage centres in Hinduism and Buddhism (see e.g. Coleman and Elsner 1995). One aspect specific to Byzantium, and not just after Iconoclasm, was a general shunning of three-dimensional sacred representations (although there are one or two examples of statuettes) in favour of the flat icon—whether painted, carved in relief in ivory or some kind of stone, or produced from some combination of coloured materials such as mosaic or enamel. Usually this avoidance of works in the round is regarded as a genuflection to the fear of idolatry, with statues seen as potentially paganizing (in a way that was certainly not the case in the medieval West). But what is most significant about assessing the sacred arts of Byzantium within a liturgical context that includes pilgrimage as one of Byzantium's privileged social rituals is that the formal characteristics of style and medium as well as the aesthetics of Byzantine art are thus seen from within the complex spectrum of functions for which they were intended. The pilgrimage arts not only adorned Byzantine pilgrimage sites: in large part they helped to conceive pilgrimage and construct its experience. Particular artistic strategies like the stereotypical replication of an icon's form could ensure the transmission of a particular sacred image (and hence the main site of its worship across long distances), allowing a dynamic of religious life built upon travel between sites to manifest through a visual and material dimension as well as in the pilgrim's experience of journeying.

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CHAPTER III.16.4

ART AND ICONOCLASM

ROBIN CORMACK

THE decrees and definition of the Ecumenical Council of Nicaea II in 787, which were to be reaffirmed in 843, are evidence which suggests the deep impact of iconoclasm on the Byzantine Church:

We declare that, next to the sign of the precious and life-giving Cross, venerable and holy icons—made of colours, pebbles, or any other material that is fit—may be set in the holy churches of God, on holy utensils and vestments, on walls and boards, in houses and in streets. These may be icons of our Lord and God the Saviour Jesus Christ, or of our pure Lady, the holy Theotokos, of honourable angels, or of any saint or holy man. For the more these are kept in view through their iconographic representation, the more those who look at them are lifted up to remember and have an earnest desire for the prototypes. Also [we declare] that one may render to them the veneration of honour (*proskynesis*): not the true worship of our faith (*latreia*), which is only due to the divine nature, but the same kind of veneration as is offered to the form of the precious and life-giving Cross, to the Holy gospels and to the other holy dedicated items. Also [we declare] that one may honour these by bringing to them incense and light, as was the pious custom of the Early Christians; for ‘the honour to the icon is conveyed to the prototype’.

(377D–E, Sahas 1986: 179; see Brubaker and Haldon 2001: 233–42)

Yet iconoclasm has been the subject of the most intense debates in Byzantine studies, with continuing controversy over the major questions. For example: how extensive was the movement and how invisible was figural art during iconoclasm? What were the causes of iconoclasm and how far back in Byzantine history do we need to go to explain the outbreak? Did iconoclasm have any deep impact

on Byzantium? There is disagreement both on the facts of iconoclasm and on what methodologies might help in the interpretation of the period. Peter Brown famously said in 1973 that, 'Altogether, the iconoclast controversy is in the grip of a crisis of over-explanation' (Brown 1973: 3). The questions remain: What was iconoclasm? What were the causes of iconoclasm? What was the significance of iconoclasm?

WHAT WAS ICONOCLASM?

The definition that is given to iconoclasm (the word is from *eikonoklastes*, 'image-breaker', used by Patriarch Germanos and John of Damascus) will to some extent determine the explanations for it. If, for example, iconoclasm is seen as the process of the reassertion of imperial power in the state after a period of decline, then the causes will be seen in terms of events and politics. If, on the other hand, iconoclasm is seen as an intellectual debate about the admissibility of imaging God and the holiness of icons which showed Christ, the Virgin, and the saints, then the causes will be most likely seen as a process in ecclesiastical and theological terms. As an issue that involved everyone in the Byzantine world for over a century, it is, however, unlikely that the issues can be neatly categorized.

What is agreed in modern commentaries is that by 730 (if not 726) the emperor Leo III had issued an imperial edict against the use of icons, and that his son Constantine V summoned a church council at the palace of Hieria at Chalcedon between 10 February and 8 August 754. This council condemned the veneration and production of icons as idolatry and proclaimed that the figural representation of God was impossible and that icons of Christ were anathema as they would either separate his humanity and divinity or confuse them. The decrees of the council of 754 were overturned by the Council of Nicaea II (24 September to 13 October 787), and iconoclasm lapsed as state policy until its revival under Leo V in 815 after a synod which reaffirmed the decrees of the council of Hieria. This period of 'Second Iconoclasm' came to an end with a synodal decree by Patriarch Methodios, an informal council, and a public procession to Hagia Sophia on 11 March 843 and a declaration of the Triumph of Orthodoxy. This triumph was thereafter celebrated annually on the first Sunday of Lent (Gouillard 1967).

Clear archaeological evidence of active iconoclast removal of figurative mosaic icons is found in the Room over the Ramp in Hagia Sophia at Constantinople in the 760s—this was at that time a private chamber within the patriarchal palace—and in the sanctuary of the church of the Koimesis at Nicaea (Brubaker and Haldon

2001: 20–2). Texts of the period are much less clear-cut as witnesses of historical facts. For example, the *Vita of St Stephen the Younger*, written in 809 by a deacon of St Sophia, is a highly rhetorical version of his life with specious claims for his conspicuous prominence as an iconophile who opposed Constantine V and was martyred by him (Auzépy 1997). Equally distorted are the historical accounts such as the *Chronographia* of Theophanes the Confessor, which covers the years 285–813 and was written before his death in 817 (Brubaker and Haldon 2001: 165–98). But despite the iconophile bias of these and other texts and the virtual disappearance of the iconoclast literature, the polemical vehemence of the eighth- and ninth-century texts is at the least representative evidence of the deep trauma caused by acts of iconoclasm and the ideology of its proponents.

From 730 up to 787 and again from 815 to 843 it can reasonably be said that the production of icons that included figurative images of Christ, the Virgin, and the saints was effectively stopped and that in Constantinople and some places elsewhere figurative decorations were eliminated. No doubt as in other periods of Christian iconoclasm the process of destruction was piecemeal and random (Freedberg 1989; Duffy 1992; Latour and Weibel 2002), and the number of early icons preserved in the Monastery of St Catherine at Sinai indicates that sites far from Constantinople could escape the edict. It does not follow, however, that church decorations consisting entirely of crosses and ornamental motives must date to iconoclasm, as such decorations were found at various periods, including in the Church of Hagia Sophia at Constantinople in the time of Justinian. However, during iconoclasm the mosaic decoration of the church of Hagia Eirene in Constantinople and of the Koimesis at Nicaea had as their focus a monumental cross in the apse. It seems that attitudes during Second Iconoclasm softened and figural decorations out of reach in churches may have survived even the first period of iconoclasm. In Thessalonike, for example, it appears that the representation of Christ in the apse of the small church of Hosios David was concealed, whereas the saints in the dome mosaics of the Rotonda may well have remained visible (Grabar 1957). Evidence that the debate continued to rage even after 843 is given pictorially in the miniatures of the small group of ninth-century Psalter books which were produced in Constantinople, perhaps in the orbit of the Patriarchate at Hagia Sophia. For example, the Khludov Psalter (soon after 843) has several images showing iconoclasm in action, and one miniature (folio 67^r for Psalm 68: 22 ‘they gave me also gall for my food and made me drink vinegar for my thirst’) parallels the historical act of the Crucifixion with the whitewashing of an icon of Christ by the Patriarch John the Grammatian (Fig. 1). This ninth-century pictorial polemic (possibly derived from iconophile pamphlets during iconoclasm) is further proof of the vehemence of the crisis among Byzantine intellectuals. The images can be read as an attempt to pillory the iconoclasts as morally corrupt and no better than the Jews who called for the execution of Christ (Corrigan 1992).

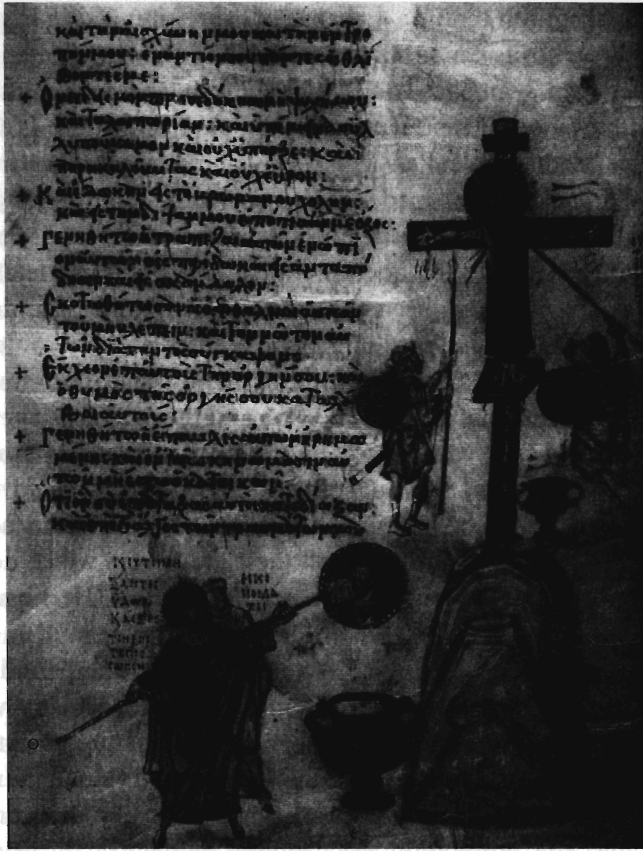


Fig. 1 Khudov Psalter: iconoclasts whitewashing an image of Christ

(Moscow, Historical Museum, cod. 129, fo. 67^r)

WHAT WERE THE CAUSES OF ICONOCLASM?

Explanations for the outbreak of iconoclasm around 730 generally take into consideration two main factors, which are not necessarily incompatible. One is whether opposition to figural art was endemic in Byzantine Christianity and should therefore be broadly tracked and treated as an underlying cause of iconoclasm. The other is whether the outbreak of iconoclasm was a specific response to the circumstances of the eighth-century political situation. The broad approach (Kitzinger 1976; Barasch 1992) traces both hostility to and defence of images as a dialectic from early Christianity onwards, but with neither side formulating a consistent position; Kitzinger concluded that the increasing production of icons and their use as devotional images from the sixth century onwards exacerbated the need for an

image theory by the ninth century. A change of expression is seen in the Quinisext Council of 680/1, with its canon 82 recommending the representation of Christ as a man rather than symbolically as a lamb, and in the gold coins of Justinian II, with their innovation of representing on the obverse the face of Christ whose model may have been a miraculous icon from the category known from the sixth century as *acheiropoietos*, not-made-by-human-hands (Cormack 1985: 95–140). These iconophile developments very likely exacerbated the opposition to icons which became imperial and subsequently church policy within a few decades. But while such episodes may have been the sparks which ignited the declaration of iconoclasm, other historical events cannot be seen as entirely coincidental, and consideration of these form a basis for the explanation of iconoclasm as a specific eighth-century phenomenon. The rise of Islam and the Arab military threat to the contracting Byzantine Empire, the pressure of Slavonic invasions from the north, and the vigorous attempts of the emperors as leaders to react to adverse circumstances and the environment of spiritual pessimism and fear in the face of natural disasters, like the eruption of Santorini, all these are factors which document the volatile nature of the Byzantine state in the eighth century (Herrin 1987; Haldon 1997).

Once iconoclasm was established as state policy, then the period took on its own dynamic of justification and opposition. Heresy and idolatry were defined to encompass icon production; on the other side the nature of orthodoxy was defined to include the icon. The prohibition of the Second Commandment against the graven image was used as an argument against icons by the iconoclasts. But for the iconophiles this prohibition was dissolved by the new dispensation of the Incarnation and ministry of Christ, as well as by the image practices of the early Church. These arguments resulted in many levels of polemic, and the equating of iconoclasts with Jews, Saracens, and other groups. Hence the difficulty of describing the events of a period which is distinctive for the vehemence and sophistication of its rhetoric.

WHAT WAS THE SIGNIFICANCE OF ICONOCLASM?

It has been argued that Byzantine art at the end of iconoclasm did nothing more than turn the clock back and revive the art of the pre-iconoclast period. Judging from the case of the sanctuary mosaics at Nicaea, where the original pre-iconoclast programme seems to have been restored precisely soon after 843, it can be

reasonably suggested that the art of the ninth century did involve restoration. The tenth century too has been regarded as a time of a 'renaissance' of Late Antique or even Classical models, with the reign of the 'antiquarian' emperor Constantine VII Porphyrogennetos representing a prime moment of the recreation of traditional old values and styles. But revival is only one aspect of the church use of art. New media were invented, such as enamel, which was influenced by models in the Carolingian west, and ivory and metal relief icons were developed too as significant forms of art (see also II.8.6 Ivory, steatite, enamel, and glass). It is also the case that considerable attention was given to the production of complex decorative programmes that combined the representation of saints and narrative scenes, as in the rock-cut churches of ninth- and tenth-century Cappadocia. Soon after iconoclasm the templon screen between the nave and the sanctuary was enhanced with images, and quickly became the location for festival icons and images of saints. The knock-on effect was to enhance the mystery and sanctity of the sanctuary and the altar, which in due course was hidden from lay eyes except at particular moments in the rites.

Another consequence of the enforced discussion about the legitimacy of icons was the refinement of an 'image theory,' however rudimentary. John of Damascus, Theodore of Stoudios, and Patriarch Nikephoros were the chief theorists, who developed the concepts of *proskynesis* and *latreia* which are used in the Nicaean decrees (Giakalis 1994; Parry 1996; Barber 2002). This distinction allowed them to formulate the legitimacy of each of three categories of image: Christ as the image of God, man as the divine image, and the icon as the artistic image of Christ and the saints. They also used the argument of the didactic role of icons in teaching the truths of Christianity. This was taken up after iconoclasm by writers such as the patriarch Photios, particularly in his church homilies. It is, however, clear from the discussions at Nicaea in 787 and in the hagiographical texts that the key argument used by the iconophiles was that the Incarnation legitimated the representation of Christ and that the early images that circulated in Byzantium before iconoclasm had miraculous powers, especially of healing, for the Orthodox believer, and that icons were therefore a demonstration of Orthodox faith. The permanent outcome of iconoclasm was that the use of icons became a defining feature of the Orthodox church environment and of the devotional practices of the Orthodox believer.

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Suggested Reading

The literature is immense and always coloured by the conceptual framework of the writer, whether Byzantine or modern. There is no such thing at present as an 'objective' account, but Martin 1930 remains a clear narrative of the sources and issues, Hennephof 1969 gives a useful collection of texts, and Grabar 1957 provides a well-documented collection of the archaeological material, which is updated and expanded by Brubaker and Haldon 2001. Auzépy 1997 gives a thorough insight into the problems of reading and interpreting one of the much-quoted Byzantine texts. None of these texts can be taken at face value, whether historical narrative or theological commentary or faked documents; the participants at

Nicaea in 787 were very sensitive to possible faking of texts or reading them out of context and so they insisted that the written documents should be presented in a complete form (Sahas 1986).

Freedberg 1989, Duffy 1992, and Besancon 2001 contextualize Byzantine iconoclasm; there are similar patterns of antipathy to images in other periods, and particularly in the European Reformation, when the biblical and theological texts used by the Byzantines were re-evaluated.

CHAPTER III.16.5

ICONS

MARIA VASSILAKI

ICONS are perhaps one of the most important legacies of Byzantium. They are the most characteristic products of Byzantine society and the Orthodox Church. The origin of the word is Greek (*eikon*) and derives from the verb *eoika*, 'to be like'. An *eikon*, therefore, is a true likeness of the person depicted on it and the etymology of the word is tightly connected with the nature of the icon itself. Most European languages have adopted and transliterated the Greek word in order to describe a devotional image. The English language, however, has given the word a much wider meaning: according to the *Cambridge English Dictionary* it also signifies a very famous person or object considered to represent a set of beliefs or a way of life (e.g. Elvis Presley or Marilyn Monroe), and a computer symbol.

A Byzantine icon is an image in any medium (marble, mosaic, textile, ivory, steatite, enamel, gold, silver, wood, etc.; Weitzmann 1978) although today it is usually understood to mean a religious portrait painted in egg-tempera on a gold-covered wooden board. An icon was, and in the Orthodox Church still remains, a devotional image, one deserving special reverence and respect. The veneration of an icon is transferred to the prototype, to the holy person depicted. This view, explicitly expressed as early as the fourth century by Basil the Great (Mango 1972: 47; *De Spiritu Sancto* (PG 32. 149C): 'the honour shown to the image is transmitted to its model'), was further developed in the eighth century by John of Damascus (Mango 1972: 171; *De Imaginibus Oratio* III (PG 94. 1337): 'We venerate images; it is not veneration offered to matter but to those who are portrayed through matter in the images. Any honour given to an image is transferred to its prototype'), and in the ninth by Theodore, abbot of the Stoudios monastery in Constantinople (Mango 1972: 173; *Epistola ad Platonem* (PG 99. 500–1): 'Every artificial image... exhibits in

itself, by way of imitation, the form of its model... the model [is] in the image, the one in the other, except for the difference of substance. Hence, he who reveres an image surely reveres the person whom the image shows; not the substance of the image... Nor does the singleness of his veneration separate the model from the image, since, by virtue of imitation, the image and the model are one'). Some scholars have suggested that women may have played a decisive role in promoting the cult of icons as part of their domestic environment (Herrin 1982; Mathews 2002), but this view has been challenged by others (Cormack 1997b).

It is usually accepted that the funeral portraits known as Fayyum, named after the homonymous oasis in Egypt where they were found, are the forerunners of icons. This hypothesis is further supported by the fact that some of the earliest Byzantine icons were made using the same technique as the Fayyum, that known as encaustic (the basic characteristic of an encaustic icon was that the colour had to be mixed with beeswax; in order for the wax to be mixed with the colour it had to be heated and for this a tray with cavities heated from below was used; each cavity contained a different colour; the panel itself had to be hot as well and it was heated once the coloured wax was ready for application). The encaustic icons which are still extant date from an early period, mainly the sixth and seventh centuries (Fig. 1). The majority come from the monastery of St Catherine's on Mt Sinai (even those today kept at the City Museum of Eastern and Western Art in Kiev came from Sinai; Weitzmann 1976: icon nos B.1–16) while a few have been discovered in Rome (Amato 1988).

The Fayyum portraits should not be taken as the only antecedents of icons as Roman art was already in the third century producing painted panels in the form of tondos, diptychs, and triptychs (Cormack 1997a: 65–76). These were mainly executed in egg-tempera (in which the yolk of egg, used as the cohesive medium, is mixed with powdered pigment), which was also introduced into icon painting from an early period (Weitzmann 1976: e.g. icon nos. B.36, B.41–45) and finally became the standard technique for icon painting.

During the period of Iconoclasm (726–87 and 815–43) the manufacture and display of figurative icons in the Church was officially banned. However, despite the prohibitions, there is likely to have been an 'underground' production of icons and the case of St Lazaros, the painter whom the Iconoclasts punished for his persistence in painting icons by burning his hands, may be taken as evidence of this (Delehaye 1902: 231–4; Mango 1972: 159). The Seventh Ecumenical Council of Nicaea II (787) summarized the principles of icon veneration but the final restoration of icons took place in 843. From that time onwards icons could be freely produced and venerated. This event, known as the Sunday of Orthodoxy (in Greek, *He Anastylosis ton eikonon* (The Restoration of Icons)), was celebrated annually on the first Sunday in Lent and is the subject of a small icon now in the British Museum, London (inv. no. M&LA 1988: 4–11,1); see Fig. 2. This icon, dated on grounds of style to around 1400 (Cormack 1997b), contains in two horizontal registers a representation of seventeen

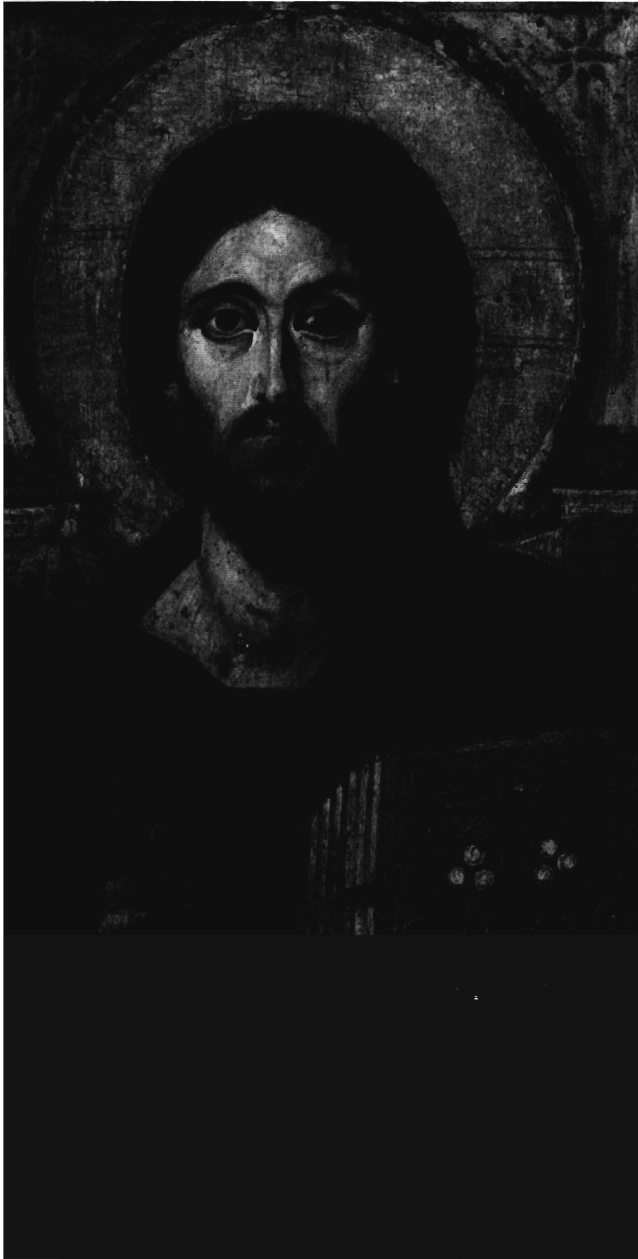


Fig. 1 Sinai, Monastery of St Catherine: encaustic icon of Christ Pantokrator, 6th century

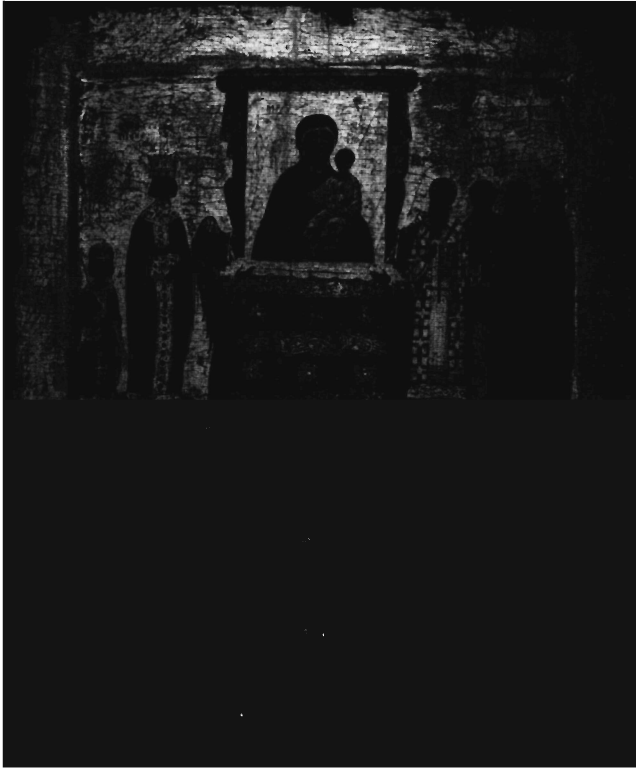


Fig. 2 London, British Museum: the Restoration of Icons, c.1400

figures, all of whom fought in favour of icons (the empress Theodora and her son Michael III, the patriarch Methodios, Theodore of Stoudios, etc.). In the centre of the upper register, is the icon of the Virgin Hodegetria, which, according to tradition, was painted by the evangelist Luke during the Virgin's lifetime.

The icon of the Virgin Hodegetria, which was the most renowned and venerated painted panel ever produced in Byzantium, is listed as one among twelve miraculous icons not made by human hands (*acheiropoietai*) in a text which claims to have been written during Iconoclasm, though it is now believed to date between 861 and 866, therefore in the period immediately after. This is *The Letter of the Three Patriarchs to the Emperor Theophilos* (Munitiz and others 1997). The twelve icons with miraculous powers listed in the *Letter* played a decisive role during the Iconoclastic controversy and became one of the main weapons in the arguments of icon-supporters (the Iconophiles, or Iconodules) against Iconoclasts (the 'smashers of icons'). Among these icons the Holy Mandyllion from Edessa (Fig. 3) and the Holy Keramion, which reproduced imprints of the image of Christ on a towel and a brick respectively, as well as the icon of Christ from Kamouliana, are also mentioned.

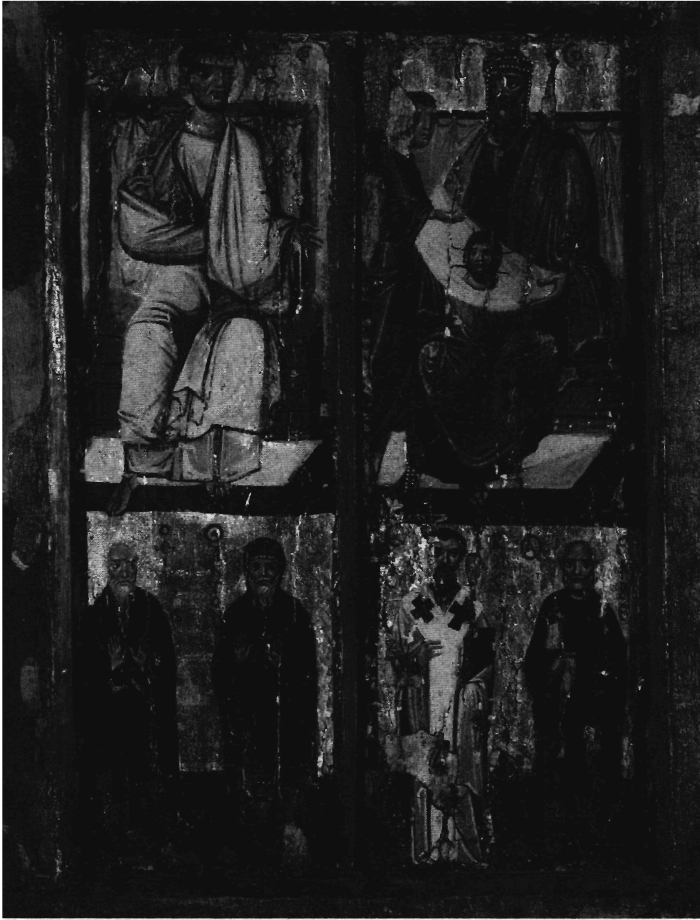


Fig. 3 Sinai, Monastery of St Catherine: two wings of a triptych with the Mandylion, mid-10th century

The end of Iconoclasm marked the growth in importance of icons, which from then on became an integral part of the Church and its ritual. The clearest evidence of this importance is given by the history of the sanctuary screen. The low open chancel barrier of the pre-Iconoclastic period was replaced by a high templon screen, which was decorated with icons: the horizontal beam (the epistyle) was occupied by representations of the twelve Major Feasts (the Dodekaorton) or the Great Deesis (including Christ, the Virgin, and John the Baptist along with the twelve apostles, all presented as busts) and the inter-columnar spaces were occupied by the *despotikai* icons. From the eleventh to the thirteenth century the wooden templon continued to develop gradually (Chatzidakis 1976) and with the increase in the number of icons that decorated it, went on to become in later periods the iconostasis of the Orthodox Church.



Fig. 4 Kastoria, Byzantine Collection: bilateral icon, second half of the 12th century

The richest collections of icons have survived in the monastery of St Catherine's at Sinai (Weitzmann 1976; Manafis 1990: 120–34, figs. 1–102) and in the monasteries of Mt Athos (*Treasures of Mt Athos* 1997). The number of icons surviving at Sinai is estimated to be over 5,000, dating from the sixth century onwards. The dry climatic conditions on the plateau on which the monastery is built, together with the fact that Sinai, having fallen to the Arabs by the end of the seventh century, was not part of the Byzantine Empire during Iconoclasm, may between them account for the survival of so many icons that date back so far. By way of contrast, the number of icons that have survived in the twenty Athonite monasteries is estimated to be over 10,000, dating from the tenth century onwards.

Churches and more especially monastery churches displayed long rows of icons on their walls. On the *proskynetarion*, a lectern covered by a baldachin that was placed to the left of the nave, on each day of the calendar year the icon associated with the saint or the feast commemorated was displayed. Here the priest would bow in what is called the *proskynesis* and kiss the icon (*aspasmos*).

Processional icons became important for church ritual especially from the eleventh and twelfth centuries onwards. Since they were carried around, it was necessary for both sides of the panel to be painted (bilateral or two-sided icons). The lower sides had slots for inserting the poles by which they were carried in procession. The church ritual of Holy Week and especially that of Good Friday led

to the creation of a very important group of two-sided processional icons with the Virgin and Child on one side and the Crucifixion or Christ as the Man of Sorrows on the other (Belting 1980–1). The earliest of the surviving examples is an icon from Kastoria (Fig. 4) which dates from the second half of the twelfth century and shows the Virgin Hodegetria on one side and the Man of Sorrows on the other (*Mother of God* 2000: no. 83).

Icons in precious metals (gold, silver, enamel, and gem-stones) existed in substantial numbers in Byzantium though few have survived. Two of these, today in the treasury of San Marco in Venice (*Il tesoro* 1986: nos. 12, 19), could have been imperial commissions and may have been kept in one of the churches of the Great Palace. These two icons reached Venice as a result of the looting that followed the capture and sack of Constantinople by the Fourth Crusade in 1204. Such sumptuous works may offer some evidence of the appearance of icons intended for the emperor.

Icons intended for private or personal use were usually characterized by their small size. Triptychs are believed to have served a mainly private function and, as they were meant to fold, could easily accompany their owners in order to protect them whilst travelling (Weitzmann 1964–5: 18–23). Mosaic icons were sometimes for private use too, especially those that not only had small dimensions (Furlan 1979; Demus 1991) but were also executed with minute tesserae (Müntz 1886; Bettini 1938; Demus 1960). The number of surviving portable miniature mosaic icons is rather limited but as the majority of them date from the end of the thirteenth and the first decades of the fourteenth century (c.1260–1320) and their style is associated with Constantinopolitan workshops, it is clear that in the Late Byzantine period the elite of the capital had a liking for miniature mosaic icons. Many of these icons had already found their way into western Europe by the late fourteenth century, where they were collected by such individuals as the Pope himself (Müntz 1879).

Ditptychs were also commissioned by individuals. The Cuenca diptych is one of the most characteristic examples (*Mother of God* 2000: no. 30); it was commissioned by the despot of Ioannina Thomas Preljubović and his wife Maria Angelina Doukaina Palaiologina, most probably between 1382 and 1384. The Cuenca diptych belongs to a rare form which served as a painted diptych and reliquary at the same time; it bears relics of the twenty-eight saints depicted on its two wings. In general, reliquary-icons or reliquary-diptychs were rare in Byzantium. The earliest reference to such works is to be found in the inventory of the Monastery of St John the Theologian on Patmos, dated to 1200, in which a reliquary-diptych and a reliquary-icon are listed; none of these works has been located up to now in the monastery of Patmos (Chatzidakis 1985: 21, nos. 9, 12).

Ordinary icons were not of great value nor even greatly appreciated in Byzantium unless they had miraculous powers. This attitude would only change in the later periods of icon production. Once covered, however, by golden or silver revetments (Grabar 1975) they automatically acquired aesthetic as well as objective value.

Monasteries' inventories, *typika*, *brevia* or acts of donation rarely mention ordinary (unadorned) icons; if they do, they appear at the end of the lists, while those in precious materials are always mentioned and usually in detail.

The importance of painted icons grew from the mid-eleventh and the twelfth centuries onwards, as they became an integral part of the liturgy and its ritual. This led to the creation of new, emotionally charged images, 'living paintings' as they have been called, the iconography of which was based on hymns and prayers (Belting 1994: 261–96). The role of monasteries must have been decisive in establishing this new dimension of painted icons. Monasteries, and especially Sinai, are also connected with the emergence of a special kind of icon, the calendar icon, which displays in the form of diptychs, tetrptychs, or polyptychs, images of saints and feasts in registers, arranged by month and according to their date of commemoration (Mouriki 1990: figs. 16–17).

Saints and scenes from their martyrdom and miracles came to be displayed on another new form of icon, the so called 'vita' icon (Ševčenko 1999). A single representation of the saint himself occupies the central part of the panel while the various scenes are displayed either, and more usually, around all four sides of the icon, or sometimes on the two vertical sides alone. St Nicholas and St George appear to have the largest number of surviving 'vita' icons while ones representing St Basil (Menil Collection in Houston, Texas; Weyl Carr 1992), John the Baptist, St Catherine, and St Panteleimon (all three on Sinai; Mouriki 1990: figs. 46, 52, 53) are rare.

A considerable number of icons dating from the second half of the thirteenth century have adopted western elements to such a degree that Kurt Weitzmann was led to assume that they were painted at Sinai by Crusader painters who had settled in the monastery (Weitzmann 1966; 1982). This view has been challenged (Mouriki 1985–6; Cormack and Mihalarias 1984; Pace 1993; Aspra-Vardavakis 2002), but what still remains uncertain is the nationality of the painters who executed icons such as the Crucifixion and the Descent into Hell still preserved on Sinai (Mouriki 1990: figs. 63, 64). Syria, Palestine, and Cyprus have been mentioned as candidates in this discussion of origins; whether, on the other hand, Venetian Crete might not serve as a candidate remains a matter of speculation since icon production there in the thirteenth century has left almost no trace at all.

The most flourishing period in icon painting was the Late Byzantine period (1261–1453). The number of icons increased enormously and surpassed that of monumental painting in both fresco and mosaic. It was not only the quantity but also the quality of late Byzantine icons that reached the highest levels ever. Icons scattered all over the empire, many of which still survive to this day, indicate that it was not only Constantinople that was producing icons of great quality. Thessalonike seems to have played an equally important role in the icon production of the late thirteenth and the fourteenth centuries, receiving commissions not only from the wealthy monasteries of Mt Athos (e.g. the icon of Christ, today in the Hermitage,

commissioned by the two brothers Alexios and Ioannis, founders of the Pantokrator monastery; *Sinai, Byzantium, Russia* 2000: no. B125) but also from local governors of the area and their wives (e.g. the Poganovo icon presumably commissioned by the basilissa Helen of Serres; Babić 1987). From about 1400 Venetian Crete appears to have become the most important centre of icon production and the documented presence of Constantinopolitan painters on the island together with the flourishing economic conditions prevailing at the time must have played a decisive role in this (Chatzidakis 1974).

Considering the number of icons that still survive today, the number that bear inscriptions containing their painters' names is very small. Sources are also very scant as far as information on icon painters is concerned. The painter Pantoleon is a rare case inasmuch as his signature has survived on a number of miniatures executed for the Menologion of Basil II (Vat. gr. 1613) while he is also documented as an icon painter who was active in Constantinople around the year 1000, where he kept his private workshop (Ševčenko 1962, 1972). The case of Pantoleon also shows that icon painters could at the same time be miniature painters. It is thought that icon painters were sometimes also fresco painters or mosaicists but this is usually based on a deduction from stylistic similarities between frescoes or mosaics and icons. The twelfth-century fresco painter Theodoros Apsoudes, whose name appears in the dedicatory inscription of the wall-decoration of the Hermitage of St Neophytos on Cyprus, has on these grounds also been connected with icons of the same period, such as the icon of the Virgin Arakiotissa in the Byzantine Museum of Nicosia (*Mother of God* 2000: no. 62). Georgios Kalliergis who, according to its dedicatory inscription, executed the fresco decoration for the church of the Resurrection of Christ at Veria in northern Greece, would appear on this basis to have painted icons as well (*Mother of God* 2000: no. 65). Similarly, the fresco-painter Theophanes the Greek, who decorated the church of the Transfiguration at Novgorod, dated in 1378, has been connected, on the basis of style, with icons of the same period, such as the two-sided icon of the Virgin of the Don (Smirnova 1989: pls. 28–33). Finally, the icon of St Peter in the British Museum was presumably executed by the master mosaicist of the Chora monastery in Constantinople (Mihalarias and Cormack 1983). It was only in late Byzantium and especially in Venetian Crete that the number of icon painters who signed their works increased enormously and this is usually interpreted as a sign of the change in the social status of the painter and the role of icons (Vassilaki 1997).

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CHAPTER III.16.6

ART AND THE PERIPHERY

ANTONY EASTMOND

THE problems posed by art and the periphery in the Byzantine world are largely self-imposed. Byzantine writers such as Niketas Choniates ceaselessly proclaimed Constantinople as the centre of the empire and as the driving force from which all else emanated: 'O city, city, eye of all cities, universal boast, supramundane wonder, wet nurse of churches, leader of the faith, guide of Orthodoxy, beloved topic of orations, the abode of every good thing!' (Nik. Chon. 576). It is true that Constantinople was the imperial centre with a monopoly on the production of luxury goods such as silk and mosaic, and the cultural powerhouse of the empire. At the same time, Niketas' brother Michael, metropolitan of Athens, complained of the dullness and ignorance of the provinces.

This epitomizes a metropolitan–provincial divide that many modern historians and art historians have been happy to adopt, including Beckwith (1961) and Demus (1964: 90): 'Byzantine art was in fact the art of one city... Constantinople'. Implicit in this view is a model about the nature of Byzantine art. It assumes that the art of Constantinople is of the highest quality and that it is the most innovative and creative; this automatically defines art produced in the periphery—in the provinces of the empire and among its neighbours to east and west—as inferior and dependent. The dilemma for art historians is that most of the art that survives is found in non-Constantinopolitan contexts. The disparity between the descriptions of the art of the capital as provided by contemporaries and what actually survives indicates the extent of the loss: compare the *Vita Basilii* on the Great Palace in the ninth century with its very sparse and fragmentary remains today, or Constantine of Rhodes'

and Nicholas Mesarites' ekphraseis on the entirely lost church of the Holy Apostles (Mango 1972: 192–201, 232–3). In contrast, the many painted structures in, for example, Cappadocia or Thessalonike provide more visible testimony of production away from the centre. This disparity between evidence and expectations raises many methodological issues about the relationship between centre and periphery, and these in turn have a major impact on general conceptions of the structure of the Byzantine Empire as a whole, as well as its relations with its neighbours.

The origins of the debate about centre and periphery lie in arguments about the nature and origins of artistic innovation in the Late Antique and Byzantine empires that were formulated around the year 1900. Strzygowski (1901, 1903) battled to see the sources of Byzantine art placed far to the east, with the triumph of imported Oriental forms over Hellenic traditions. This opposed a localized model in which innovation evolved from more indigenous ideas flourishing within the empire, as proposed, for example by Ainalov (1961). This debate is broader than the problem of the primacy of Constantinople outlined above, but both rely on a similar division between centre and periphery and both depend on similar questions about the sources of innovation and creativity and the means of their diffusion in a culture. The 'Rom oder Orient' argument asked questions that are generally now considered too polarized to be of value to contemporary art history (and Strzygowski's model, with its racist connotations, is now particularly unpopular), but their influence on conceptions of empire and art remain, bolstered by the self-image of Constantinople as centre that was promoted by its rulers and inhabitants.

First, it is important to question whether a simple dichotomy between centre and periphery can be maintained. The traditional view argues that the centre is the driving force behind innovation and the epitome of quality, and that what happens in the provinces is necessarily produced later and in imitation of the metropolitan originals. It is the cultural equivalent of the trickle-down economic policies favoured by conservative governments in the 1980s. It assumes that the centre had a virtual monopoly of good artists and intelligent planners, and that artists and patrons in the provinces always looked to the centre for inspiration and ideas. This cultural model for the diffusion of art between a ruling centre and a ruled periphery has been criticized as being dependent on a colonialist mentality (Castelnuovo 1986: 43–8). Whilst it is undoubtedly true that the resources of the emperor and his court enabled him to dominate artistic production if he chose, this does not automatically equate to a one-way relationship with the provinces.

The division between centre and periphery is also based on particular views about what art historians should study and the aims of art history. It prioritizes quality (however defined) as the principal means of valuing art. This validates the focus on Constantinople, because of the assumption, albeit well warranted, of its ability to produce the very best works of art. However, since so little survives from the centre, art historians are forced to turn to provincial survivals to fill the

many missing gaps from the capital. Works of art found in the provinces which are considered by art historians to be of superior quality are promoted to the centre: they are presented as examples of Constantinopolitan art transposed away from the city; as is evident from the subtitle of Epstein (1986): *Tokalı Kilise: Tenth-Century Metropolitan Art in Byzantine Cappadocia*. The interpretation of other 'lesser' monuments is presented in terms of a distorted reflection of Constantinopolitan art. If the distortion can be recognized and removed, the original metropolitan form can be recovered. This underlies the account of the style of the great mosaic churches of the eleventh century in Demus (1948: 52–61). All such assessments can only be made by measuring these provincial works against a largely imaginary idea about Constantinopolitan quality.

As an approach, this model can be critiqued on a number of levels. Its limits can most easily be summed up in one question: at what point does something produced in the provinces become good enough to qualify as 'metropolitan'? When phrased in this, admittedly rather crude, way, the fragility of the divide becomes clear. It is evident from this that 'metropolitan', 'peripheral', and 'provincial' are not geographical labels, but conceptual ones, which reflect entirely modern value judgements. The division is undermined from without by evidence of high-quality art produced by local artists for local sites with no reference to the centre, such as the bilingual Greek and Arabic icons signed by the artist Stephanos for locations around the monastery of St Catherine on Mt Sinai (Piatnitsky and others 2000: 242–3). It is further undermined from within when even works of undoubted metropolitan, imperial origin are considered to be of inferior quality, such as the 'monotony' of the Menologion of Basil II (Ševčenko 1962: 246). The result of this is best exemplified by the famous lament of Otto Demus (1964: 109): 'Sometimes one almost has the impression that everything that we possess is but a reflection of lost originals of superb quality. That cannot, of course, be true: the mosaics now existing in Hagia Sophia, for example, must have been among the best of which the Empire's capital was capable. And yet these also, for all their excellence, give the impression that there must have existed yet others of almost unimaginable grandeur.' Not only had Demus set his imaginary standards for Constantinopolitan quality too high even for metropolitan imperial art to qualify, but he was left in the unfortunate position of being unable to judge what survived on its own merits, blinded as he was by his wistful gaze beyond.

The power of the divide is evident in discussion of illuminated manuscripts, such as the so-called 'decorated' group of manuscripts produced c.1150–1250, which are still categorized in terms of a 'dynamic tension' between metropolitan and provincial (Buchthal 1983; Carr 1987). This is despite the fact that the provenance of only two of this group of manuscripts is known.

If accepted at face value, the centre/periphery dichotomy leaves art historians unable to examine what survives on its own terms; a criticism also levelled at Weitzmann's interest in manuscript recensions (Dolezal 1998). The insistence on

referring everything back to the centre, to Constantinople, brings with it the danger that we no longer judge the art in its own context. It underemphasizes local features in preference for those that can be associated with the centre. Even the attempt by Wharton (1988) to judge art more firmly in its regional context, still kept Constantinople as the off-stage central reference point for the different geographical regions that were analysed.

The selection of works of art from across the provinces of the empire, which are then seen as exemplars of metropolitan production, helps to build up a distorted picture of the Byzantine Empire. It promotes a homogeneous vision of the empire, which assumes uniform development from the Balkans to the Caucasus and prioritizes this over questions of diversity. It leavens the empire, which is now defined by a select group of objects, which otherwise may have little in common. This can be seen in the selection of monuments for inclusion in surveys of Byzantine art. The Armenian illuminator Toros Roslin, for example, appears in one recent survey text (Cormack 2000: 190–1). Whilst the text makes a valid point about cultural interchange, the fact that this artist remains the only exemplar of Armenian art in the book implicitly draws him into a corpus of elite Byzantine art and so recontextualizes him away from Cilicia, outside which he was unknown during his lifetime.

Another major criticism of the centre/periphery model is that it is static and assumes little movement around the empire: great artists, it seems, are born and trained at the workshops of the capital. This is contradicted by abundant evidence of movement around the empire, not only by artists, but also by patrons, bureaucrats, and clerics. Although the majority of references are to artists travelling from the centre to produce art in the provinces (a fact which should be seen as reflecting the biases of the primary sources) there is evidence of artists moving in the opposite direction. We know of mosaicists being sent from Constantinople to places as varied as Medina and Kiev to produce art commensurate with the political ambitions of these new regimes (Mango 1972: 132, 221), and of others who were drawn to the centre, such as the Armenian architect Trdat called from Ani to repair the dome of Hagia Sophia in 989 (Macler 1917: 132). It is possible to propose an alternative model of empire in which Constantinople becomes little more than the repository of great art and ideas sucked in from the provinces by the wealth of the emperor, rather than as the progenitor of such works. The simple divide between centre and periphery needs to be broken down.

The model has a larger conceptual problem with the way that it defines 'metropolitan'. It is normally taken not only to reflect refinement of execution, but also to mark significant steps forward in artistic, intellectual, or liturgical innovation. These are privileged in order to drive forward a narrative that will always be more dynamic when emphasizing change rather than continuity. This is a model that is ill at ease with Byzantine concerns with continuity, a theological requirement for the efficacy of icons (essays by Weyl-Carr, Gouma-Peterson, and

Cutler in Littlewood 1995). There is a potential conflict between medieval and modern values. The modern interest in innovation is only tenable in a situation in which production all across the empire is compared simultaneously with an assumption of parity, and in which novelty and modernity are what are most highly prized. There is not always a direct corollary between aesthetic quality and intellectual or liturgical sophistication. Moreover, iconographic or stylistic conservatism (often dismissed by art historians as evidence of 'archaism') can be interpreted as a sign of success, rather than of inferiority, demonstrating the power of particular artistic traditions. Emphasis on 'archaisms' can disguise evidence of functional change.

Terminological issues also come into play: how should provincial/peripheral be defined? These terms both have pejorative connotations, with automatic bias in favour of their antonym, metropolitan. More recently, scholars have preferred to substitute the term 'regional' (Ćurčić 1999, 2000). This alternative suggests greater autonomy and creativity in the provinces and promotes an idea of greater equality between the different geographical areas of the empire: Constantinople becomes no more than the *primus inter pares* of the regions of the empire. This model allows questions about art to be seen in terms beyond those of a relationship with the capital. This is particularly important on the outer fringes of the empire, where relationships with neighbouring cultures are more significant, notably in Venice and South Italy, the Balkans, and the Caucasus. In every one of these cases, the relationship between each culture and Constantinople varied considerably over time; it is impossible to see them simply in terms of art produced in a periphery around Constantinople. There are examples of people turning to the centre in recognition of its quality, such as the katholikos of Georgia, Melkisedek, who travelled twice to Constantinople in search of icons (Eastmond 1998: 53); but equally, there are times when these same cultures deliberately turned their back on contemporary Constantinopolitan production in favour of a local alternative, most evident in the Caucasus where the local cultures shifted their cultural allegiance between Byzantium and Persia (Jones 2001). More often there is evidence of technically excellent work produced in a form divorced from and independent of metropolitan production, such as Caucasian architecture in the sixth and seventh centuries; to label this as provincial forces it into a relationship that never existed. The regional model has one unfortunate tendency, which is to slip towards separatism, in support of contemporary political issues. In these cases, regionalism is used to impose an arbitrary division between Byzantine and local culture in order to assert a distinct modern national identity. The regional model also has a tendency to replicate the centre/periphery debate on a smaller scale, as more local schools of production are identified within each region; this is subject to the law of diminishing returns (Schrade 2001).

The above discussion of art and the periphery works to a large extent in a vacuum. It assumes that at any point the centre was pre-eminent; and it ignores

local realities. The artistic production of Sicily, for example, reflects not so much the limited influence of Constantinople as the need for the Hauteville kings to reconcile the many religious and cultural groupings in their kingdom (Tronzo 1997). This last point raises the far broader criticism of the question of art and periphery in that it requires an implicitly passive view of artistic influence. The idea that the centre creates and that the periphery receives some of the ideas later and in simpler form is now outmoded. This raises questions about 'influence'—the paradigm of ideas emanating from the centre. Modern criticism prefers 'appropriation', which returns control to those that created the art (Nelson and Schiff 1996: 116–28).

Finally, the centre–periphery debate must be seen in terms of changing concerns in the discipline of art history—a huge topic outside the scope of this essay. With its prioritizing of quality and its interest in elite production, it reinforces a traditional concept of the aims of art historical study. The more recent emphasis on questions of audience and reception, on issues of function and diversity rather than of style or progress, weakens the necessity for the centre/periphery model: it simply no longer reflects the questions that are asked of the material. There is a distinction between the study of Byzantine art as an end in itself, and as means of studying Byzantine culture in all its variety, in which case works of art of lesser quality potentially retain their full value as pieces of historical evidence. Ultimately the study of Byzantine art can only be carried out in parallel with an investigation of the nature and structure of the empire itself.

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Further Reading

The variety in artistic production in the capital, the provinces of the empire, and its neighbours is best witnessed in Evans and Wixom 1997. The theoretical issues of art and the periphery in a variety of contexts are explored by the articles in Lavin 1986; for a longer consideration in a Byzantine context see Cormack 1998*a* and 1998*b*. Practical studies of monuments, which attempt to deal with these questions, have been made by Epstein 1986 and Wharton 1988 (actually the same person) as well as Ćurčić 1999 and 2000.

III.17. LANGUAGE, EDUCATION, AND LITERACY

CHAPTER III.17.1

LANGUAGE

GEOFFREY HORROCKS

INTRODUCTION

THE Byzantine Empire, for most of its existence, was a multi-ethnic and multi-lingual entity. Although the Greek language enjoyed a dominant position throughout its history, there were many for whom it was at best a second language and many more, chiefly in rural areas, who probably never learned it at all. This section first surveys the range of languages in use in the period of the empire's greatest extent, immediately after Justinian's wars of reconquest, and then examines the evolving linguistic situation as the empire contracted, focusing in particular on Greek diglossia and the problems and opportunities arising from the coexistence of different 'varieties' of Greek as a spoken and written medium.

GREEK AND OTHER LANGUAGES: LATE ANTIQUITY AND THE EARLY BYZANTINE EMPIRE

In Late Antiquity Latin and Greek were the primary cultural languages, as well as the sole official languages, of the Roman Empire, with Latin naturally dominating in the west and Greek in the east (see Mango 1980: 13–31; Neumann and Untermann 1980; Horrocks 1997: 146–9). These two ‘world languages’, long standardized in their official and literary functions, also served, albeit in less prestigious and less conservative forms, as *linguae francae* in their respective halves of the empire (with parts of southern Italy and Sicily serving as an important bridge, insofar as Greek and Latin had coexisted side by side there for many centuries). Though Latin had already become the first language of many western speech communities which earlier would have used it only as a second language or not at all, Greek had a less dramatic long-term impact in relation to the indigenous languages of the east. Nonetheless, the educated classes and most city dwellers in the east had at least a working knowledge of Greek, while a minority also had some command of Latin, whether as a result of formal education, trade, travel, and relocation (both voluntary and enforced), or service in the army and imperial administration. In the country areas, by contrast, where the majority remained illiterate, many of those who had neither Greek nor Latin as a native language would have known neither, even at the most basic level.

By the end of the sixth century, however, Greek–Latin bilingualism in the east had become much rarer at all levels of society, even in Constantinople, which, though founded as a centre of Latinity, was in fact a highly cosmopolitan city with many resident alien communities (including Jews, Goths, Huns, Thracians, Syrians, Mesopotamians, Egyptians, Africans, Illyrians, and Italians) over and above the established population of the old town of Byzantium. Though Latin was originally used at court as the official language of the ‘Roman’ state, Greek, as well as being the principal language of higher education and the established *lingua franca*, had always been the first language of the majority in the city, and was used for most practical administrative purposes from the outset. During the first half of the fifth century Greek had begun to replace Latin in even its residual functions (in the army, the legal profession, and imperial ceremonial), and by Justinian’s time the use of Latin, other than privately by native speakers, had become essentially formulaic. Thereafter the growing independence of Byzantium from the West, reinforced by the struggle for survival against the Arabs and the Bulgars, guaranteed its demise.

Thus the majority of traditional ‘Greek’ lands, including the coastal areas of Asia Minor, remained essentially Greek-speaking, despite the superimposition of Latin and the later Slavic incursions into the Balkans during the sixth and seventh centuries. Even on the Anatolian plateau, where Hellenic culture had come only with

Alexander's conquests, both the extremely heterogeneous indigenous populations and immigrant groups (including Celts, Goths, Jews, and Persians) had become heavily Hellenized, as the steady decline in epigraphic evidence for the native languages and the great mass of public and private inscriptions in Greek demonstrate. Though the disappearance of these languages from the written record did not entail their immediate abandonment as spoken languages, their now diminished status as regional patois severely undermined their role among the educated classes, who increasingly sought an identity in the context of a 'Roman' state in which Greek was the indispensable passport to advancement.

Elsewhere, however, things were rather different. In the Armenian provinces, acquired in the fourth century after the partition of Armenia between Rome and Persia, Armenian had been developed as a literary language from the fifth century onwards, mainly to provide translations of Christian texts composed in Greek and Syriac (the *lingua franca* of the Persian Empire). This gave the language real status, and fostered a sense of national identity already buoyed up by local adherence to Monophysitism in opposition to official Orthodoxy. Though many Armenians later migrated into Asia Minor and as far as Thrace and Macedonia (often then playing a full part in the life of the empire), the Armenian homelands maintained a marked resistance to both Roman and Persian imperialism.

Syriac and other Aramaic dialects were dominant in western Mesopotamia, Syria, and Palestine, where Syriac had also evolved as a literary and religious language during the fourth century, in line with the growing importance of regional cultures. Despite intensive colonization and the routine use of Greek in administration, a good knowledge of the language remained essentially an urban phenomenon outside the most heavily Hellenized areas of Palestine and the Phoenician littoral. Similarly in Egypt, though Greek was the dominant language of Alexandria and other major Hellenistic foundations, administrative documents intended for the population as a whole were routinely published in both Greek and Egyptian. In many country areas Greek–Egyptian interaction was commonplace, and many Egyptians were employed in local administration, a situation which promoted widespread bilingualism as evidenced by the vast numbers of Greek papyri written by Egyptians. Nevertheless, the prestige of Egyptian, founded in its long written tradition, was further boosted when Coptic (the latest attested form of the Egyptian language) was adopted as the principal vehicle of Egyptian Christianity in a period when the local Monophysite Church had, as elsewhere, begun to dissociate itself from the Orthodoxy of the 'alien' Greek-speaking hierarchy.

Thus Greek was a native language for only a minority of the Empire's inhabitants in its early years, with speakers concentrated in 'old' Greece and the major Hellenistic foundations. Nevertheless, those who wished to advance their careers within the political, military, and religious framework of the state were obliged to learn it to an appropriate level, whatever their native tongue. But in Armenia, Mesopotamia, Syria, and Egypt the native languages already enjoyed, or soon acquired, a status

that enabled them to be seen as plausible rivals. The early loss of these provinces therefore guaranteed that the relatively precarious position of Greek there was followed by its rapid disappearance.

This contrasts sharply not only with the situation in Greece proper but also with that in much of Asia Minor, where, despite Turkish domination after the defeat at Manzikert (1071), large Greek-speaking communities survived until the enforced exchange of populations between Greece and Turkey in 1923. Similarly, despite the loss of the Italian provinces to the Normans, also in the late eleventh century, small Greek-speaking communities still survive in the Terra d'Otranto and Aspromonte regions. Spoken Greek in these areas clearly remained an indispensable component of personal and community identity, and so survived the downfall of the Byzantine administration that had previously given the language, at least in its higher written forms, the prestige associated with its dominant international role.

GREEK IN THE MIDDLE AND LATE BYZANTINE PERIODS (MID-SEVENTH CENTURY–1453)

There was clearly no basis in the early empire for the emergence of any specifically 'Greek' national consciousness. The old Greek-speaking aristocracy of the east, having long been assimilated into the Roman ruling class, naturally saw the Byzantine state that emerged from the later Roman empire as its own, just as the already highly conservative Greek of *belles-lettres* and imperial administration, partly modelled on classical Attic precedents of the fifth and fourth centuries BCE, continued in its role as the empire's official language. This laboriously learned and socially exclusive variety had no potential as a rallying point for any one national group, since the majority of those who knew and used it, whatever their ethnic background or region of origin, were conservative insiders with a joint vested interest in maintaining the status quo. Even the less archaizing styles which continued the Hellenistic *Koine* and were used for everyday business and middle-brow writing (e.g. chronicles and hagiography) had developed their own conservative conventions in a process of compromise between natural developments in the spoken language and the ultra-conservative learned written tradition. These too had an empire-wide role, and the forms of Greek employed served a similar unifying function to that performed by Atticizing writing among the upper classes. In this context popular spoken dialects, evolving naturally and varying by region, simply lacked prestige. Those already able to write in one or more established styles had no motive to try to develop such low-status varieties as written media in the absence of any obvious function for the product in a centralized state in which the educated urban population shared a

common 'Roman/Orthodox' identity directly reflected in a range of existing literary genres.

But the Arab conquests of the seventh century and the ensuing struggle for survival led to Byzantine isolation and the beginnings of a retreat from the notion of universal Roman empire (Beaton 1996; Horrocks 1997: 149–59). Accordingly, by the time of the Macedonian 'renaissance' in the ninth and tenth centuries, Constantine Porphyrogenetos could assert (in the preface to his work *On the Themes*; Pertusi 1952) that his seventh-century predecessors had been Hellenized and discarded the language of their fathers. Though clearly still thinking of themselves as Romans, members of the Byzantine elite had apparently begun to construct a specifically 'east Roman' identity by reference to Greek and the Greek elements of their heritage, elements which, in combination with Orthodoxy, now distinguished them sharply from their Latin/Catholic western counterparts. The key to maintaining these crucial validating links with the past was felt to lie in the renewed study of ancient authors and in the contemporary use of more thoroughly archaizing forms of Greek, thereby symbolizing very concretely the desired continuity with the long line of Greek-speaking writers, scholars, and saints from the past. The literary work of the eleventh-century academic and politician Michael Psellos (e.g. his *Chronographia*) provides a good example of the latter stages of this development. This need to ground contemporary writing in the achievements of the past was still further reinforced after the loss of southern Italy to the Normans and most of Asia Minor to the Seljuk Turks in the late eleventh century, when many literary writers, most notably Anna Komnene (author of the *Alexiad*), now feeling their way of life threatened simultaneously from east and west and recognizing the near-correspondence of their greatly diminished empire with the ancient Greek heartlands, sought to reaffirm the distinctive roots of their cultural identity by attempting a truly 'classical' Attic style, so pushing the gap between belletristic and contemporary spoken Greek to unprecedented extremes. One result was the appearance of metaphrases of important texts, in which the content was translated down into a middle style in order to render it accessible to a wider audience (van Dieten 1979; Hunger 1981). But the literary developments among the ruling class of the Komnenian and Palaiologan periods inevitably had their impact even on these more practical written styles, which also tended over time to develop a more consistently 'ancient' aspect, at least in morphology and lexicon if not always in syntax, where some compromise with educated spoken Greek remained permissible.

The need felt by many for some kind of national reappraisal after the military disasters in Asia Minor is confirmed by a very different, and even more striking literary development. The heroic tale of *Digenes Akrites* (see Ricks 1990; Jeffreys 1998) was perhaps originally the product of the reworking of a set of ballads from the old eastern frontier, designed to preserve in written form material from a poetic tradition that would otherwise have been irretrievably lost with the Byzantine

retreat. The language of the more 'popular' version of this collection (preserved in the Escorial outside Madrid) is a stylized medieval vernacular showing a number of features typical of oral poetry, though sometimes in combination with elements taken from the middle-brow written style of hagiography. The product was the first literary form of Greek with a vernacular base to emerge since classical antiquity, and its appearance was very probably motivated by a desire on the part of the compiler (perhaps a moderately educated refugee from the east) to assert a contemporary identity for the ordinary inhabitants of an empire in which the majority were now native speakers of 'popular' dialects of Greek.

Whatever the truth of the matter, the fresh impetus to creative writing that was soon provided by the Komnenian court during the twelfth century produced, *inter alia*, a small corpus of didactic and satirical verse employing a similar mixture of vernacular and learned elements. But whereas the tale of *Digenes Akrites* was almost certainly of popular origin, with the more learned elements appearing chiefly in linking passages, these poems were composed by learned writers who had made a conscious decision to experiment with the vernacular, whether the language of traditional sayings and popular wisdom (e.g. Glykas' *Verses Written While Held Imprisoned*) or different registers of the spoken language of contemporary Constantinople (e.g. *The Poems of Penniless Prodromos*; Eideneier 1991). Here the passages reflecting spoken Greek are combined much more consistently, and in satiric verse sometimes very amusingly, with passages composed in middle registers, and on occasion even high registers, of written Greek. In the *Poems of Penniless Prodromos* in particular there can be no doubt that this self-conscious juxtaposition of styles was intended at least in part as a wry commentary on the contemporary language 'problem' engendered by the wide and still growing separation of written and spoken usage, and on the pitfalls and uncertainties that such a situation created for all but the most highly educated.

The evidence provided by this body of work therefore suggests that no written medium based exclusively on spoken Greek (even the educated spoken Greek of the capital) could yet be taken fully seriously by a ruling class that instinctively required validation for 'significant' writing in established literary precedent. It is nevertheless of the greatest importance that this limited attempt to explore the potential of the vernacular had its origins in exactly the same court circles in which writers were also promoting the uncompromising revival of the classical Attic Greek of the fifth and fourth centuries BCE. While the majority of those in positions of power and influence still looked only to the past as a means of imposing intellectual and cultural order on an increasingly worrying present, a few were already looking for more contemporary ways of coming to terms with the changing world around them.

Though this particular period of experimentation was brief, petering out some time before the capture of Constantinople by the Fourth Crusade in 1204, a conventionalized, regionally neutral literary vernacular, employing a more homogeneous

blend of spoken and learned elements in which the former predominate, eventually became the norm for the composition of romantic fiction in verse during the Palaiologan period, when western vernacular models played their part in shaping Byzantine attitudes to language (Beaton 1996; see also in this volume, III.18.7 Poetry and romances). This period also saw the appearance of vernacular chronicles in lands occupied by the Franks, most notably the famous *Chronicle of the Morea* (a composition which, like romantic fiction, employs the 15-syllable 'political' verse form; see Schmitt 1904; Kalonaros 1940; Egea 1988, 1996).

Thus, apart from the vast collection of documentary and archive material from the later Byzantine period, which was written in an array of different styles (including some approximating to the vernacular) but has still to be properly studied for its linguistic implications (see, for example, Miklosisch and Müller 1860–90; Panayotakis 1993), our knowledge of developments in spoken Greek in the Middle Ages rests very largely on a corpus of vernacular verse texts produced between the late eleventh century and the fall of Constantinople, evidence which is subject to the distorting effects of metre and other literary conventions. For earlier periods, after the loss of Egypt in the seventh century and the consequential disappearance of low-level personal documentation on papyrus, we have only a handful of texts to link what we know of the popular Greek of late antiquity with the Greek of the earliest vernacular poems; for example, the so-called *Protobulgarian Inscriptions* of the ninth century (Beševliev 1963), and a small collection of acclamations used by the Hippodrome factions to greet/harangue emperors and other public figures on formal occasions and in response to major incidents in the life of the capital (Maas 1912; Cameron 1973; Jeffreys, M. 1974). The resulting picture can of course be supplemented indirectly by very careful scrutiny of middle-style writing in which vernacular elements may sometimes intrude, but this is necessarily a very limited corrective.

Thus until such time as the often inconsistent and confusing evidence provided by this small body of well-known vernacular material can be successfully integrated with the results of a thoroughgoing study of the relevant documentary evidence, our understanding of 'normal' medieval Greek must remain partial and provisional. (A current Cambridge-based project, funded by the AHRC and directed by Professors David Holton and Geoffrey Horrocks, aims to produce an authoritative grammar of the medieval Greek vernacular and will make heavy use of this important corpus.) An acute sense of the continuing burden of the Graeco-Roman and Orthodox Christian past and the resulting retrospective quality of high Byzantine culture meant that the great bulk of Byzantine literature was composed by and for an elite in archaizing or even overtly Atticizing styles which, through occasional 'errors' or the emergence and standardization of unclassical conventions, give us only the most oblique and tantalizing glimpses of contemporary linguistic reality.

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Further Reading

There is no comprehensive survey of the developments in Greek, either spoken or written, for the Byzantine period but the following give useful guide-lines:

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CHAPTER III.17.2

EDUCATION

ATHANASIOS MARKOPOULOS

THE education system in Byzantium was in all major respects the ancient educational format inherited from its Hellenistic and Roman past, which it perpetuated with remarkable constancy down to the last years of the empire's life. Primary schooling initiated pupils into the rudiments of reading and writing, while the secondary school level deepened the knowledge and learning of the child (Moffatt 1979: 276, 285; Markopoulos 2006a: 85–6). Higher education, when available, could be found only in the larger cities and, from the middle Byzantine period onwards, tended to be associated with the educational initiatives of individual emperors or other high-ranking officials, thus in many cases proving to be only short-lived. It would be fair to say, however, that Byzantine education comprised one of those aspects of Byzantine civilization that displayed remarkable continuity from the beginning to the end of the life of the East Roman polity (Mullett 1990: 156).

Much has been written about the attitude of the Christians of the fourth century towards the intellectual heritage of the Graeco-Roman world. Christianity, a religion founded on the revealed God, could never entertain the idea that people should be educated in order to embrace the faith. On the other hand, it was realized at an early stage (Acts 17: 22–31) that dialogue with the intellectual tradition of the ancient world could only be of benefit to Christianity. And, indeed, this dialogue played a major role in the formative intellectual debates and concerns of this period.

One of the great sponsors of education in the early Byzantine period was the emperor Julian. Highly learned himself, he propounded the view that Graeco-Roman civilization was of divine origins. Education and religion were

inextricably related while the ultimate guarantor of education was divine providence itself. In this conviction Julian issued an edict in 362 (*Cod. Theod.* 13.3.5 = *Cod. Iust.* 10.53.7) by which Christian teachers were banned from practising their profession, as it was assumed that they did not respect the works they were using as textbooks. It was Basil the Great who in the end ensured that developments pursued a less hasty pace. In his *To Youths on How to Profit from Greek Literature* he commended the study of the classics by Christians, with the proviso that pupils should draw from the pagan authors whatever was consistent with the ethics of the new religion (Lemerle 1971: 44–5; Mango 1980: 133). Gregory of Nazianzos was more forceful in his criticism of Julian, pointing out that the works of pagan antiquity were a legacy that profited not only the pagans but also the Christians (*PG* 35: 536A–B). This view of Gregory's was to prove the most enduring in the centuries to come, and paved the way for the compromise between Christianity and the old literary and intellectual codes, both in the religious and the secular spheres (Lemerle 1971: 48–9; Rappé 2001: 405–32). While there were a few examples of efforts to keep the Christian and pagan traditions clearly separated from one another, they never gained supremacy (Dagron 1968: 163–86). In 529 Justinian ordered that pagans, Jews, and heretics be forbidden from schools (*Cod. Iust.* 1.5.18; 1.11.10). From this time onwards, right through to 1453, the framework within which schooling was conducted remained virtually unchanged.

Education in Byzantium was a matter of individual choice and there was never such a thing as statutory school attendance. Basically, any child whose parents were freeborn citizens was allowed to attend school. Given that the schools were privately run, parents of course had to have sufficient financial means to pay for their child's education, the tuition fees frequently being referred to as *misthos* or *siteresion*. There is uncertainty as to the level of these fees: we are indirectly given to understand that they were relatively high, though this would depend on the learning and reputation of the teacher (Webb 1994: 83). A number of cases are known of demands from teachers to the parents of schoolchildren for payment of fees owed. On occasions, indeed, they had to resort to the law courts (Markopoulos 2000: no. 58.13–14) in order to receive their dues. In the tenth century we know of the existence of the office of the *prokathemenos ton paiduterion*, whose task was to supervise the schools (Lemerle 1971: 258). Disputes arising between teachers could be resolved with the intervention of the eparch, the patriarch, or even the emperor himself (Markopoulos 2000: no. 68.11–15). One of the main reasons for disputes among teachers was the transfer of a pupil from one school to another without the parents having paid the tuition fees to the former prior to the transfer. In the ninth century schoolteachers agreed not to accept a pupil in their school if that pupil still owed tuition fees to their former teacher (Speck 1974: 48). The imperial treasury occasionally provided assistance to certain teachers, but if the account of Theodore Hyrtakenos (fourteenth century) is anything to go by, this assistance was rarely paid on a regular or sufficient basis (Constantinides 1982: 93–5). The same policy was

implemented by the Patriarchate: again, the economic support was far from regular, though interestingly it was often provided in kind, for example, flour (Markopoulos 2000: 5*–6*). There were also cases where schools were established and funded by imperial initiative, such as the Orphanage of St Paul (Mergiali-Falangas 1991: 237–46; Markopoulos 2005: 194–5). A number of monasteries also offered elementary schooling to young boarders who were usually destined themselves to become monks or members of the clergy. This practice, however, was not widely popular (Mango 1980: 148; Kalogeras 2000: 145–62).

The number of pupils attending school in the empire remains unknown: indirect evidence suggests that they represented only a small proportion of the younger generation. Consequently, there can only have been a relatively small number of cultivated people among the broader sections of society. On the other hand, there is substantial evidence for widespread literacy at an elementary level, particularly among the financially better off (Browning 1978: 39–40, 48–9, 51; Hunger 1989: 79–85; Mullett 1990: 157, 161; Browning 1993: 73, 75, 80–1; Oikonomides 1993: 253–4, 260–3; Cavallo 2002: 423–44; Markopoulos 2006a: 86–7). Lastly, there is no specific evidence for the provision of education for women in the main Byzantine period (Laiou 1981: 253–7; Maltese 1995: 111–37; Kalogeras 2000: 212), in contrast with earlier periods (Rousseau 1995: 116–47). It is likely, however, that girls (as well as boys, of course), particularly those belonging to wealthier families, were able to receive an education at home (Cribiore 2001a: 75). Moreover, Psellos' reference to the 'fellow schoolgirls' of his daughter Styliane (Sathas 1872–94: vol. 5, 65–6) indicates that in the eleventh century there were indeed schools for girls.

There was no strict school timetable universally adopted in Byzantium, nor was there a specific date on which courses began or ended. Children went to school in those instances when parents, who frequently consulted the stars to determine if the season was propitious for their child's education (Koukoules 1948: 43–4), were sufficiently well off to afford such schooling. The primary level of education was generally known as *propaideia*, beginning around the age of 6 to 8, and lasted three to four years. The 'primary' schoolteacher was known as the *grammatistes*, *paidodidaskalos*, *paidotribes*, or *paidagogos* (Kalogeras 2000: 124–36).

The *grammatikos*, also termed *maistor*, was responsible for the next, secondary level of education, the *enkyklios paideia*, the most important stage of schooling for a child, commencing at around the age of 12 to 14 and lasting, usually, for at least four years. The new pupils at the school of the *grammatikos* were taught by the 'prefects' known as *ekkritoi tes scholes*, who also had a say in the running of the school. The *grammatikos* would monitor the progress of the younger pupils, and also supervised his *ekkritoi*, but his own teaching activity was limited to the older, more advanced pupils (Markopoulos 2000: 8*–9*). While there are recorded instances of schools with a more complex hierarchy of teachers (Cribiore 2001a: 37–8; Lemerle 1971: 257–60; Speck 1974: 36), on the whole Byzantine schools were usually a matter of individual professional initiative (Moffatt 1973: 15; Markopoulos 2006a: 88).

Little is known about the places in which schools were housed. As many *grammatistai* were members of the clergy, it is quite likely that lessons were widely conducted in churches or the courtyards of monasteries. The secondary schools were generally housed in buildings in the city centres (Speck 1974: 92–107; Magdalino 1996: 34–40). The pupils would spend the entire day at school. There were often boarding facilities for those whose families did not live locally (Koukoules 1948: 45–8). Attendance in class was obligatory. The tenth-century Anonymous Teacher records how he once received a visit from an angry father who had seen his son in the market with friends bargaining for singing birds (!) when he was supposed to be at school (Markopoulos 2000: no. 69.27–35).

Reading, writing, and arithmetic were the staple subjects of primary education, taught by the *grammatistes*. The pupils began by learning the individual letters, then syllables, monosyllabic words, combinations of vowels and consonants in alphabetical and reverse order (A+Φ, A+X, B+Φ, and so on), entire words, and, gradually, entire texts (Hunger 1989: 77–8; Criboire 1996: 37–55, 75–96; Morgan 1998: 164; Criboire 2001a: 167–72). Pupils used a stylus with which to write their exercises either on ostraca or on wooden tablets, known as *schedaria*. The best type of tablets were coated in wax. Tablets could even be coated simply with a thin layer of mud or sand and the pupil scratch out his exercises with his nails (Criboire 1996: 57–74; 2001a: 147–59). The key textbook at primary school was the Psalter, although other texts were also used. Given that books were a very expensive commodity, pupils practised by reading and repeating the text out loud, and then learning it by heart (Hunger 1989: 76–7). For arithmetic the schoolchildren counted with their fingers or used small stones to make elementary calculations. They also used an abacus, which was a board with holes in it corresponding to numbers. Given that until the end of the Byzantine period it remained common practice to use the Greek numbering system, the *grammatistes* would get the children to indicate numbers to him by pointing to the appropriate hole on the abacus (e.g. 28 = K+H) (Guillou 1974: 328).

At the secondary level of education, the curriculum included the *trivium* of grammar, rhetoric, and philosophy, and the *quadrivium* of arithmetic, music, geometry, and astronomy. The principal textbook for the children's literary education was Homer's *Iliad* (and, to a lesser extent, the *Odyssey*) (Morgan 1998: 308–9), plus nine ancient tragedies, three from each of the classical playwrights: *Persians*, *Prometheus Bound*, and *Seven Against Thebes* by Aischylos, *Ajax*, *Electra*, and *Oedipus the King* by Sophokles, and, lastly, *Hecuba*, *Orestes*, and *Phoenician Women* by Euripides (Criboire 2001b: 241–59). Three comedies of Aristophanes were also part of the curriculum (*Wealth*, *The Clouds*, and *The Frogs*) together with Hesiod, Pindar, and Theocritus, dialogues of Lucian, speeches of Demosthenes and Aischines, Platonic dialogues, Xenophon, Philostratos, Aelian, Psalms of David, poems of Gregory of Nazianzos, and others (Lemerle 1971: 100–2, 132; Guillou 1974: 329; Criboire 2001a: 132–47; Markopoulos 2006a: 89–90). The *Techne grammatike* of

Dionysios Thrax was the key grammar used by teachers and students throughout the Byzantine period (Robins 1993: 41–86; Diethart and Gastgeber 1993–4: 386–401). The *Canons* of Theodosios of Alexandria and the grammar of George Choiroboskos were also highly popular. From the end of the tenth century onwards there developed a new teaching technique known as the *shedographia* (from *shedos*, meaning ‘draft’, ‘sketch’), by means of which the teacher taught the pupil spelling and grammar rules through a combination of wordplay and riddles (Robins 1993: 111–48; Vassis 1993–4: 1–19; Webb 1994: 84–7, 93–6; Polemis 1995: 277–302; Vassis 2002: 37–68; Miller 2003: 9–20).

Rhetoric was viewed as the most important component of the secondary stage of education in Byzantium (Conley 1986: 335–74). The *grammatikos*’ key teaching tool were exercises, known as *progymnasmata*, which aimed at training the student to compose short texts on themes drawn from ancient Greek mythology, the origins of popular sayings, or eulogies in praise of historical or mythological characters, or comparing persons and events of opposing qualities (again usually drawn from mythology). Among the most popular forms of *progymnasmata* was the *ethopoiia*, or the imitation of a particular character, and the *ekphrasis*, or description of a work of art, building, etc. The key textbook for the subject was that of Hermogenes, although various Byzantine writers also produced similar works (Schouler 1995: 136–75), most important of which was that by Aphthonios (Kustas 1973: 5–26; Hunger 1978: vol. 1, 74–132, 170–88; Morgan 1998: 198–226; Criboire 2001a: 220–44). (See also III.18.1 Rhetoric.)

Mathematics was taught either as an individual subject or in combination with astronomy. The favourite textbook throughout the Byzantine period was that of Nikomachos of Gerasa (1st–2nd cent. CE) (Hunger 1978: vol. 2, 228; Searby 2003: 689–702). A series of mathematical epigrams by Metrodoros (6th cent.) were widely used (preserved in the *Greek Anthology* 14: 116–47). Euclid was the basis for geometry, although the Byzantines also used the abundant commentaries that had been appended to his works since antiquity. The boundary between astronomy and astrology was not always clear, but the Byzantines were intensely interested in the subject right down to the fall of Constantinople (Pingree 1971: 191–215; Magdalino 2002: 33–57; 2006: 10, 29–30, 36–7, and *passim*). Ptolemy’s *Mathematical Composition* was another text frequently referred to, together with Aratos’ *Phainomena* and a small group of works by Autolykos, Euclid, and Theodosios. The Byzantines themselves composed a great number of important theoretical works related to the *quadrivium*, including significantly the *Tetrabiblos* of George Pachymeres (Hunger 1978: vol. 2, 245–6). (See also III.17.4 Numeracy and science.)

At the level of secondary education students wrote, in the earlier years of the empire, on papyrus, and later on parchment fragments. After its first appearance in the tenth century paper gradually emerged as the cheapest writing material. The main writing implement was a reed (*kalamos*), sharpened to produce a nib, which was dipped in ink. The students would usually have a small knife in their possession,

which they used to sharpen the reed and make a small incision in the nib so as to hold the ink, an inkwell (*kanikleion*), and a sponge to wipe clean the ruler (*kanon*) with which they ruled the lines on their writing material (Hunger 1989: 85–9).

Frequently a strong bond developed between teacher and student. Students might bring their favourite teachers small gifts of food (fish, honey, wine, etc.), items of daily use, or leather writing material for copying books and so on (Karpozelos 1984: 20–37). The teacher would seek to help the young student in his career after leaving school. The Anonymous Teacher, for instance, provided warm recommendations for his students (Markopoulos 2000: nos. 40.7–15; 71.10–14), fully aware of the fact that his former students were a living advertisement both for his school and his own teaching abilities: well-educated young men could go on to take up positions in the Byzantine bureaucracy.

The first deliberate effort of the Byzantine state to impose its control on matters relating to higher education appears to have occurred with the foundation of the *Pandidakterion* by the emperor Theodosios II in 425, the purpose of which was to equip young men with the qualifications to enter the state bureaucracy (*Cod. Theod.* 14.9.3 = *Cod. Iust.* 11.19.1). A total of thirty-one professors were appointed to the *Pandidakterion*, the majority of whom taught Latin and Greek. They enjoyed various privileges, such as exemption from taxation (Lemerle 1971: 63–4). During the early Byzantine period a number of privately run institutions founded in earlier centuries continued to provide higher education. These existed in cities such as Athens, Alexandria, Antioch, Caesarea in Palestine, and Berytus, often providing a highly specialized level of training (Wilson 1983: 28–60; Sheppard 2000: 835–54). None of these schools, however, survived into the later years of the empire. The causes of their demise appear to have been due in part to reasons of religion (Beaucamp 2002: 21–35) and in part to natural disasters, such as the earthquake of 551, which signalled the end of the Beirut Law School, and, more significantly, the loss of territory and major urban centres to the Arabs in the seventh century. In the period that followed, the educational system underwent radical restructuring. The older schools had ceased to exist and the onus of anything beyond elementary education fell on the *grammatikos* (Lemerle 1971: 74–108; Haldon 1990: 427–35; Mullett 1990: 160–1, 166; Markopoulos 2005: 196–8). From this time until the fall of Byzantium any state intervention in matters relating to higher education was only of temporary duration (Moffatt 1977: 85–92). Thus the school in Magnaura, established by Caesar Bardas (855), was not to enjoy a long existence (Lemerle 1971: 158–76). In the mid-tenth century, Constantine VII Porphyrogennetos reorganized and supported the school in a number of ways (Lemerle 1971: 263–6; Speck 1974: 22–8), but, following his death, it once again disappears from the historical record. Under the eleventh-century emperor Constantine IX Monomachos two new higher education establishments were set up (probably in 1047) (Lefort 1976: 279–84), the *Didaskaleion ton nomon*, under the supervision of John Xiphilinos, a learned judge who later became patriarch, and the ‘School of Philosophy’ headed by Michael

Psellos, who received the new official title of *hypatos ton philosophon* (consul of the philosophers) (Wolska-Conus 1976: 223–43; Lemerle 1977: 195–248; Wolska-Conus 1979: 13–97; Markopoulos 2006b: 290–2). Some years later, following the condemnation of Psellos' star pupil, the Platonist John Italos (1082), the situation was to change, with the Church taking on a greater role in the sphere of higher education (Angold 1995: 50–60; Agapitos 1998: 184). While, however, there is considerable debate about the role and even existence of the Patriarchal School (Browning 1962–3: 167–201, 11–40; Katsaros 1988: 163–209; Magdalino 1993: 327), the presence of twelve teachers, appointed by the Patriarch himself, including the three scriptural instructors of the Psalter, the Epistles, and the Gospels (the latter known as the *oikoumenikos didaskalos*) (Magdalino 1993: 325–7; Loukaki 1998: 427–38), suggests that the Patriarchate was a key player in the provision of higher education. Secular education, judging from Nicholas Mesarites' idyllic account of the school of the Holy Apostles (Downey 1957: 865–7), flourished, and was supported by the court (Constantinides 1982: 54; Magdalino 1993: 331–56).

After 1204, and until the end of the empire, information regarding higher education in Byzantium is meagre and confused. The Church probably maintained a basic infrastructure (Mergiali 1996: 30–3), while various individual schools, such as that of the celebrated scholar Maximos Planoudes at the end of the thirteenth century (Constantinides 1982: 66–89; Robins 1993: 201–33), are attested as providing advanced education (Mondrain 2000: 227). None of these, however, is recorded as possessing the structure or scope of the great higher educational foundations of earlier periods.

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CHAPTER III.17.3

LITERACY

MICHAEL JEFFREYS

THE article by Robert Browning which set the agenda for research on Byzantine literacy (Browning 1978) is now nearly 30 years old. His cautious conclusion was that the percentage of literate Byzantines was unexpectedly high, certainly higher than in contemporary western Europe. Subsequent work has taken two main directions. The first seeks greater precision over the numbers of Byzantines who signed their names on documents and the accuracy of their spelling. These are admittedly inadequate definitions of functional literacy, but they are the only relevant questions for which sufficient evidence exists to attempt statistical answers. The second direction is redefinition of what literacy might have meant in Byzantine circumstances, dividing the modern concept into many different literacies, each with its own goals and standards (Patlagean 1979; Cavallo 1990; Mullet 1990, with a puzzling commitment to controversy; Holmes 2002; Cavallo 2006). Browning (1993: 72–3) discusses the literacy of the soldier and merchant. This chapter will follow the project sketched by Browning's articles, which is largely restricted to Byzantium after the ninth century. Earlier centuries have usually been approached via the ancient world, as in the final chapter 'Literacy in Late Antiquity' in Harris 1989: 285–322 and Kazhdan in 'Literacy' (*ODB* 1234).

'Literacy' in the modern world has almost unquestioned status as an essential skill for all persons everywhere. It incorporates printing, which has spread cheap, attractive, and usually accurate text into every corner of life. Its opposite, 'illiteracy', is commonly used in discussing international underdevelopment and failure in the education systems of advanced countries. Without literacy it is hard now in most places in the world to fulfil the duties of citizenship and receive its benefits, to get a job and access goods, services, even entertainment. But in Byzantium manuscripts

were very expensive, handwritten text showed little regard for the reader, and writing was involved in a far smaller proportion of human activities.

Measurement of Byzantine literacy depends on the survival of original manuscripts which demanded literate reactions from the poorly educated. Such texts were quite numerous in Byzantium, where bureaucratic practices over landholding and tax, for example, often required personal signatures, frequently with brief statements of the propositions they confirmed (Oikonomides 1988: 169). Unfortunately most such documents have perished, while those that survive mostly come from monastic environments, giving statistics of doubtful validity for the general population: Byzantine monasteries, though rarely devoted to learning, were certainly centres of copying books for religious purposes (Cavallo 2002), and monastic libraries could lend their books on a considerable scale (Waring 2002).

The easiest methodology is to count as illiterate those who sign with a cross without writing their own names, needing confirmation from others of the identity and intentions of the person signing. A more experimental method introduces some objectivity into the measurement of inaccuracy in writing Greek. Nicholas Oikonomides counted the syllables in relevant texts with problematic vowel-sounds (-i-, -e-, and -o-, which are easily misspelled), to see what percentage are accurately written. If statistics are collected in a standardized way, it is possible to make valid and useful comparisons over such lapses in literacy in a range of circumstances (Oikonomides 1988: 171–2).

The two monastic areas providing most texts for such analysis are Mt Athos and the Lembiotissa monastery near Smyrna. The texts used from Athos are primarily deliberations of monastery heads at the council of Karyes, and other documents signed by distinguished monks, whose educational level should be well above average (Oikonomides 1988: 168–9). Only original documents were used in Oikonomides' calculations, and care was taken over other predictable variables. Evidence survives from just before 1000 to the end of Byzantium. The level of literacy by both measures starts high but drops quickly during the eleventh century to record around 25 per cent of illiterates and up to 20 per cent of misspelled syllables among those who wrote. After a gap in evidence for the twelfth and first half of the thirteenth centuries, there is a rise in the second half of that century and the fourteenth to extremely high levels, with no illiterate monastic leaders and very good spelling. Oikonomides gives explanations for the results.

The Lembiotissa material is found in cod. Vind. Hist gr. 125, and published in Miklosich and Müller (1871: vol. 4, 1–289). It is from a cartulary preserving copies of monastic documents, not originals (Oikonomides 1993: 255–6). This confines analysis to the first of the two methods above. Oikonomides compiled statistics for the village of Mantaia and the city of Smyrna during the thirteenth century. In Mantaia 77 per cent of persons signing the documents were illiterate, including most of the witnesses, who should, if possible, have been literate. All females (around one-sixth of the total) were illiterate. Most literate persons were ecclesiastics, but there were

also a few members of the aristocracy. In Smyrna, the figures were much better: the illiteracy rate was halved to 38 per cent, including only 22 per cent of witnesses. Most of the literate were again ecclesiastics: in fact no illiterate priest appears in either place, and only a few monks (who probably entered monasteries late without education). Most identifiable male aristocrats were literate, as were two aristocratic females, but no other women. Oikonomides' conclusions speak of 'a completely literate church, an almost completely literate aristocracy, some literate horsemen, rare literate peasants and almost completely illiterate women' (Oikonomides 1993: 262). These scores, whatever impression they give now, are good in comparison with contemporary societies, and not bad anywhere at any time before the modern introduction of compulsory education.

Oikonomides later outlined the project at the University of Athens which produced these results, and exhorted experts in other languages and societies to start parallel projects (Oikonomides 1995*a*). His last article on literacy summarized his first two studies for a Cretan conference, adding favourable figures from Crete and its surroundings (Oikonomides 1995*b*). Oikonomides has been the only scholar to attack this problem directly, with much effort and subtlety, and his conclusions are impressive. But they are narrow in scope and cannot be generalized. His samples, though large, are limited chronologically and geographically and dominated by the monastery. His definition of literacy is exposed to changes in attitude—for example, increasing shame over illiteracy—which could make more people sign their names on demand without acquiring any other literate skill.

From questions of mass literacy where evidence is limited, we should turn to other literacies where it is more plentiful. An interesting case is that of professionals who inscribed words on objects, large and small. These include those who cut inscriptions identifying the donors of a church, die-cutters who carved (in reverse) the legend to appear on a lead sealing, or those who added labels to what we should call works of art—miniatures in manuscripts, mosaics and frescoes in architectural settings, or portable icons and other devotional and/or luxury products. Although the quality of script and the conventional accuracy of grammar and spelling in such cases vary widely, the general impression is of surprising carelessness, even where artistic quality is very high, or the object is connected with a man known to be learned. Elementary mistakes occur, for example, in the epigrams attached to the illustrations of the Leo Bible (Dufrenne and Canart 1988: e.g. fos. 2^v, 3^r, 155^v), or in the seal of the scholarly Theophylact of Ochrid, archbishop of Bulgaria (Nesbitt and Oikonomides 1991: 97).

The only conclusion to be drawn is that accurate spelling and grammar were not regarded as essential to the professionalism of such textual practitioners, who must have been seen as artisans without scholarly pretensions. Possible explanations may be suggested: many labels are unnecessary, since their subjects are easy to identify, while the purpose of inscriptions on seals is not to be read, but to authenticate documents, with an assurance against tampering. Known spelling mistakes would

not lessen the security of the authentication. Despite these possibilities, tolerance of the mistakes is a striking mark of cultural difference from our own era.

The longest and most elaborate documents demonstrating Byzantine literacy are, of course, manuscripts, especially those of literary texts. As a result, discussions of literacy are often dominated by the ideas and standards of the highest levels of the literary establishment (e.g. Lemerle 1986; Hunger 1989; Mondrain 2006). There is significant discussion of this kind of literacy in this Handbook in the sections on manuscripts and education (I.2.10 Greek paleography and III.17.2 Education), and useful background in the whole section on literature (III.18 Literature, 1–8). Only a few specially relevant points need be mentioned here.

Some have to do with the Church. The replacement of ancient religious forms by Christianity, with its reliance on the Bible, must have helped the cause of literacy in Byzantium. Its importance is stressed at two critical moments in the history of the book. Christians are said to have adopted the codex as it replaced the ancient roll (Harris 1989: 294–7). On the other hand, there are signs that the Church was slow to adopt the new minuscule script in the ninth and tenth centuries as it took over from the old uncial form of writing. It is uncertain whether the reason was mere conservatism, or unwillingness to make new demands on half-literate persons with a professional need to be able to read, many of whom will have been priests (Cavallo 2006: 105–6).

The church service could provide an excellent laboratory for testing the interface between different kinds of literacy, as congregations of mixed education listened to sermons sometimes pitched at high linguistic levels and ancient liturgies no longer easy to follow (Cunningham and Allen 1998). Unfortunately there are always too many imponderables to allow secure conclusions. Were sermons delivered in the same linguistic form that we now read? How far did long familiarity with liturgy bring comprehension? How far were the uneducated willing to listen reverently to what they could not understand? Finally, hagiography provides many of the surviving biographies of semi-literate Byzantines: their interpretation must balance the need for their writers to achieve credibility against the pressure to make any saint exceptional (Deroche 2006).

From congregations in church we may pass on to the assumed audience of Byzantine fiction and the kinds of literacy it shows. The genre of Byzantine romances includes examples in high-level language from the twelfth century, as well as later poems including some closer to the vernacular than any others surviving from the Byzantine period. Yet in both groups letters and inscriptions play significant roles in motivating the plot. Equally importantly, both groups include cases of subtle interplay between oral and written narrative modes. The use of the vernacular does not remove these texts from the world of literacy (Agapitos 2006).

Later, at and after the end of the Byzantine period, some manuscripts of vernacular romances came to be written in a phonetic way, using the Greek alphabet at random, with little or no reference to historical orthography, almost a score for oral

performance rather than a conventional text. The best examples are two of a group of post-Byzantine pamphlets in the Bodleian Library in Oxford which may once have formed a larger manuscript. One is dated to 1516 (Jeffreys, E. 2005: 151–60). The two texts concerned are versions of the romances *Achilleis* and *Imberios and Margarona*. It is unclear how far the writer may be called literate: perhaps he was able to read, without learning formally to write.

This chapter must end with more questions than answers because of lack of information. It may be permissible to speculate what evidence is missing. I will propose one category of document and a semi-literate population found elsewhere which may have had a Byzantine counterpart.

Papyrus begins to disappear from Byzantium in the eighth century. From then on it is tempting to perceive a gap in material culture which no surviving objects can fill. How did Byzantines after this date jot down their shopping-lists? There was a similar problem in the culture of the early Rus, which has been unexpectedly filled in the last half-century by birch-bark texts. Their dominant motif is money: 'lists of debtors, demands for payment, complaints about late payment or non-payment, instructions for exchange and purchase, requests for concessions or assistance, threats of action to be taken if settlement is not reached' (Franklin 2002: 35–45, here 38). One may suspect that Byzantines used wax tablets for this purpose, but they have not survived in the archaeological record. It seems unacceptable to assume that informal literacy of this kind was confined to the expensive medium of parchment.

There is equally little evidence for the kind of low-level literacy documented for areas of the Carolingian West by Janet Nelson: 'passive participants in literacy: they were regular users of documents of specific legal types in specific legal contexts, and though they could certainly not themselves have written the documents, and probably could not even read them in full, they could recognise standard formulae, and display remarkable expertise on matters of formal correctness' (Nelson 1990: 269, with a good example). Byzantine monastic documents record disputes of many kinds, but few which upset the hierarchy of literacy by allowing the semi-literate any initiative. It is easy to imagine how such cases may have been elided from the archives of monasteries keen to prove their rights beyond any dispute.

The debate over literacy in Byzantium provides useful statistics on signatures and spelling skills, and important redefinition of the concept for Byzantine circumstances. To some extent, the significance of the former is undermined by the latter. The only statistics available turn out to be unreliably related to the skills it is important to test. As for comparisons in literacy skills with the West, it remains true that most of those with knowledge of both situations believe that literacy in Byzantium was at a higher level. One may read general surveys of medieval literacy with comparative details on different areas (e.g. Wendehorst 1986; McKitterick 1990; Britnell 1997), or detailed examinations of the development of literacy in one

society like Clanchy 1979 and Stock 1983. The main impression left is of disparate methods of research using very varying kinds and volumes of evidence, which make quantitative comparison very difficult.

A final sobering thought is that, however broad the base of the pyramid of Byzantine learning, its summit was always narrow. There are, for example, far more surviving manuscripts of the Latin classics than the Greek, many times more if counting is restricted to the early Middle Ages (Olsen 2005). Lemerle (1986: 298) famously estimated that only 200–300 boys were being prepared in school for higher education in the tenth century, and Ševčenko (1971: 7–10) counted only 100 intellectuals in the whole of the fourteenth.

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NUMERACY AND SCIENCE

ANNE TIHON

BYZANTINE science was based on the abundant material inherited from antiquity, especially from the Alexandrian schools and, in contrast to the West, Byzantine scholars were never cut off from this great scientific heritage. Founded on the *Tetraktys ton mathematon*, or *quadrivium* of sciences (arithmetic, geometry, astronomy, music), scientific studies in Byzantium used the work of writers such as Euclid, Apollonios, Archimedes, Ptolemy, Pappos, Theon of Alexandria, Diophantos, Heron or, at a more elementary level, Cleomedes, Geminos, Theodosios, Autolykos, Theon of Smyrna. Education in these areas of the *quadrivium* was refined in varying degrees throughout Byzantine history, but reached its apogee in the Palaiologan period when the ancient scientific treatises were not only studied, but also edited and corrected to result in what are called 'Byzantine recensions'.

The heritage from antiquity was considerably enlarged by contributions from outside the empire, from the Arabs, Persians, Latins, or Jews. Byzantium thus appears as a crossroad between the Greek scientific tradition and foreign influences. Genuine Byzantine creations are rare, largely because Byzantine scholars were essentially polymaths rather than specialized researchers. In terms of their language, Byzantine writings on science fall into two categories: works written in a form of Greek which more or less approximates to ancient Greek, and works written in the vernacular. Generally speaking, the traditional 'noble' matters were treated in the classical language while practical manuals (e.g. lists of plants, astrological recipes, collections of arithmetical problems, etc.) were written in vernacular Greek. Some texts translated from a foreign language (Arabic, Persian, or Latin) are no more than

a literal transposition of the original language with foreign technical words written in Greek letters.

SCIENCES OF THE QUADRIVIUM

In order to better understand Byzantine *arithmetic*, one has to remember that Greek numerals are written with letters without using a symbol for zero: thus 201 is written $\sigma\alpha$, 1300 is written $\alpha\tau$, 1308 is written $\alpha\tau\eta$. Such a notation does not allow a positional arithmetic. A symbol for zero ($\text{o}\delta\delta\acute{\epsilon}\nu$) existed, but was used only for astronomical tables and in the sexagesimal system ($1^\circ 0' 23''$ written $\alpha \bar{o} \kappa\gamma$). In the thirteenth century there was an attempt to introduce Indian numerals (the ancestors of modern numerals) and a corresponding arithmetic, but without real success. We know that calculation was taught to children by means of finger reckoning, but we do not really know how ordinary people performed calculations of daily life. However, numerous calculations in the margins of the astronomical manuscripts show that ancient procedures were in use.

The most important books of arithmetic appear in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries with only a few treatises surviving from before this period. Of these one of the most ancient and most important is the mathematical papyrus of Akhmīn (ancient Panopolis in Upper Egypt) (seventh century), which deals with fractions and problems in the Egyptian tradition (Baillet 1892). For the seventh and eighth centuries we know, thanks to some *Lives of the Saints*, that the education of young people included a training in arithmetic, though no text on this survives from before the eleventh century when, around 1007–8, one finds an anonymous *Quadrivium* in which the arithmetical part is based on Euclid and Nikomachos (Heiberg 1929: 50–65). It is mainly at the end of the thirteenth and during the first half of the fourteenth century that Byzantine scholars show a growing interest in arithmetic when the work of Diophantos is paraphrased in the *Quadrivium* of George Pachymeres (c.1242–1310), and studied by his contemporary Maximos Planoudes (c.1255–1305). Two trends can be observed in the arithmetical manuals. On one hand there are theoretical works often linked to astronomy, with many chapters devoted to the sexagesimal calculations; on the other, there are practical manuals with problems useful in daily life. The learned element is based essentially on ancient authors (such as Euclid, Theon, Heron, Nikomachos), and appears in important treatises like the *Quadrivium* of Georges Pachymeres (c.1300) (Tannery and Stephanou 1940: 5–95), book I of which was much used by his followers, or the *Stoicheiosis (Elements)* of Theodore Metochites (c.1300) (unedited), an immense astronomical work which opens with a long arithmetical introduction, or the *Astronomical Tribiblos* of Theodore Meliteniotes (c.1352), of which an important

part of book I is devoted to arithmetical procedures (Leurquin 1990). Barlaam's *Logistic* is a purely abstract work based on Euclid, in which numbers are represented by lines and letters (Carelos 1996). The last representative of this learned strand is George of Trebizond. His *Introduction to the Almagest*, although written (around 1468?) after the fall of Constantinople, deserves to be mentioned in discussions of the later development of Byzantine arithmetic (unedited). George's treatise differs from the others in its criticism of Theon by the adoption of Arabo-Latin methods, and also by an attempt to create a more abstract terminology for naming the terms of a ratio.

The practical strand appears in manuals on Indian calculation, which adopt the numerical Indian ciphers and associated calculations. Such methods had been introduced among the Arabs by al-Khwārizmī (c.825), among the Jews by ibn Ezra (c.1092–1167), and in the western world by Leonardo of Pisa (c.1202–38). They appear in Byzantium around 1252 in an anonymous treatise (Allard 1977) and in a manual based on it written by Maximos Planoudes around 1300 (Allard 1981). But Indian numerals never knew a real success among Byzantine scholars, who remained deeply attached to the Greek tradition. Among the arithmetical works one must also refer to two *Arithmetical Letters* by Nicolas Artavasde Rhabdas (c.1340) (Tannery 1920*b*); the first explains finger reckoning, which had been widespread throughout the Mediterranean since antiquity. Nicolas Mesarites in his description of the school of the Holy Apostles in Constantinople around 1200 depicts terrorized children counting on their fingers while the blows of the rod or of the whip of the master rain down over the least error (Downey 1957: 899). The *Treatise on Square Numbers* of Manuel Moschopoulos (c.1265–1315) deals with 'magic squares' (Tannery 1920*a*; Sesiano 1998) and the *Treatise on the Square Root* of Isaac Argyros (c.1368) tries to improve on the methods of Heron of Alexandria (Allard 1978). There exist a number of anonymous manuals concerned with practical problems solved by algebraic procedures (Vogel 1968; Hunger and Vogel 1963).

Geometry as such was not widely developed by Byzantine scholars, except in Justinian's time when two great geometers—Anthemios of Tralles (d. c.534) and Isidores of Miletos (c.532)—were active. But we know from many accounts that Euclid was studied in each period of the Byzantine Empire, and the treatises on the *quadrivium* already mentioned included Euclidian geometry (Heiberg 1929: 72–104). Apart from the Euclidian tradition there existed numerous small treatises on geodesy which explain procedures for surveying. This was illustrated by Michael Psellos (c.1018–78), John Pediasimos (thirteenth century), and Isaac Argyros (c.1368), and also by anonymous treatises giving rather inexact non-scientific methods (Lefort and others 1991).

Mathematical astronomy was eagerly cultivated in the Byzantine world. This may be divided into two main strands: on the one hand, the Ptolemean tradition, which was in use until the very end of the Byzantine Empire, and, on the other, the adapting of various foreign astronomical tables (Arabic, Persian, Latin, and Jewish).

Observations were not carried out, or only occasionally, but there are numerous astronomical calculations in manuscripts.

The Ptolemaic tradition is based not only on Ptolemy's works (the *Almagest*), but also on Theon of Alexandria (c.364 CE), whose commentaries, and especially the *Small Commentary on Ptolemy's Handy Tables*, were widely used. This small handbook was, according to the author himself, an 'Astronomy for Dummies', which by means of clear explanations and examples allowed anybody to use Ptolemy's tables, without being obliged to understand the difficult geometrical grounds of Ptolemy's astronomy. This manual was to be the prototype for astronomical handbooks: a work explaining the use of a set of tables illustrated by examples taken at the time of the author. The first Byzantine handbook of astronomy is a *Commentary to the Handy Tables* of Stephanos of Alexandria (c.617) (unedited except some chapters in Usener 1914). Inspired by Theon's *Small Commentary*, Stephanos adds tables for the *klima* (latitude) of Byzantium, and at the end of the treatise some chapters were apparently added by the emperor Herakleios himself. These additional chapters deal with chronology and give an Easter computus (Tihon 2004).

The eighth century, marked by the iconoclast crisis, was not favourable to scientific achievement, but John of Damascus in the *De Fide Orthodoxa* gives basic notions of cosmology and astronomy (PG 94. 445–8). The ninth century, the first 'Byzantine Renaissance', is marked by the copying of splendid scientific manuscripts containing Ptolemy's works (Vat. gr. 1594) and Theon's *Great Commentary* (Vat. gr. 190, which also contains the *Elements* of Euclid). It is hard to claim that these works, which were of the highest scientific level, were actually read or studied in this period although uncial manuscripts containing Ptolemy's *Handy Tables* suggest that astronomical calculations were regularly performed during the ninth and tenth centuries (Tihon 1992, 1993).

The eleventh century is an important period for Byzantine astronomy. Besides works in the Ptolemaic tradition—the anonymous *Quadrivium* written around 1007–8 (Heiberg 1929: 104–40) and a collection of anonymous chapters written around the same time (unedited)—one now sees texts which testify to a good knowledge of Islamic astronomy (Tihon 1990). Anonymous scholia composed around 1032 and preserved in the margins of Vat. gr. 1594 quote observations made in the time of the Caliph al-Ma'mūn and refer to a Byzantine adaptation of the tables of Alim (ibn al-A'lam, died in 985) (Mogenet 1962, 1975; Tihon 1989; Mercier 1989); Symeon Seth, astrologer and physician under Alexios Komnenos, knows the Arabic value for precession (1° in 66 years) (Kunitzsch 1970; Pingree 1976a; Magdalino 2002); an anonymous handbook from 1072, preserved in Paris, gr. 2425, makes use of important Arabic treatises (ibn al-Muthannā, Ḥabash al-Ḥāsib) (Jones 1987). To the eleventh century also belongs the only extant Byzantine astrolabe, dated 1062, executed for a man of Persian origin and revealing oriental influence (Dalton 1926). The astronomical texts of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, although very fragmentary, reveal an especially high scientific level. However,

the capture of Constantinople by the Fourth Crusade in 1204 caused a rupture in the scientific development of Byzantine astronomy, and the Islamic works used in the previous century disappeared from the scientific horizon. Recovery began only in the late thirteenth century, after the end of the Latin empire. Once again the astronomical renewal moved in two directions, the first towards the restoration of Ptolemaic astronomy, followed by the most eminent Byzantine scholars, and the second towards the introduction of Persian astronomy.

The renewers of Ptolemaic astronomy were Theodore Metochites (1270–1332), who wrote an enormous *Astronomike Stoicheiosis* explaining the *Almagest* and the *Handy Tables* (unedited). At the same time, George Pachymeres (1242–1310) composed a *Quadrivium*, the astronomical part of which is devoted to arithmetic and constellations (Tannery and Stephanou 1940: 329–454). Nikephoros Gregoras, a pupil of Theodore Metochites, was especially proud of his predictions of eclipses, which he calculated with Ptolemy's tables (for example, 16 July 1330) or alluded to in his letters (Mogenet and others 1983). Predictions of solar or lunar eclipses were also used by Gregoras for demonstrating his superiority over his rival Barlaam of Seminara. Unfortunately for him, Barlaam also had a talent for such predictions and published his own calculation of the solar eclipses of 1333 and 1337 (Mogenet and Tihon 1977). In the middle of the fourteenth century, Nicolas Cabasilas completed Theon's *Commentary to the Almagest* by writing a third book to replace the missing original (Bâle 1538: 131–94). In this period the number of astronomical manuscripts increased: many Byzantine intellectuals wanted to be received into the masters' club in astronomy.

The other trend lay in the introduction of Persian astronomy. In 1259 the Mongol ruler, Hulagu Khan, had established the famous observatory of Maragha in Iran directed by Naṣīr ad-dīn at-Ṭūsī. Quite soon the reputation of Persian astronomy attracted Byzantine scholars, especially a certain George (or Gregory) Chioniades. He acquired his knowledge of astronomy in Persia and then returned to Trebizond and Constantinople with Persian works which he translated into Greek. These translations came into the possession of a priest of Trebizond named Manuel. There is, indeed, a collection of manuscripts from the end of the thirteenth century, or later, which contains a corpus of Persian astronomy that seems to be translations made by Chioniades, or other collaborators; the translations, made towards 1293–1302, are of the *Zij as-Sanjārī* (al-Khāzinī, c.1120), the *Zij al-Alā'ī* (al-Fahhād, c.1150), and the instructions of the Persian astronomer Shams Bukharī (Pingree 1964, 1985–6). These are quite 'barbaric', for most of the technical terms were simply transcribed from Persian or Arabic. The priest Manuel of Trebizond is not identified, but he may be the author of astrological ephemerides for the year 1336 for Trebizond (Mercier 1994). Around 1347 George Chrysokokkes studied astronomy with the priest Manuel and wrote a treatise entitled *Persian Syntaxis* (some chapters in Usener 1914: 323–71). The main source of this is the *Zij-i Īlkhānī* of Naṣīr ad-dīn at-Ṭūsī (Mercier 1984), and was enormously successful, superseding all previous

translations from Persian. The Persian tables spread widely and survive in many Byzantine adaptations. The junction between Ptolemaic and Persian astronomy was made around 1352 by the director of the Patriarchal school, Theodoros Meliteniotes. His *Astronomical Tribiblos* is divided into three books: book I contains an arithmetical introduction and a treatise on the astrolabe (Leurquin 1990); book II is devoted to Ptolemy's calculations (Leurquin 1993); book III to Persian astronomy (unedited). Persian astronomy was until then closely linked to astrology, but Meliteniotes condemned astrology severely and in so doing introduced a high-level training in astronomy to the members of the Orthodox Church.

Special attention must be paid to the astronomical activities developed in the island Cyprus. Under the Lusignans, Cyprus became a link between the Byzantine and Western worlds. A Cypriot manuscript (Vat. gr. 212) contains a long treatise on the astrolabe based on Western sources and a Greek adaptation of the *Toledan Tables*, probably due to George Lapithes (c.1337–40) (Pingree 1976*b*). Around 1347 Persian tables were adapted for Cyprus (Tihon 1977–81). The island seems to have been the intermediary through which the *Alphonsine Tables* were adapted in Greek by Demetrios Chrysoloras in 1380 (unedited).

In the second half of the fourteenth century, there was much astronomical activity. Isaac Argyros wrote adaptations for the Julian calendar of Ptolemy's tables of syzygies of the year 1368 (unedited). Some attempts were made to create up-to-date tables on the basis of Persian tables and one finds odd mixtures of Greek and Persian astronomy (Caudano 2003; Tihon 2006). The tables of Ptolemy were in error in longitude by about 6°, but were able to give fairly good results for the time of a syzygy or an eclipse. Persian tables produced much better results for longitudes, but because of some mistakes in the Greek adaptation, did not give the correct time for syzygies. Eventually such hesitation wearied the Byzantines who wanted reliable and easy tables for finding the syzygies, a matter linked to the date of Easter. They turned then to Jewish tables. In the fifteenth century three Jewish astronomical works were the object of Byzantine adaptation: the *Six Wings* (*Shesh Kenaphayim*) of Emmanuel Bonfils of Tarascon (c.1365), adapted by Michael Chrysokokkes (c.1434–5) (Solon 1970); the *Cycles* of Bonjorn (Jacob ben David Yom-Tob, Perpignan, c.1361), adapted by Mark Eugenikos (c.1448); the *Paved Way* (*Oraḥ Selūlah*) of Isaac ben Salomon ben Tsadiq Alḥadib (c.1370–1426) adapted by Matthew Kamariotes (d. 1490–1) at an uncertain date (Tihon 1996: 253).

Jewish astronomy seems to have exerted some influence on George Gemistos Plethon. His astronomical manual is the only truly original Byzantine astronomical treatise (Tihon and Mercier 1998). Based on his ideas for the restoration of pagan antiquity, it includes a new calendar imitating that of the ancient Greeks and Romans, with strictly lunar months and luni-solar years beginning at the first new moon following the winter solstice. The tables are established for the longitude of Mistra in the Peloponnese, beginning 13 December 1433, a date when the new moon falls at the winter solstice. There exists an anonymous manual ('proto-Plethon'),

which is probably a first attempt by Plethon, before his departure for Mistra. Later in 1446, Plethon again revised his tables (Tihon and Mercier 1998).

Byzantine interest in mathematical astronomy was partly supported by a taste for *astrology*, but also by the question of the date of Easter. This question involves two astronomical phenomena: the spring equinox and the full moon. Until the fourteenth century, treatises on Easter consisted only of a simple computus, lacking astronomical discussion. In the fourteenth century, however, they became real astronomical works, in which the exactness of the 19-year cycle and the exact time of the equinox are questioned. Nikephoros Gregoras and Barlaam of Seminara, and later Nicolas Rhabdas and Isaac Argyros, wrote treatises on this matter (Schissel 1937–8; Tihon 1999). One also finds many cycles for finding syzygies, anonymous or not, like the cycle calculated by the Metropolitan Isidore Glabas for the years 1390–1409.

Linked to the science of numbers and to astronomy, the last branch of the *quadrivium*, *music*, or harmonic, was much favoured at the end of the thirteenth century and the first half of the fourteenth. A great part of ancient musical theory consisted in studying the mathematical ratios that represented musical intervals. The study of harmonic ratios was extended to cosmology, for particular notes and musical intervals were associated with the different spheres of the planets. The Platonic idea that musical theory must reflect the universal harmony of the world, and that the latter is expressed by mathematical ratios, remained a firmly rooted concept well beyond antiquity and the Byzantine world. The Byzantines continued this tradition, without, it seems, referring to the musical practice of their time—but this point is rather uncertain. The anonymous *Quadrivium* of the eleventh century included a short musical section (Heiberg 1929: 65–72). At the end of the thirteenth century John Pediasimos commented on various points of musical theory. Towards 1300 George Pachymeres devoted the second part of his *Quadrivium* to music (Tannery and Stephanou 1940: 97–199). His contemporary Manuel Bryennios left a voluminous treatise of *Harmonics* in three books, compiled from the ancient theoreticians (Jonker 1970). Around 1330–40, Nikephoros Gregoras wrote a complement to the *Harmonics* of Ptolemy (Düring 1930: 109–11) to which Barlaam opposed a *Refutation*, remarkable in its principles of criticism (Düring 1930: 112–200). After these the study of harmonics apparently excited less enthusiasm and there are no new Byzantine treatises on the subject.

A survey of Byzantine scientific works related to the *quadrivium* demonstrates that access to them was available only to a restricted intellectual elite: scholars, astrologers, or physicians close to the imperial court or patronized by rich or powerful persons, civil servants, diplomats, the director of the Patriarchal School, or high members of the Orthodox Church. Scientific knowledge implied an excellent education, access to an important library, and a certain social status. It is difficult to form a clear understanding of the scientific education of an ordinary person. Compilations of basic elements of astronomy or geometry appear in many

manuscripts, probably for the use of schoolteachers, but the ancient cosmology of Kosmas Indikopleustes reappears, and absurd ideas explaining some astronomical phenomena can be read here and there in anonymous collections. Astrology and numerology had many supporters among Byzantine scholars, but did not interfere with their scientific works.

GEOGRAPHY

The conception of the inhabited world (*oikoumene*) for the Byzantines did not differ from that of the ancients with the exception of one very special work, the *Christian Topography* of Kosmas Indikopleustes (Wolska-Conus 1968–73). This work, written c.547–9, can be classified simultaneously under theology, cosmology, and geography (Wolska 1962). Kosmas defends the notion of a universe in the form of a chest with a vaulted cover, like the Tabernacle of Moses. The earth has a rectangular form, surrounded by the Ocean, with Paradise to the east of it. This work, which reflects Nestorian teachings inherited from Theodore of Mopsuestia, also contains information, taken from the personal experience of the author, on commerce with the Orient, exotic flora and fauna, and a description of the Island of Ceylon (Taprobane; book xi). The cosmology of Kosmas was to have a long life in Slavic countries, and is still found in some Byzantine texts of the twelfth century (e.g. in Oxford, Bodl. Seld. 16, supra 17).

Scientific geography was intimately linked to astronomy, since the astronomical tables, especially the *Handy Tables*, included long lists of 'Famous Cities' giving their coordinates in longitude and latitude (Honigmann 1929). In general Ptolemy's coordinates are repeated without change. However, in the eleventh century several documents, as well as the Brescia Astrolabe (1062), use the correct latitude of 41° for Constantinople in place of Ptolemy's 43° (Dalton 1926: 139). The *Persian Tables* were similarly accompanied by geographical lists. As to cartography properly speaking, one has to wait until the end of the thirteenth century when Maximos Planoudes is supposed to be responsible for the reconstruction of the maps of Ptolemy's *Geography* (Wilson 1983: 234; Berggren and Jones 2000: 49–51). Strabo had often been studied: extracts are found from the pens of various scholars and there are corrections in autograph notes by George Gemistos Plethon. Plethon had new information on Scandinavia and northern Russia, but knew nothing of the travels of Marco Polo in the Far East, and his knowledge of that part of the world was still that of Ptolemy (Diller 1937; Lasserre 1959). Byzantine geography is also represented by civil or religious administrative lists (Laurent 1937; Honigmann 1939). More or less advanced geographical notions appear, finally, in many other types of writing:

history, correspondence, travellers' accounts (for example the *Periegesis* of Andre Libadenos c.1355) (Lampsidis 1975), lexica like the *Ethnika* of Stephen of Byzantium (c.528–35) (Meineke 1849), in encyclopedic works or in work containing nautical instructions for the use of seamen like the *Periplus of the Great Sea* (tenth century) (Huntingford 1980) or itineraries (Müller 1882: 427–514).

OPTICS AND MECHANICS

In the ninth and tenth centuries Byzantium developed a certain taste for optics and mechanics, but the tradition is much earlier and reaches back to the time of Justinian when Anthemios of Tralles, engineer and architect of Hagia Sophia, wrote a treatise on burning mirrors (Huxley 1959). In the ninth century the emperor Theophilos (829–42) had a collection of automata. At the same time Leo the Mathematician is credited with the construction of an optical telegraph whose signals were regularly sent to Constantinople from the eastern frontier of the empire (north of Tarsos). Similarly, the imperial throne of Constantinople contained mechanisms which followed the tradition of Philo (second century BCE) or Hero of Alexandria (first century CE). Various texts explain the construction of astrolabes, armillary spheres, or candle clocks (Tannery 1922; Delatte 1939: 189–271; Tihon 1995, 2000).

PSEUDO-SCIENCES

Astrology

In spite of condemnations by the Fathers of the Church (Basil of Caesarea, Gregory of Nyssa, and others), astrology was always practised in Byzantium, as is demonstrated by many anecdotes: according to an anonymous text of 1132 the races at the Hippodrome were delayed for astrological reasons (CCAG VIII.1: 198); Psellos tells that the emperor Michel V consulted astrologers before exiling the empress Zoe, but did not follow their advice, and the affair turned out very badly for him (*Chron.* 5.18, ed. Impellizzeri); Anna Komnene relates that the death of the emperor Alexios Komnenos had been predicted twice by an astrologer but instead the lion kept in the imperial Palace died, and the second time the mother of the emperor (*Alexias*, ed. Reinsch II: 59). From the point of view of Byzantine intellectuals astrology was clearly distinct from astronomy: astronomy was the theoretical part (studied in

Ptolemy's *Almagest*) and astrology the practical part (studied in Ptolemy's *Tetrabiblos*). The attitude of the emperors and even of the Church towards astrology varied, and firm condemnations alternated with a certain tolerance.

There are many astrological compilations preserved in the manuscripts. The principle sources are ancient—Ptolemy, Vettius Valens (first–second century CE), Dorotheos of Sidon (first–second century CE), Paul of Alexandria (fourth century), Julian of Laodikeia (c.500), Hephæstion of Thebes (c.415)—or Islamic (Abū Ma'shar, born 787, Ahmed the Persian, tenth century), or again Jewish, Indian, or pseudo-Indian. In the sixth century, in spite of Justinian's interdictions, tracts by John Lydus contain astrological elements. At Alexandria, around 564, Olympiodoros comments on Paul of Alexandria. In the seventh century, Rhetorios compiled a collection of ancient astrologers containing numerous horoscopes (astrological *themata*) from the fifth and sixth centuries. In the seventh century Theophilos of Edessa used Greek sources, but also Islamic and Indian material. Under the name 'Stephanos' there has come down to us a horoscope of Islam and predictions for the Islamic world probably drawn up around 775 (Usener 1914: 266–89). Around the same time John of Damascus strongly condemns astrology. In the ninth century Leo the Philosopher had a reputation for his talent as an astrologer and several texts have come down under his name, as well as under the name of the emperor Leo VI the Wise. Around the year 1000 there appeared Greek translations of Arabic astrologers such as Abū Ma'shar and his son Shādān (Pingree 1968), the *Carpos* of pseudo-Ptolemy with the commentary of Aḥmad ibn Yūsuf, and a compilation attributed to Aḥmad the Persian. The fashion in astrology in the eleventh and twelfth centuries is confirmed by historians such as Michael Psellos, Anna Komnene, or Niketas Choniates. The emperor Alexios Komnenos prudently attempted to stem the fashion, but his grandson Manuel was quite enamoured of astrology; his letter in defence of astrology figures in many astrological manuscripts, and he entered into a polemic with the patriarch Michael Glykas. During Manuel's reign John Kamateros wrote an astrological poem (Magdalino 2002).

During the Latin Empire the *Apocalypse of the Prophet Daniel* was translated by a certain Alexios from an Arabic version (c.1245) (Alexander 1985: 96–122). Many historians point out astronomical phenomena, especially eclipses, which predicted baneful events. The great scholars of the fourteenth century, such as Theodore Metochites or Nikephoros Gregoras, tried to stem the flow of astrological predictions coming from Persia by defending a 'reasonable' astrology, while the zealots of Persian astronomy were totally devoted to astrology.

Ephemerides (astronomical tables) for the year 1336 give in the margins of the manuscript in which they are preserved very picturesque astrological predictions for the region of Trebizond (Mercier 1994). George Chrysokokkes ended his *Persian Syntaxis* with a profession of faith according to which the stars are not the causes of events, but have received by the Divine Will the power of announcing events. In contrast, in his *Astronomical Tribiblos* Theodore Meliteniotes strongly condemned astrology. The end of the fourteenth century and the beginning of the fifteenth saw

very active astrologers: John Abramios, Eleutherios Elios, and his pupil Dionysos (Pingree 1971). We owe to these astrologers many compilations, but also a good many falsifications. Astrology interfered with many other disciplines: medicine, botany, mineralogy, alchemy, and all kinds of hermetic writings.

Alchemy

There was not the same vogue for alchemy in the Byzantine world as in western Europe. Although manuscript collections of alchemical texts survive, the identification and dating of ancient or Byzantine alchemical authors is rendered very difficult by the use of pseudonyms, many falsifications, and interpolations or glosses inserted into the texts. One such illustrated compilation contained in Marcianus gr. 299 (tenth century or early eleventh) includes, apart from extracts from Alexandrian authors (such as Pseudo-Demokritos, Zosimos, Synesios), treatises under the name of Olympiodoros, Stephanos of Alexandria (seventh century), and anonymous treatises of uncertain date (Saffrey 1995; Letrouit 1995). Among later authors one must mention Michael Psellos, *Letter on Chrysopoia* (c.1045–6) (CMAG VII: 1–43), Nikephoros Blemmydes (1197–1272) (CAAG II: 452–9; III: 423–9), and anonymous texts, such as the *Work on the Four Elements* (Colinet 2000a). The ‘Zuretti anonymous’ (c.1300, preserved in Vat. gr. 1134, copied in Calabria in 1377–8) is a long systematic treatise based on numerous Greek sources, but above all Latin and Arabo-Latin, and is composed in a language much influenced by the Greek dialects of Southern Italy (Colinet 2000b). Also important are manuscript compilations such as those found in Oxford, Bodl. Holkham 290 or Paris, BN gr. 2419.

NATURAL SCIENCES

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The range of the natural sciences was less clearly defined than for the sciences of the *quadrivium*. They are represented in philosophical or encyclopedic writings based mostly on Aristotle and Plutarch. In such works everything is noted briefly in a superficial way (meteorological phenomena, earthquakes, astronomy, geography, theology), as in the writings of Psellos (Westerink 1948; Duffy 1992) or of Symeon Seth (Delatte 1939: 17–89).

Botany

As in antiquity plants were valued above all for their medicinal properties, and for their magical power. The ancient sources of Byzantine botany are found especially

in the learned poems of Nicander of Colophon (second century BCE), which were transmitted in illuminated manuscripts of the mid-Byzantine period (*Theriaka* and *Alexipharmaka*) (Weitzmann 1971: 141–4). But it was above all the *Materia Medica* of Dioskorides (first century CE) which constituted the basis of Byzantine botany. This work is transmitted to us in a famous manuscript, the Vienna Dioskorides, copied in 512, and superbly illustrated with magnificent plant drawings that are the source of many illustrated Byzantine botanical manuscripts. They give an excellent impression of plant knowledge at the beginning of the sixth century (Gerstinger 1970).

The Byzantines appear to have had a very considerable interest in the medical uses of plants, exemplified by the existence of institutionalized hospitals which favoured the growth of medicine and pharmacy. This is especially true at the time of the Komnenoi (eleventh–twelfth centuries), when, for example, the Hospital of Pantokrator included a pharmacy in which several herbalists worked. The botanical lexicon or glossary is the most usual form by which botany was transmitted in Byzantium. Most of the lexica, which represent more than half the surviving texts on Byzantine botany, are anonymous, except for those of Neophytos Prodromenos (fourteenth century). Certain late glossaries give, alongside the Greek names of plants, their Latin, Arabic, Italian, or Turkish names (Delatte 1939: 273–450).

An interest in plants appears similarly in the *Geoponica*, a tenth-century compilation on agricultural works composed under Constantine VII (Beckh 1895). This concerns everything about rural life: viniculture, the cultivation of olives, fruits, vegetables, grafting of trees, etc. Its sources are the ancient writings assembled by Vindianus Anatolius of Berytus in the fourth century CE, repeated again by Cassianus Bassus in the sixth century. The popularity of this work is attested by its translations into Arabic, Syriac, Armenian, and partly into Latin; it was the basis for many anonymous texts.

Many magical or hermetic texts concern plants, as does, for example, the *Kyranides*, a collection of magical recipes from the third or fourth century CE (Kaimakis 1976). In hermetic writings, plants are associated by sympathy or antipathy to the animal or mineral kingdom, or to signs of the zodiac, and other astrological elements. A number of anonymous texts combine pharmaceutical recipes with magical practices. Plants appear also in writings on dietary regime, like those of Psellos and Symeon Seth in the eleventh century (Delatte 1939: 90–126).

Zoology

The *Physiologos*, a Christian bestiary composed between the second and fourth centuries CE and of little scientific interest, describes various real or fantastic animals from a Christian or from a symbolic perspective. There were a number of Byzantine versions and numerous medieval translations (Sbordone 1936; Offermans 1966;

Kaimakis 1974). Exotic animals excited the interest of Timothy of Gaza (fl. c.491–518), author of a poem in four books on the subject, a mixture of zoology and legend, based on Aristotle, Plutarch, Oppian, Elian, etc. This work survives only in a vernacular prose summary of the eleventh century (Haupt 1869; Bodenheimer and Rabinowitz 1948). In book IX of his *Christian Topography*, Kosmas Indikopleustes (discussed earlier) describes the animals of Ethiopia, India, and Ceylon while descriptions of animals also appear in the *Geoponica*, the encyclopedic compilation on rural life already referred to. Zoology seems to have excited the greatest interest in the tenth to the twelfth centuries when Constantine IX Monomachos (1042–55) established a zoo in Constantinople, and Michael Attaliates (1020/30–79) describes an elephant and a giraffe displayed in it. In the learned circle attached to Anna Komnene (twelfth century), Michael of Ephesos commented on the zoological writings of Aristotle. Later, around 1320, the poet Manuel Philes (1275–1345) wrote a poem on the characteristics of animals, based on Elian; later still in the fifteenth century Demetrios Pepagomenos wrote treatises on hunting dogs and falconry while there are also several anonymous treatises on birds (especially falcons) (Diller 1978). The ancient Greek treatises on horse doctoring or hippiatry were compiled in four different Byzantine recensions, the most ancient being dated to the ninth or tenth centuries (Oder–Hoppe 1924–7). In some manuscripts hippiatric texts are copiously illustrated (Doyen-Higuet 2001).

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CHAPTER III.17.5

LIBRARIES

NIGEL WILSON

WHEN the Roman Empire was at its peak many towns had a public library. Often these were established by a private endowment. How far the situation had changed by the fourth century is uncertain. In the new eastern capital the emperor Constantius created in 356 a scriptorium which seems to have serviced an imperial library, apparently permitting some degree of access to the public (Lemerle 1971: 56–7). This was not, however, destined to survive through the Middle Ages, since there is record of its destruction by fire in 475. In Alexandria, whatever the fate of the celebrated Hellenistic library in the Museum, it seems that there was a substantial collection in the Serapeum; but that too was destroyed by fire in 391. Other libraries known from this period were associated with Christian churches and schools. One was founded at Jerusalem by bishop Alexander of that city (Eusebios, *HE* 6.20). Origen, on moving from Alexandria to Caesarea in 231–2, took his library with him, and under the direction of Pamphilos at the end of the century it is said to have had 30,000 books (a figure barely credible even if interpreted as applied to rolls not codices, which in fact most Christian books would already have been) (Isidore, *Orig.* 6.6.1; Cavallo 1988: 65–78). The holdings were not exclusively Christian (Mras 1954 (1982): lvi–lviii). Eusebios drew up a catalogue of at least part of the collection, perhaps on the model of what Kallimachos had done for the Museum (Eusebios, *HE* 6.32.3). Its later history is obscure. We know that in the sixth century it included the Codex Sinaiticus of the Bible, which had been written there, as had probably the Codex Vaticanus (Skeat 1999: 583–625); and in various extant manuscripts, colophons or other marginalia recopied from one exemplar to another refer to the books of Eusebios and Pamphilos.

By the end of Justinian's reign library resources in the empire had probably shrunk. In Alexandria the philosophers and the medical school doubtless maintained essential working collections; the situation at Caesarea may have been satisfactory, whereas the law school at Beirut probably did not continue after the destruction of that city by earthquake in 551, and at Athens the Neoplatonist philosophers had been driven away by imperial persecution. From this point onwards it has to be assumed that apart from relatively small private collections the maintenance of a library was the prerogative of an institution with substantial means.

The emperor or the patriarch of Constantinople could contemplate provision of a library for himself or a seminary or high school under his patronage. Some monasteries were also well enough endowed to afford a collection extending beyond essential liturgical needs. But it is hard to know whether we should regard the so-called Dishna papers, apparently the collection belonging to a Pachomian monastery near Nag Hammadi in the seventh century, as typical of a monastic library; there are thirty-eight items, some in Coptic but also surprisingly several of Greek and Latin pagan authors (Gamble 1995: 172–4). The small number of manuscripts surviving from the fourth to the eighth centuries (other than fragments published as papyri, even when written on parchment) and the extreme paucity of evidence from other sources make it impossible to give a proper account of the history and organization of libraries or such institutions of higher education as existed at various times. We know, for instance, practically nothing about the patriarch's library except that he kept heretical texts in a special chest. But it is clear from the acts of church councils that there were libraries or archives which supplied materials needed in discussion and controversy (Lemerle 1971: 96 n. 81).

The pessimistic implication of the outline sketched above is inevitably the product of a subjective judgement, and as a possible corrective it is worth contrasting the picture to be inferred from the numerous extant Syriac manuscripts from the same period. Colophons and other notes prove the existence of many scriptoria and libraries and indicate that books were cheaper than they were in Byzantium from the ninth century onwards. It may be that this part of the Byzantine world was substantially richer than others (Mango 1981: 6–10). When Theodoret, bishop of Cyrrihus (d. c.466), determined to destroy all copies of the *Diatessaron* that could be found in his diocese, he claimed to have collected no less than 200; one wonders whether a comparable result could have been achieved elsewhere (*Haereticarum fabularum compendium* 1.20 (PG 83: 272A)).

At the time of the cultural revival about the end of the eighth century it is clear that a great many texts, certainly far more than we can read now, were available to readers. But it is impossible to say where they were to be found. Our perplexity might be resolved if Photios, one of the most voracious readers of all time, had chosen to give us some information about the location of copies he read or

consulted; but he does not even make clear which texts he owned himself, and it may be that his personal library was small. It is an odd fact that no extant manuscript has been identified even tentatively as coming from his collection, whereas a good deal is known about the private library formed from the 880s onwards by Arethas, archbishop of Caesarea from 902. His collection seems to have amounted to some twenty volumes, the majority containing works by ancient pagan authors; a number of these survive, while copies of others preserve clear evidence of their ancestry. The prices paid for some of the extant volumes prove that at least for calligraphic copies executed on high-quality parchment the cost was high enough to be a serious deterrent to bibliomania (Wilson 1983: 120–30).

The available evidence does not allow us to reconstruct the private collections of other scholars and intellectuals from the middle Byzantine period in quite the same way. It is puzzling that a prolific writer such as Michael Psellos has left no identifiable traces of ownership in any manuscript. Nor are we well informed about Eustathios' collection apart from the small number of manuscript copies in his own hand. He was doubtless much more widely read than Psellos, and it is tempting to suppose that for much of their erudition he and others were compelled to rely on the resources of an institutional library. But when a cleric was promoted to a bishopric he might be in a position to take some books with him. Such was the case of Michael Choniates on his translation to the see of Athens; he consoled himself for a life of exile in the backwoods with his books, which included an astonishing rarity, the last surviving copy of Kallimachos' *Hekale*. We do not know how many other such rarities may still have been available, even if not consulted, but other twelfth-century writers occasionally quote from lost classical texts, and probably most of the books known to Photios were preserved somewhere, only to be destroyed in the Fourth Crusade.

In the Palaiologan period leading teachers and scholars were able, despite the poor economic condition of the empire, to build up the set of books required for the school syllabus; examples are Planoudes and Triklinios, both active as copyists and annotators, but in the case of Planoudes one must presume that he was drawing on a monastic library for much of his activity (Wilson 1983: 230–41 and 1996: 279; Pérez Martín 2001: 355–64). The library of a provincial school in the Salento district in the heel of Italy possessed thirty-two volumes c.1300 (Jacob 1985–6) and this may have been typical. Probably private libraries were on much the same scale, but not enough inventories survive to allow us to construct a reliable picture. When Nikephoros Moschopoulos, metropolitan of Crete, left the capital in order to reside in his see, his library was loaded onto four horses, according to a letter of his nephew Manuel (Levi 1902: 57–8); even if the volumes were bulky they may have been quite numerous, as seventeen extant manuscripts have so far been identified (Gamillscheg 1984: 98–100). But it is most unlikely that any private library remotely rivalled the five hundred or so manuscripts assembled in fifteenth-century Italy by Bessarion, who could exploit his position as a cardinal. A more suitable

comparison would be with Constantine Laskaris, who lived in Messina from the late 1460s until 1501 and owned or copied about one hundred and fifty manuscripts (Martínez Manzano 1998: 31–45). Did he own them all, and was the standard of living higher than it had been in Byzantium so as to permit the formation of larger collections?

The paucity of information which prevents us from giving an answer to questions about private libraries is just as great an obstacle when we turn to consider institutional ones. No catalogue survives of the collections formed at various times under the aegis of the emperor, the patriarch, or the director of the law faculty set up by Constantine IX in the 1040s; there is not even any proof that anything more than a rudimentary list was ever made. If ancient scholars can be credited with understanding some basic notions of library organization and bibliography, that knowledge seems not to have been transmitted to Byzantium. There are just two major libraries of which we can form a picture. One was at the monastery of St John on Patmos. Here in 1200, in accordance with an instruction given by the founder, an inventory of valuable objects in the house was drawn up (Astruc 1981; Waring 2002); it began with icons, relics, and other objects in the treasury and ended with a list of the books. These now numbered 330. Since the house had been founded in 1088 an average of three volumes had been acquired yearly. The books are not given shelf-marks and the arrangement is systematic in one respect only: the parchment books, which number 267, come first, followed by the 63 on paper, quite a high proportion. Among the parchment books 109 are biblical and liturgical, 23 hagiographical, and almost all the rest theological; there is just one pagan text, Aristotle's *Categories*. Among the paper books the story is the same; there is again one volume of Aristotle.

The other large library of which we can form some picture was at the Great Lavra on Mount Athos. Though there is no inventory a number of possession notes dating from the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries include a detail apparently not found elsewhere except at the nearby monastery of Vatopedi: the books are marked with the number of a particular shelf or bookcase (*thesis*) and are numbered serially within these sections. On the evidence we have at present it does not look as if the placing of the books was anything but haphazard, whereas one might have expected the sections to correspond to categories of text. There were sixteen sections and one of them had as many as sixty volumes; if they were all equally big the library could have owned about a thousand books ($16 \times 60 = 960$). This initial tentative suggestion has been accepted as plausible (Litsas 2000: 227), and perhaps the very large holdings at St Catherine's at Sinai, though not quantifiable in the late Middle Ages, might be taken as supporting evidence.

Did the imperial or any monastic library still have in 1453 any texts that we cannot read today? It seems unlikely, since Byzantine authors at work after 1204 so rarely cite any substantial fragment of a text falling into that category. One is entitled to treat with scepticism the claim by Constantine Laskaris to have seen

in the imperial library a full copy of the historical work by Diodorus Siculus; Constantine was a youth of 18 when the city fell and the text of his statement survives only in a Latin translation, which is perhaps not a true rendering of the original (PG 161: 918A; cf. Martínez Manzano 1998: 195). Other reports of this kind can be rejected even more confidently. Occasionally Renaissance scholars had their curiosity stimulated by inventories of libraries alleged to contain great treasures. But it can hardly be doubted that these treasures were nothing more than a fiction concocted for unworthy financial motives (Maas 1938: 409–12) or as a joke (Wilson 1992: 65–6). The holdings of the Prodromos–Petra monastery in the capital in the fifteenth century were relatively modest (Gamillscheg 1981: 282–93).

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Further Reading

The scanty nature of the sources means that no detailed survey can be given, and there is little hope of finding new materials of a kind that would transform our knowledge. One may still consult with profit:

Wilson, N. G. 1967. 'The libraries of the Byzantine world', *GRBS* 8: 53–80 (reprinted and updated in D. Harlfinger (ed.), *Griechische Kodikologie und Textüberlieferung* (Darmstadt, 1980): 276–309, and in Italian translation with similar minor revisions in Cavallo 1988: 80–111.

III.18. LITERATURE

CHAPTER III.18.1

RHETORIC

ELIZABETH JEFFREYS

'RHETORIC' is a much abused term. All the three definitions it is given in, for example, the *Concise Oxford Dictionary* ((i) a treatise on the art of persuasive or impressive writing or speaking; (ii) language intended to persuade or impress; (iii) persuasiveness of looks and acts—often with implications of insincerity) demonstrate modern distrust of what was initially developed to be a practical tool to analyse verbal discourse and to teach effective oratory or public speaking. 'Rhetoric' can be used of both the practical technique which defines ways of expression and the results of that expression.

In the Byzantine context rhetoric was defined by Maximos Planoudes (c.1255–c.1305) as 'the art that deals with the power of the word in political matters, whose purpose is persuasive argument against the prevailing view' (Rabe 1931: 64). That these phrases are taken almost verbatim from an anonymous commentator of the sixth century is emblematic of many of the attitudes of Byzantine writers and literary theoreticians for whom standards had been set in earlier centuries; the goal of most Byzantine writing was emulation of past models, though there were many variations to this process and the emulation was not without development (*ODB* 988–9 'Imitation'). The sixth-century definition, however, sums up the background from the ancient world out of which rhetoric and its rules had developed. This had been the Greek city-state, typified by Athens of the fifth and fourth centuries CE, when there was a need for effective discourse in citizen assemblies and law courts, and when the earliest philosophers were investigating modes of expression as part of universal inquiries into the nature of the physical world. Rhetoric thus developed out of an entirely pragmatic need for training in efficient techniques of

persuasion. In philosophy, notoriously and simplistically in the hands of the first Sophists, critics claimed that what was taught was how to make the worst cause the best. (For overviews of Greek and Roman rhetoric see Martin 1974; Porter 1997; Worthington 2007.)

Early, and enduringly authoritative, analyses of the processes of rhetoric come from Aristotle (384–322 BCE), in his *Art of Rhetoric*. From this are derived the three traditional divisions of rhetoric into political (for use in citizen assemblies), judicial (for use in lawcourts), and epideictic (for oratorical display). The first two lie behind Planoudes' fourteenth-century definition, reused from the sixth century. However, with the far-distant demise of the classical Greek city-state political and judicial oratory had long since ceased to be meaningful in medieval Greek communal life: epideictic remained the only independent form of rhetorical practice that had a role in Byzantine culture, chiefly in formal speeches in the ceremonial of the imperial court. Yet effective communication both written and oral continued to be a fundamental requirement, particularly in a society as linguistically conservative as the Byzantine (see III.17.1 Language) and especially one that placed so much reliance on mandarin administrators, whether secular or ecclesiastical: Byzantine traditional society demanded writing that was stylistically elegant as well as syntactically correct. Rhetorical techniques, reinforced by the education system, became embedded in the Byzantine literary consciousness.

THEORETICIANS OF RHETORIC IN LATE ANTIQUITY

By the time of the Second Sophistic (conventionally placed in the first three centuries CE) epideictic rhetoric had become a major literary force in the Greek east Mediterranean: many rival 'sophists' practised the art of fine speaking, with an emphasis on correct Attic forms and syntax, were applauded for their feats, and made a good living (Connolly 2007). Handbooks proliferated. Amongst the most influential were those of Hermogenes of Tarsos (second century CE) who pulled rhetoric away from a philological approach and focused on broader issues of style. He was much affected by legal methodology. Of the five works attributed to him, the most influential were *On Staseis*, which dealt with principles of issues raised in court (Heath 1995), and *On Ideas*, which systematically covered the seven features of an effective speech: clarity, grandeur, elegance, conciseness, simplicity, truth, and force (Kustas 1973: 5–22; Wooten 1987; Kennedy 2005). The centrality of Hermogenes' approach is indicated by the number of commentaries produced on his writings, particularly by Neoplatonists such as Syrianos and Sopatros (Hunger 1978: vol. 1, 79–81).

Hermogenes dealt with broad issues of style. Other theoreticians broke discourse down into its constitutive elements, usually fourteen—such as the *gnome* (saying), *ethopoia* (character sketch), *koinos topos* (commonplace), *ekphrasis* (description), etc., and taught these as separate ‘preliminary’ exercises or *progymnasmata*. Significant amongst these was Theon of Alexandria (first to second century CE) and especially Aphthonios of Antioch (early fifth century; ed. Rabe 1926; trans. Kennedy 2003; see also Hock and O’Neil 1986). By the early sixth century, the basic handbooks on Greek rhetorical theory had become a combination of Aphthonios’ *Progymnasmata* and Hermogenes’ five works: these received extensive commentaries in subsequent centuries, as indicated below.

The other theoretician of rhetorical practice who remained significant for Byzantium was Menander of Laodikeia (also known as Menander Rhetor; late third century CE). He discussed epideictic oratory, setting out the rules for constructing speeches for special occasions such as the reception of a dignitary, a departure on an embassy, for a marriage, for a birth, and so forth (Russell and Wilson 1981; Heath 2004).

BYZANTINE COMMENTATORS

(Hunger 1978: vol. 1, 78–91)

The theoreticians’ precepts, and especially those of Hermogenes, demanded elucidation: commentaries were produced. Most of the commentators of Late Antiquity—names such as Athanasios of Alexandria or Zosimos of Askalon—are known only from fragments and excerpts, and references by their successors in subsequent centuries; a few, like George Monos, survive almost complete (Walz 1832–6: vol. 7, 104–696).

Much work still remains to be done to elucidate the rhetorical traditions of the Middle Byzantine period; there is a need for editions and studies while the authors of anonymous works await identification and secure dating (Hunger 1978: vol. 1, 83). It is plain that, as with much else related to secular literature and education, the seventh and eighth centuries saw little interest in these subjects, but from the late ninth century onwards the revival of interest in the classical past extended to this area too (Lemerle 1986: 226–8). Commentaries on Hermogenes were produced by figures such as John of Sardis (mid-tenth century?) and the prolific soldier-poet John Geometres (late tenth century), though these are known now only through remarks by writers from the next generation, such as the eleventh-century John Doxapatres (Rabe 1931). From the tenth century, with the revival of interest in the classical literary heritage, good evidence for the continued importance of the rhetorical tradition comes in the form of a quite significant

number of compendious manuscripts which include several of Hermogenes' works and Aphthonios' *Progymnasmata*, usually with commentaries (e.g. Par. Gr. 1741, Par. Gr. 2919, Par. Gr. 3032): these were texts that had been judged sufficiently important to be transcribed into minuscule from older uncial copies (see I.2.10 Greek palaeography).

Subsequently commentaries, particularly on Aphthonios, appear in each generation: John Sikeliotes and John Doxapatres (eleventh century), Christophoros of Grottaferrata and Gregory of Corinth (twelfth century), Maximos Planoudes, John Chortasmenos, and Joseph Rhakendytes (thirteenth–fourteenth centuries); particularly noteworthy is Planoudes' edition and substantial commentary on Hermogenes, probably occasioned by teaching needs in his school in the Chora monastery. The paraphrases of Hermogenes in fifteen-syllable verse by Psellos (eleventh century) and John Tzetzes (twelfth century) would also have been used for instructional purposes (for editions, see Hunger 1978: vol. 2, 74–91). These handbooks and commentaries would have no impact outside the narrow group of the Byzantine educated elite (see III.17.3 Literacy).

WHY THE INTEREST?

The commentaries demonstrate the continuing interest amongst scholars and teachers in the textbooks on rhetoric. Many, if not all, would—like Planoudes—have been collecting and copying material that would assist their own teaching programmes; indeed the complex transmission history of the late manuscripts of Menander, with much variation in the order of topics, probably points to school-room use. The works of Aphthonios, Hermogenes, and Menander would have been used at several levels of the regular literary education, the *enkyklios paideia* (see III.17.2 Education), Aphthonios' *Progymnasmata* at a post-elementary stage whilst Hermogenes and Menander would have been appropriate for the relatively restricted number of advanced students. Proficient students would have looked to achieve a successful career in the state's bureaucracies: an emblematic case is provided by the Choniates brothers in the late twelfth century whose parallel careers as logothete (Niketas) and bishop (Michael) showed, to put it at its most basic, that attention to rhetoric paid off in terms of access to top jobs. The extent to which this type of literary training permeated the education system can be seen when even writers—such as Kekaumenos (a military man from the mid-eleventh century)—who, perhaps disingenuously, disclaim any literary knowledge are arguably well acquainted with basic *progymnasmata*, such as the *mythos* (moralizing fable) and *diegema* (tale), the *gnome* and *chreia* (moral saying) (Roueché

2003). Other exercises such as the *schede* were intended to produce grammatical competence rather than stylistic dexterity, by a variety of exercises ranging from simple word equivalence to detailed parsing (Hunger 1978: vol. 1, 24–9).

Whilst it is true that the rules from the rhetorical handbooks permeated all Byzantine literary composition, there are two very visible ways in which their impact can be assessed. One is from the free-standing compositions that were generated; the other is from the smaller features encouraged by these techniques that are embedded in a larger text.

EFFECTS: FREE-STANDING COMPOSITIONS

The elements of training in rhetoric that lent themselves most fully to an independent existence were the various forms of *progymnasmata*. In addition to the examples provided by Aphthonios, there survive from throughout the Byzantine period a number of complete sets of fully worked-up *progymnasmata*, such as those of George Pachymeres (late fourteenth century), suggesting that these were ‘fair copies’ provided by teachers for their students and then preserved as models of exemplary composition. Even more instances, however, survive independently. Certain categories of *progymnasmata* work particularly well as show pieces, notably the *ekphrasis* (Hunger 1978: vol. 1, 170–88). This is generally of works of art or buildings but can also describe small artefacts or works of nature (James and Webb 1991). A major example would be the long hexameter description of Hagia Sophia by Paul the Silentiary (563?) while Prokopios’ *Buildings* (c.555?) could perhaps be considered as one extended *ekphrasis* that embeds several smaller ones (e.g. of Antioch or Hagia Sophia, again). Other short examples could include Geometres on the oak tree, Manasses (c.1150) on the palace mosaics of the court of Manuel Komnenos, or Nikolaos Mesarites (c.1200) on the church of the Holy Apostles (for editions, see Hunger 1978: vol. 1, 170–88; see also III.16.1 Art and text).

The *enkomion*, usually for people rather than objects, also had a lively independent existence (Hunger 1978: vol. 1, 120–32). As can be observed from the *De Caerimoniis* there had developed by the tenth century formal occasions for *enkomia* of the emperor at certain points of the liturgical year, chiefly Epiphany, and then from the twelfth century, on Lazarus Saturday. From the eleventh century onwards *enkomia* were increasingly produced on behalf of private individuals, in verse as well as prose by impecunious men of letters often attached to an aristocratic household. Commissioned works by writers of this sort would range from *epithalamia* (wedding songs) to *epitaphioi* (funerary laments), all with an ill-concealed substratum of *enkomion* (the patron’s noble antecedents would not be glossed over).

Two prolific exponents from the twelfth century are Theodore Prodromos, one of Byzantium's most versatile writers, often responding to an imperial commission, and the less skilled Manganeios Prodromos, writing for an aristocratic household.

The reverse of *enkomion*, and often paired with it, is *psogos* or invective (Hunger 1978: vol. 1, 104–6). Prokopios' *Secret History*, an extended *psogos*, is the most notorious Byzantine example and demonstrates how effective this *progymnasma* could be outside the classroom; it is far from being unique. *Psogos* was also useful against opponents of dubious religious beliefs: hence Arethas of Caesarea's vehement denunciation of Leo Choirosphaktes (d. c.919). By the twelfth century *psogos* could be mixed with Lucianic satire, leading to pieces such as the *Timarion* (perhaps by Theodore Prodromos), the *Anacharsis* (perhaps by Niketas Eugenianos), or the *Bagoas* of Nikephoros Basilakes, all directed against individuals who cannot now be identified, as well as more generalized social ills.

Although some categories, like the *eisphora nomou* (presentation of a law), had lost their relevance, the impact of schoolroom practice in writing *progymnasmata* is apparent in many Byzantine authors. The *ethopoiia*, or 'character sketch' was arguably a factor in the development of the fiction that came to be written in the mid-twelfth century (Beaton 1996: 22–9). The increasingly inventive topics devised for *ethopoiiai* by, for example, Nikephoros Basilakis, on both mythological and biblical scenes demonstrated a sensibility for the depiction of emotion that had the potential to spill over into more sustained narrative such as that found in the novels of Theodore Prodromos, Eumathios Makrembolites, Niketas Eugenianos, and Constantine Manasses (Conca 1994). It is perhaps not unfair to interpret these novels, closely based on works from the Second Sophistic such as Achilles Tatius' *Leukippe and Kleitophon*, as sets of *progymnasmata* of various kinds strung together on a thread of narrative (Webb 2007).

Away from the classroom some rhetorical genres continued to have practical functions until the last years of Byzantium. These were largely—but not exclusively—in connection with the needs of the imperial court (as mentioned above): the texts which provide most details on these ceremonial occasions are the tenth-century *De Caerimoniis*, attributed to the emperor Constantine VII Porphyrogenetos (ed. Vogt 1935–40), and the fourteenth-century *Treatise on the Dignities and Offices*, attributed to Pseudo-Kodinos (ed. Verpeaux 1966). First and foremost is the *basilikos logos*, for which Menander's treatise provided the most detailed prescriptions (Hunger 1978: vol. 1, 157–68). Speeches of this sort came to be presented before the emperor by leading members of the court on festal occasions. In its earliest form the *basilikos logos* was a form of *enkomion*, short or long; Eusebios of Caesarea's *Vita Constantini*, with its idealized image of Constantine, set a precedent (Cameron and Hall 1999). Subsequently, as increasingly obvious admonitions were added, these speeches could be viewed as 'Mirrors of Princes', for which examples can be found by Agapetos in the sixth century, Basil I in the ninth (but probably by a member of his court), through to the late Palaiologan period

where courtiers and scholars alike mixed praise and scarcely veiled reproaches. Thus Maximos Planoudes and Theodore Metochites both chided Andronikos II for his policies while Kydones was critical of John Kantakouzenos (Angelov 2007). The copious examples of imperial panegyric from the twelfth century, however, largely addressed to Manuel Komnenos, from, for example, the learned Eustathios of Thessalonike, Michael Italikos, or Theodore Prodromos, were consistently laudatory and rarely critical (Eustathios: Wirth 2000; Theodore Prodromos: Hörandner 1974). In this period it became fashionable to use verse, often the fifteen-syllable line, for imperial addresses, a notable exponent being the enigmatic poet known as Manganeios Prodromos (Jeffreys and Jeffreys 2001). The *Life of the Empress Theodora* (ninth century) has recently been reinterpreted as a *basilikos logos* for a female ruler where deeds of piety are substituted for deeds of valour (Vinson 2003).

Imperial ceremonial continued to provide occasion for other specialized speeches—of welcome, for example, or departure (an *eisiterios* or an *epibaterios logos*); several survive in connection with the arrival of imperial brides from outside Byzantine territory (Hunger 1978: vol. 1, 145–57). From the Middle Byzantine period onwards familial celebrations in aristocratic households were frequently marked by an appropriate epideictic display, with declamations in prose or verse for weddings (*epithalamios*) and especially for funerals. The *epitaphios logos*, funerary oration, also known as a *threnos* or lament, combined praise for the departed with consolation for the bereaved: numerous examples survive from all periods (Sideras 1994). One particularly striking example is the informative speech by George Tornikios at the death of Anna Komnene, author of the *Alexiad* (Darrouzès 1970: 220–323).

EFFECTS: EMBEDDED COMPOSITIONS

The effects of the thorough grounding in rhetorical techniques that constituted by far the greater part of Byzantine education can be seen in virtually every piece of literature that has survived from Byzantium: embedded are example after example of both the larger units, the *progymnasmata* discussed above, and the smaller elements—tropes and figures of speech (*schemata*), not so far mentioned.

Tropes and *schemata* are an integral part of Byzantine writing at any period. A trope notionally involves some change of meaning: the lists in Byzantine handbooks extend to twenty-seven, to include allegory, ellipsis, hyperbole, irony, metaphor, metonymy, pleonasm, simile, synecdoche, riddle (Martin 1974: 261–9; Lausberg 1998: 248–70; Conley 1986). *Schemata*, seemingly of an almost infinite variety, were conventionally divided into figures of reason or speech (*logos*) affecting the author's attitude to his text, and figures of expression or thought (*dianoia*) covering grammatical features and word positions (Lausberg 1998: 271–410). Several

handbooks dealing with both tropes and *schemata* were current in Byzantium, some transmitted from antiquity (such as that of Tryphon, first century BCE), others from the Byzantine period itself, such as that of Choïroboskos (ninth century) and Gregory Pardos (twelfth century), though Pardos' work is in fact to be attributed to Tryphon, a telling instance of the conservatism of Byzantine literary culture. An author whose use of tropes well repays examination, especially his use of simile and metaphor, is Niketas Choniates in his *History*, while analysis of the *schemata* to be found in the hymns of Romanos the Melode (his use of anadiplosis or epanaphora, for instance) would reveal much about his stylistic inventiveness within traditional rhetorical frameworks.

For instances of larger embedded rhetorical elements, Byzantium's historians are a promising resource, appearing as they do throughout the Byzantine millennium (see III.18.2 Historiography). Indeed, the writing of history—seeking to persuade of the veracity of its narratives—could be, and was, taken as a branch of rhetoric. *Progymnasmata* are perhaps the most straightforward 'building block' to identify. Thus, whilst Prokopios' *Buildings* is as a whole an extended *ekphrasis* of Justinian's building activity with overtones of *enkomion*, there are also several passages of 'detachable' *ekphrasis*, for example, on the city of Antioch and on Hagia Sophia. The twelfth-century chronicler Manasses turns his account of Creation into an *ekphrasis* of plant and animal life. Again, whilst Prokopios' *Secret History* as a whole is a prolonged piece of invective, there are also 'detachable' passages which could work as a free-standing *psogos*. The *Chronographia* of Michael Psellos is rich in passages whose origins can be traced back to a *progymnasma*: there is much sly *psogos* of Constantine Monomachos, and an *ethopoia* of the empress Zoe as she concocted her potions, to take but two instances. The *diegema*, or story, is a tool of undeniable use to a historian and instances can be detected everywhere, from the most seemingly artless (such as the bureaucrat Malalas or the general Kekaumenos) to the blunt (the soldier-aristocrat Nikephoros Bryennios) to the obliquely artful (the emperor John Kantakouzenos).

The majority of examples used in this necessarily brief survey of Byzantine rhetorical practice have been taken from secular writings. It would, however, be quite wrong to imply that authors in the religious sphere were immune to the impact of rhetorical practices, which were as applicable to the pulpit as the court. Despite the secular and pagan origins of classical rhetoric many theologians at all periods were trained in these techniques, some to the very highest level—like the Cappadocian Fathers, one of whom enunciated the classic statement of how Christian youth should deal with the profane literary heritage (Basil of Caesarea: Wilson 1975). Although adaptation to a Christian mode of discourse was not always straightforward (Cameron 1991), many homiletists show considerable literary and rhetorical refinements in their preaching techniques, with Germanos, Andrew of Crete, and the patriarch Photios being particularly adept (see III.18.5 Homilies). As far as verse goes, Romanos' use of rhetorical forms in his hymns has already

been mentioned; he was not alone in his subtle craftsmanship. Of other hymnographers John of Damascus deserves especial note for the craftsmanship of his iambic canons, as does Andrew of Crete for his Great Canon. From the Middle Byzantine period there are signs that attempts were being made to define an appropriate 'rhetoric of theology', with Psellos—for example—providing some telling comments on the style of the impeccably orthodox Gregory of Nazianzos (*PG* 122: 902–9; Mayer 1911). But in general there is little development of ideas of this kind, apart from regular statements that the 'simplicity of the fisherman' (i.e. the simple language of the New Testament *koine*) is to be preferred to the complexities of the Atticist. This is, however, a topic which deserves further investigation.

PERFORMANCE

Rhetoric initially developed out of the need to train civic leaders (and demagogues), law-makers, and jurists in effective oral communication in the self-governing Greek communities of the fifth-century BCE, in particular in Athens. It became a set of rules to govern presentation of the written word. In Byzantium despite the emphasis on the written word in this survey the oral element remained prominent—for example, in the requirements of court protocol for exemplary speeches, or the aristocratic household for celebratory speeches on domestic occasions. Not to be overlooked, however, is an institution that is not infrequently referred to in texts but whose functioning is not fully understood—the *theatron*. The term appears in all periods from the fourth century through to the fifteenth and refers to an environment in which literary works were presented orally, that is, performed, to an audience (Hunger 1978: vol. 1, 210–11). At times this represents a form of publication, and certainly publicity, for a new literary work; other occasions were opportunities for displays of epideictic oratory, and the presentation of epistles or portions of a longer work, for the entertainment of an audience of varying size and receptivity. Such *theatra*—perhaps best understood as a 'literary salon'—were particularly prominent in the twelfth century (Magdalino 1993: 430–2), often under the patronage of aristocratic women, and again in the fourteenth century.

CONCLUSION

An awareness of the role of rhetorical theory and practice is vital for every reader of a Byzantine text. Much of Byzantine writing is allusive and written within a

rhetorical code: once the existence of this code is appreciated, the seeming obscurities which veil communication with those from later centuries melt into transparency. Today's students of Byzantine literature should never neglect the rhetorical tradition behind the texts with which they are dealing.

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Further Reading

Useful surveys of ancient and medieval rhetoric, both Greek and Latin, are to be found in Lausberg 1998, Porter 1997, and Worthington 2007. For Byzantine rhetoric Hunger 1978: vol. 1, 65–194 is indispensable—a judicious and virtually complete survey with apposite comments. The *ODB* has helpful entries under e.g. 'Rhetoric', 'Rhetorical figures', 'Ekphrasis', 'Progymnasmata', 'Epideictic oratory', 'Enkomion', 'Imitation'. The multi-volumed editions of C. Walz (*Rhetores Graeci*, 9 vols. (Stuttgart, 1832–6)) and L. Spengel (*Rhetores Graeci*, 3 vols. (Leipzig, 1853–6)) still contain most of the relevant texts; some more recent Teubner editions were produced by H. Rabe and others in the early 1900s. There are few translations: exceptions are Kennedy 2003, 2005, and Hock and O'Neil 1986.

CHAPTER III.18.2

HISTORIOGRAPHY

MICHAEL ANGOLD

MICHAEL WHITBY

THE classical tradition of historiography stretching back to Herodotos and Thucydides in the fifth century BCE offered Byzantine authors a rich and varied inheritance; on occasions expectations to conform imposed restraints but the continuing development of Byzantine historiography over more than a millennium demonstrates the vitality of the genre and the stimulus provided by its roots. In the classical world historiography was a branch of rhetoric, and its texts displayed events of the past to an audience in an attractive manner. Even if the ultimate audience would be readers, there was a continuing tradition of public recitation and historical texts were decorated with display pieces composed in higher style: speeches for participants in the narrative, digressions on topics of interest such as foreign customs or strange tales, and editorial comments on people and events.

A sequence of classicizing writers in the early Byzantine centuries operated in this tradition, from Dexippos (c.270) to Theophylakt (c.630). At least in Greek there was a sense of continuity, with Agathias explicitly tacking his narrative on to Prokopios and Theophylakt doing the same for Menander. Only four of these histories are substantially complete, by Zosimos (from the mid-third century through to 410; ed. Paschoud 1971–89; trans. Ridley 1982), and Prokopios (ed. Haury 1905–13; trans. Dewing 1914–54), Agathias (ed. Keydell 1967; trans. Frenzo 1975), and Theophylakt (ed. de Boor and Wirth 1972; trans. Whitby and Whitby 1986) (most of sixth century); in addition there survive the last 18 books (354–78) of Ammianus, a Greek from Syria who wrote in Latin (Matthews 1989; Barnes 1998). For others we rely on fragments, primarily preserved in the tenth-century *Excerpta* of Constantine

Porphyrogenetos: for Priskos, Malchos, and Menander we have significant narratives of diplomatic dealings, as well as shorter passages containing interesting opinions (*sententiae*), but it is impossible to be confident about the overall shape and nature of their works (Blockley 1983).

Education was the primary qualification for composing such histories, since writers had to understand the tradition in which they worked and present their narrative appropriately. Classical vocabulary and style were adopted, with varying success: Prokopios created a flowing narrative in the manner of Arrian; Agathias devoted himself to literary study of his predecessors but often produced convoluted rhetoric (Cameron 1970); Theophylakt's classicism was less thorough and he incorporated influences from the Septuagint and other Christian texts (Whitby 1988). Literary purity required that modern terms be avoided, or explained for the benefit of the notional classical reader: thus names of contemporary tribes might be lost behind approved archetypes (Scythians for Huns, Getae for Goths), and titles or institutions rendered by a periphrasis; Latin terms (e.g. for ranks, military equipment) were especially distasteful for Greek writers. A major casualty of this antiquarian façade was religion. Some writers, Ammianus, Eunapios, and Zosimos, were assertively pagan and their references to the new imperial faith were usually hostile; Prokopios and his successors were Christian, but affected detachment (Cameron and Cameron 1964; Kaldellis 2004; Whitby 2007).

Wars with their associated diplomacy had always dominated historiography; major public events, especially in the capital city or involving the emperor, were also suitable material, but religious events were not sanctioned by classical precedent. Writers tended to have experience in public life: Olympiodoros, Priskos, and John of Epiphania participated in embassies, Prokopios was adviser to a general, Ammianus an imperial staff officer. Agathias was exceptional in disclaiming practical knowledge, but he believed his literary talents offset this weakness. Most wrote about contemporary or recent events, so that information could largely be gathered through personal investigation. Digressions or résumés of earlier events might be based on written accounts, but it was not customary to cite sources except to note disagreements. Quotation of documents was unusual, though not unknown: Menander preserved the long text of the 561 treaty with Persia, while Theophylakt and Ammianus included letters from Persian kings which are probably genuine. An accurate and impartial record was the professed ideal, but personal views impinged; speeches and editorial comments offered opportunities to pass judgement (e.g. Ammianus' obituary notices: Matthews 1989), and a narrative might be slanted more insidiously to reinforce the desired opinion (e.g. Zosimos on the unfortunate consequences of Constantine's conversion).

Classicizing histories were quite substantial productions (Prokopios and Theophylakt: 8 books; Ammianus: 31) and their literary pretensions meant that they were also a challenge to read. One response was the *Epitome*, of which three Latin examples survive from the fourth century: Aurelius Victor (imperial biographies),

Eutropius and Festus (both a history of Rome from the foundation). The authors held imperial office, and perhaps regarded their works as digests of essential knowledge of Roman affairs for the wide range of recruits to public life (Bird 1984, 1993).

Chronicles probably originated in the same official milieu. In the classical world there once existed collections of brief historical information, attached to lists of annual magistrates or priests. Christian writers had to marry the accepted corpus of Graeco-Roman events to biblical history, a challenge first met by Julius Africanus whose *Chronographies* extended from the Creation to 221 CE; his work was extended by Eusebios, whose *Chronici Canones* survive through Jerome's Latin translation as well as in Armenian (Mosshammer 1979). The more recent sections of these works used Olympiads or consular lists as their backbone. In the late fourth century a number of chronicles were produced, often local spin-offs from, or continuations of, Eusebios or Jerome (Burgess 1999): north Italy and Gaul seem to have had their own traditions (Muhlberger 1990), but the best known are by the Spanish bishop Hydatius and the Latin chronicle which Marcellinus Comes compiled at Constantinople in the early sixth century. Hydatius started from Jerome's conclusion in 379, with Olympiads and regnal years to structure his entries through to 469 (Burgess 1993). Marcellinus also continued Jerome, using a framework of consulships and indiction years; his first terminus was 518, but he extended the work to 534 while a different author added a further continuation to 548 (Croke 2001). Few entries are longer than 5 or 6 lines, though both Hydatius and Marcellinus managed to convey their own opinions on topics of importance, in particular the fates of their local regions, Spain and Illyricum.

Two substantial Greek world chronicles survive from Late Antiquity, both extending from Adam to the present. The first was produced by John Malalas in Antioch, to judge from the coverage of local events, though this interest is not so pronounced in the first extension which covers the years 527–32; a further continuation to 565 is definitely Constantinopolitan in focus. Biblical events are narrated at length, classical myths are slotted into the historical sequence, while classical history is covered quite briefly. The narrative only becomes expansive in the fifth century, especially from the reign of Zeno for which Malalas could draw on eyewitnesses (ed. Thurn 2000; trans. Jeffreys 1986). Global chronology was significant for Malalas, since one of his concerns was to disprove speculation that the world had reached its sixth millennium *c.*500, but unusually for a chronicle he did not construct an annual frame for his narrative: some entries are precisely dated, but imperial reigns provide the main organization for the Roman section. Malalas' text existed in at least three different versions, and these had a considerable impact on subsequent chronography (Jeffreys 1986, 1990). In the early seventh century John of Antioch combined Malalas with substantial information on Roman, especially Republican, history; only fragments survive. About 630 the *Chronicon Paschale* was produced in Constantinople. This combined Malalas with the Bible and Eusebios, but narrative was subordinated to chronological computation since the exact calculation of

certain liturgical celebrations was of overriding importance: each year was noted, even when there was no event to report, being marked by an Olympiad, regnal year, indiction, and consulship (ed. Dindorf 1832; trans. Whitby and Whitby 1989).

The triumph of Christianity generated a new focus for historiography. A separate genre of ecclesiastical history was created by Eusebios of Caesarea, who recorded the Church's progress from the Apostles to Diocletian's Persecution and the establishment of imperial Christianity by Constantine. Eusebios relied on a variety of previous texts, accounts of martyrdoms, acts of councils, episcopal correspondence, and other patristic material (Barnes 1981). In contrast to classicizing authors, Eusebios did not conceal the origin of his information but included substantial quotations from these sources, thereby establishing a distinctive approach for ecclesiastical historiography. He was also less comfortable about narrating recent events, since his Arianizing tendencies created difficulties in reporting Constantine's reign in detail; this too established a precedent.

Eusebios' history was continued in the East by Gelasios, whose work does not survive; a Latin translation with an extension to the death of Theodosios (395) was composed by Rufinus. The extant Greek continuations of Eusebios were produced under Theodosios II: Sokrates from a Novatianist perspective (van Nuffeln 2004), Theodoret from the Antiochene theological tradition, and the lawyer Sozomen (Urbainczyk 1997a, 1997b). Each recorded the triumph of Christianity over pagans, especially the emperor Julian, and the struggle to establish Nicene doctrine between Constantine and the early fifth century; they avoided mention, almost completely, of the major doctrinal controversy of their own day, the conflict between Nestorios and Cyril of Alexandria, and instead stressed the piety of the emperor Theodosios which was demonstrated by his secular successes. The arguments of successive councils, and the machinations of Arianizing bishops and emperors occupy much space, while the acts of monks and other holy people replace Eusebios' martyrdoms. An Arian perspective on these events was composed by Philostorgios, but this does not survive complete.

The progress of the Nestorian dispute was recorded from different angles in the early sixth century by the Monophysite Zachariah of Mitylene, whose work survives in a Syriac translation, and Theodore Lector, whose Chalcedonian narrative has to be pieced together from extracts and citations in later writers (Whitby 2003). Evagrius, a lawyer employed by the patriarch of Antioch, is our main continuation for the Theodosian writers. His narrative began with the Nestorian dispute under Theodosios, and devoted particular attention to the Council of Chalcedon and attempts to reach doctrinal compromise in the late fifth century. Like his predecessors, Evagrius focused more on secular events as he approached his own lifetime (Allen 1981; Whitby 2000).

The Arab invasions of the 630s mark the start of a break of over 150 years in Greek historiography. It can be deduced from later texts that some works were composed, but their scope and nature are debatable. What is clear is that

historiography continued to flourish in the Syriac world where there was a tradition of local chronicles, associated especially with Edessa and neighbouring monasteries (Conrad 1990). These texts ranged from lists of brief notices in the Eusebian chronicle tradition to rather more substantial works such as the *Chronicle* of ps.-Joshua, virtually a local history of Edessa in the early sixth century. Syriac writers, for example ps.-Dionysios of Tel-Mahre (the *Chronicle of Zuqnin*) in the late eighth century, recorded the Islamic takeover of their world, fitting this into a providential narrative of world history as evidence that imperial heresy attracted punishment. Syriac historiography continued to flourish, with the genuine Dionysios of Tel-Mahre reshaping the tradition in the early ninth century; his work survives through the *Chronicon ad annum 1234* and Michael the Syrian (Palmer 1993; Witakowski 1996).

The Syriac tradition probably contributed to the re-emergence of Greek historiography, since George Synkellos, a monk from Palestine, brought to Constantinople in the late eighth century a translation of a contemporary eastern chronicle. George embarked on a grand project to map Christian history, managing himself to complete the first part which drew on Julius Africanus and Eusebios to take the narrative down to Diocletian (ed. Mosshammer 1984; trans. Adler and Tuffin 2002). By about 810 George had prompted the monk Theophanes to carry on the task, providing him with his eastern source and perhaps much other evidence so that responsibility for the creation of Theophanes' *Chronographia* is disputed (ed. de Boor 1883–5; trans. Mango and Scott 1997). Whatever its shortcomings on points of detail, it was a massive achievement in that it combined a detailed secular and religious chronological frame with accounts of events which ranged from the traditional brief chronicle notice to much more extensive narratives of particular events. At about the same time Patriarch Nikephoros resumed Theophylakt's historical narrative from its terminus in 602, though his style and approach were very different from the classicizing tradition he was continuing (Mango 1990).

Little in the way of historical writing was produced for more than a century following Theophanes and the patriarch Nikephoros. The revival of history was the work of Constantine VII Porphyrogenetos (913/45–59), who commissioned a historian—usually known as Genesios (ed. Lesmüller-Werner and Thurn 1978; trans. Kaldellis 1998) and a series of histories—conventionally known as the *Scriptores post Theophanem*, or *Theophanes Continuatus* (ed. Bekker 1838)—to cover the period from 811/13 where Theophanes left off down to the emperor's own times. They abandoned the annalistic form favoured by chroniclers for a biographical approach, centring on the deeds of emperors. Constantine intended history to glorify and legitimize the Macedonian dynasty, whence the attention paid to Basil I (867–6), the founder of the dynasty. Constantine was acutely aware of the power of history. Another project of his was an historical encyclopedia known as the *Excerpta*. Its purpose was to put the experience of the past at the service of the emperor. Classical and early Byzantine texts were gutted and the extracts arranged

according to subject matter. It was on a vast scale. There were fifty-three separate volumes, of which 'On Embassies' survives in full together with large parts of three other volumes (Lemerle 1986). Constantine's series of histories was intended to set an official stamp on the history of the recent past and was designed to combat other historical narratives, such as that which goes under the name of Symeon Logothete (ed. Bekker 1842), which were circulating at the same time. This was to become a pattern in the writing of history at Byzantium: it tended to be concentrated at particular junctures, when different interest groups sought to control the commanding heights of history.

Historians remained very conscious of the continuity of Byzantine history and sought to justify their writing of history either as a continuation of a particular historian or as a World History. So, in the middle of the eleventh century Michael Psellos embarked upon his *Chronographia* (ed. Renauld 1926–8; ed. Impellizeri 1993; trans. Sewter 1953). This was presented as a continuation of the history of Leo the Deacon (ed. Hase 1828; trans. Talbot and Sullivan 2005), which covered the period of military expansion from 959 to 976 with a brief treatment of the troubled early years of Basil II's reign. Leo the Deacon's work is important because it was an attempt to revive the writing of contemporary history in classical style. This would then be taken much further by Michael Psellos. His *Chronographia* treats the period when Michael Psellos was close to the centre of power from 1043 to 1059 in some detail, but the work is unfinished and the final section from 1067 to 1079 consists only of sketches for a more sustained treatment. His approach is biographical. His History consists of a series of justly famous pen portraits of the emperors he had known intimately. He is careful to distinguish between history and eulogy (Chamberlain 1986). History in his opinion should aim at the truth. He tried to balance the good and the bad features of an emperor's rule and character, an approach which gives his history a deceptively modern air. More radical was his decision to put himself at its centre. There are long passages of autobiography, which are designed to justify his fitness to be the historian of his age by virtue of his intelligence, education, and political experience (Macrides 1996). It fitted with his pose as the philosopher who acted as the moral arbiter of his age (Anastasi 1969; Kaldellis 1999).

A contemporary historian John Skylitzes criticized him for his failure to understand the basic function of a historian, which was to record, not to make judgements on contemporaries. Skylitzes was writing a chronicle which was conceived as a continuation of Theophanes (ed. Thurn 1973; trans. Flusin and Cheynet 2003). It is for the most part an annalistic compilation which is invaluable for the period after 976 where it is fuller than any other source. The final section on Constantine Monomachos (1042–55) adapts a biography of the general Kekaumenos Katakalon which gives it a political twist (Shepard 1992). There is a continuation that carries the chronicle down to the year 1079, which may or may not be the work of John Skylitzes (ed. Tsolakes) and is a reworking of the History of Michael Attaleiates who covered the years from 1043 to 1079 (ed. Pérez Martín 2002) with the aim of

providing an alternative to Psellos' *Chronographia*. It is a solid, rather pedestrian work. Unlike Psellos, Attaleiates is careful not to intrude himself too obviously into his narrative although his position as a military judge meant that he was present at many of the key meetings and that he participated in some of the decisive campaigns. He was present, for example, at the fateful battle of Manzikert in 1071 and has left the most accurate account of what happened. He uses his History to extol the virtues and claims of Romanos Diogenes (1068–71) and Nikephoros Botaneiates (1078–81), who were patrons. He represented a quite different interest group from Michael Psellos (Kazhdan 1984; Cresci 1991).

The writing of history became very largely the preserve of highly educated civil servants, who saw themselves as the upholders of the power and the traditions of the state. The concentration of history writing in the period c.1050–c.1080 reflects the bitter political struggles of the time. The position of civil servants as arbiters of the political process was challenged by the aristocratic coup which brought Alexios I Komnenos (1081–1118) to power. Politics became family politics and the writing of history a family business. The major histories of Alexios I's reign were written by his daughter Anna Komnene and by her husband the Caesar Nikephoros Bryennios, but well after the emperor's death. The Caesar left unfinished at his death around 1136 his *Materials for a History* (*Hyle Historias*), which covered the rise of the Komnenoi in the decade following the defeat at Manzikert (ed. Gautier 1975). The key was the marriage of Eirene Doukaina and Alexios I Komnenos, which created an alliance between two aristocratic blocks. Anna Komnene continued her husband's work and made use of other materials that he had collected for her father's reign (ed. Leib 1937–76; ed. Reinsch and Kambylis 2001). She did not complete her *Alexiad* until towards the end of her life. It is in many ways an apologia for her father, whose life and achievements are idealized. To a large extent measures or events that did not redound to his credit are left out. On the other hand, Anna Komnene had access to excellent information. Her History reflects the official Komnenian view of the restoration of Empire. As a sustained narrative it is one of the masterpieces of medieval historical writing, which recovers the power and style of classical history at its best. Anna Komnene was at loggerheads with her brother John II Komnenos (1118–43) and had tried to prevent his succession to the throne; this meant that she spent his long reign in seclusion. She used the writing of history to set herself up as the conscience of the dynasty. She must also have realized that effective exercise of power required that the ruling family cultivate intellectual pursuits as a means of countering the pretensions of the civil service intelligentsia (Buckler 1929; Chrysostomides 1982; Mullett and Smythe 1996; Gouma-Peterson 2000).

These were kept alive by John Zonaras. He had served Alexios Komnenos, but went into monastic retirement after the latter's death in 1118. He devoted himself among other things to compiling a World Chronicle. Only the section on Alexios Komnenos is original (ed. Büttner-Wobst 1897). Though impressed with Alexios as

a human being he is critical of his style of government, which he sees as a dangerous innovation, where the civil service was forced to take second place to family rule. It alerts us to the nature of the opposition the Komnenoi faced (Magdalino 1993). Zonaras' critical estimate of the Komnenoi was taken over towards the end of the twelfth century by a disgraced civil servant Michael Glykas, who also wrote a world chronicle down to 1118 (ed. Bekker 1836).

John II Komnenos found no contemporary historian and his reign is presented as a prelude to that of his more glamorous son Manuel I Komnenos (1143–80). His biographer was John Kinnamos, who had been one of his secretaries. His *History* closes abruptly in 1175/1176 (ed. Meineke 1836; trans. Brand 1976) and does not include Manuel's defeat at the hands of the Seljuq Turks at Myriokephalon in 1176. It is not clear whether this was because Kinnamos was unable to complete his *History* or because the unique manuscript is missing its final pages. Kinnamos was close to Manuel Komnenos and was well informed. His history is intended to glorify the emperor. This contrasts with the more nuanced and critical account of the reign written rather later by Niketas Choniates. Recently, an attempt has been made to argue that Kinnamos offers a more accurate narrative of Manuel Komnenos' reign (Magdalino 1993). The truth of the matter is that we are dealing with different perspectives. Down to 1176 Manuel had been immensely successful and warranted the plaudits of John Kinnamos, who may well have begun his biography at a time when the emperor was carrying all before him. Niketas Choniates was writing in different circumstances, when the very existence of the Byzantine Empire was in doubt and he was forced to look more critically at Manuel's legacy.

Niketas Choniates' *History* covers the period from the death of Alexios I to the aftermath of the conquest of Constantinople by the crusaders in 1204 (ed. van Dieten 1975; trans. Magoulias 1984). After studies in Constantinople he began his career at the time of Manuel Komnenos' death. He was a provincial governor in Thrace during the passage of the third crusade in 1189 under the German emperor Frederick Barbarossa (1152–90). He then returned to Constantinople, where he became Grand Logothete or head of the civil service. He was extremely well informed about the events of his own times. Though of provincial origin he was also well connected and close to the heart of that network of civil service families who by the late twelfth century had renewed their domination of Byzantine public life. Like Michael Psellos or John Zonaras he was using the writing of history as a way of demonstrating the moral and political ascendancy of the civil service elite. More seriously, he was seeking to understand the reasons for the failure and ultimate overthrow of the Byzantine Empire. He works within the traditional framework of Byzantine political history which centres on individual emperors, but this is done in an extremely sophisticated and intricate way. He is able to contrast the failings of the emperors with the courage and flair demonstrated by western leaders. Though lamenting the failure of Byzantium he nevertheless probes its weaknesses in the face of Latin encroachment. He provides a tour de force of historical explanation. It

was a work that was much valued and survives not only in several contemporary or near-contemporary manuscripts, but also in a demotic version intended for a wider readership (Kazhdan 1984; Harris 2000).

The writing of history came to an end during the period of exile. It was revived after the recovery of Constantinople in 1261, when another Grand Logothete, George Akropolites, wrote a history covering the period from 1204 to 1261 (ed. Heisenberg and Wirth 1978; trans. Macrides 2007). It was intended not only to provide a background to the restoration of the seat of Empire to Constantinople but also as a justification of the emperor Michael Palaiologos' usurpation. He is relatively well informed from the 1230s when he went as an adolescent to the Nicaean court to finish his education. His History is clear and concise, but far from impartial. It provided the basis for an anonymous world chronicle which followed Byzantine history to 1261 (ed. Sathas 1894). Its author has now been conclusively identified with Theodore Skoutariotes, bishop of Kyzikos under Michael Palaiologos (Tocci 2005). He makes important additions to Akropolites, notably on the patriarch Arsenios Autoreianos to whose circle he belonged, and provides a corrective to Akropolites' partisan approach.

A pupil of George Akropolites, George Pachymeres, effectively continued the former's history down to his own death around 1308 (ed. Failler 1984–99). He did not share his master's admiration for Michael VIII Palaiologos. By the time he was writing it was clear that the hopes raised by the recovery of Constantinople in 1261 were not going to materialize. Ominously the Byzantine frontier in Anatolia was already breaking down under Turkish pressure. He could only contrast this with the much more favourable situation that had existed when he was growing up under the emperors of Nicaea. He blamed Michael Palaiologos for neglecting these frontiers in favour of his European provinces, stripping the frontiersmen of their privileges; the result was that they threw in their lot with the Turks. He also blamed the emperor for mismanaging his relations with a series of patriarchs. His unionist policy was especially ill-judged. He left his eldest son and heir Andronikos (1282–1328) with an impossible legacy. George Pachymeres provided an impressive analysis of the weaknesses of the Byzantine Empire. Unlike the majority of earlier historians, he was not a civil servant or a monk but an official of the patriarchal church. His loyalty to the patriarchal church colours much of his history, but he could just as easily be critical of patriarchs as he was of emperors. His History recovers the grandeur and sweep of the great historians of the twelfth century.

Nikephoros Gregoras wrote a large-scale history in thirty-seven books which covered the period from 1204 down to the time of his death around 1359 (ed. Schopen and Bekker 1829–55). It was never properly revised and there is every chance that he was still working on it at the time of his death. Though he never held public office, he was from an early age close to the seat of power. His deserved reputation as a scholar gave him considerable influence. He was, for example, the literary executor of the Grand Logothete Theodore Metochites, who was Andronikos II's

chief minister from 1305 to 1328. He was also for a time a confidant of the emperor John Kantakouzenos (1341/47–54). He was in a good position to know what was going on and objective enough to provide a balanced account of his own times.

He serves as a necessary check on the History of his former friend, the emperor John Kantakouzenos (ed. Schopen 1828–32). This was written in the form of memoirs designed to justify his central and largely insidious role in the history of the Byzantine Empire from 1320 to 1356. Though often mendacious and time-serving his reminiscences illuminate a critical period of Byzantine history. After his abdication in 1354 the ex-emperor continued to exercise considerable influence down to his death in 1383. He used history quite shamelessly as apologia (Kazhdan 1980; Nicol 1996).

John Kantakouzenos left the Byzantine Empire in a very poor condition. It was mostly luck that allowed it to stagger on until the middle of the fifteenth century. The fall of Constantinople to the Ottomans in 1453 produced a last burst of Byzantine historical writing. George Sphrantzes, Doukas, Michael Kritoboulos, and Laonikos Chalkokondyles all sought from rather different perspectives to come to terms with the bitter end. George Sphrantzes is the most sympathetic. His treatment of events comes in the shape of memoirs (ed. Maisano 1990; trans. Philippides 1980). He had been in the service of Manuel II Palaiologos (1391–1425) and had served his sons faithfully. He represented the traditional wisdom of the ruling class. He had no desire to be subjected to the Turk nor any wish to accept the union of churches. He believed that Byzantine independence required a skilful balancing act, which had been fatally compromised by the union of Florence (1439). He lived through the final siege and was captured by the Turks. He was released, eventually ending his days on the island of Corfu. A different viewpoint is provided by Doukas (ed. Grecu; trans. Magoulias 1975); he came from a prominent Byzantine family which had taken service with the Genoese. He was an ardent unionist who blamed the fall of Byzantium on the failure of the population to embrace the unionist cause. Michael Kritoboulos, for his part, quickly adjusted to the Ottoman conquest and was made governor of the island of Imbros by Mehmet II. He did not write a history of the fall of Constantinople so much as a life of Mehmet the Conqueror (1451–81) (ed. Reinsch 1983; trans. Riggs 1954), treating him as the legitimate heir of the Byzantine emperors. He believed that the fall of the City was all for the best and that the Greeks would prosper under Turkish rule. He was a spokesman for the majority of Greeks who threw in their lot with the conqueror. The final historian of the Fall was the Athenian Chalkokondyles, a pupil of the Platonist George Gemistos Plethon. His History dates from the 1480s and therefore represents the last flicker of Byzantine historiography (ed. Darkó 1922–3; trans. Nicoloudis 1996). Writing in the spirit of Herodotos, he saw the struggle between the Byzantines and the Ottomans as the latest round in a struggle that went back to that of the Greeks and the Persians: his history is an account of the rise of the Ottomans to imperial status at the expense of the Byzantines (Harris 2003). This final episode of Byzantine history revealed

that its historiographical tradition had retained all its vigour. The four historians of the fall of Constantinople maintained the very high standards of history writing which had been inherited from the classical past. Doukas' lament for the fall of Constantinople echoes Menander Rhetor's prescriptions.

Byzantium's classicizing historians produced some of its most distinguished literature. They expressed that sense of continuity which was basic to the Byzantine sense of identity. But their work was not the total extent of Byzantine historiography. Maintaining the standards of classical historiography meant writing in a form of Attic Greek which was only accessible to a handful of the intelligentsia. There was a much wider audience for World Histories which summarized the relevant sections of the classicizing histories, which in the case of the *Alexiad* and Niketas Choniates' *History* also circulated in vernacular versions. At its most basic there were the Short Chronicles, brief entries recording important events (ed. Schreiner 1977–9). These might occasionally be expanded into more substantial regional chronicles, such as the so-called Chronicle of Monemvasia (ed. Kalligas 1990). Other regional narratives include the verse *Chronicle of the Morea* (ed. Schmitt 1904), relating the conquest of the Peloponnese in the wake of the Fourth Crusade. There were also narratives of particular events, such as the vivid account of the fall of Thessalonike to the Normans in 1185 by its archbishop Eustathios (ed. Kyriakides 1961; trans. Melville Jones 1988). Quite exceptionally he prefaced his narrative with some preliminary remarks on the writing of history. He drew a clear distinction between the historian and the eyewitness reporter in a way that favours the latter (Melville Jones 1988). In practice, the distinction was not so clear-cut. The best historians were eyewitnesses of much that they included in their histories. It is the immediacy of eyewitness reporting that gives their histories depth and reliability, but it was their ability to weave their own experience into the treatment of events which gives Byzantine historiography its particular stamp (Macrides 1996).

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CHAPTER III.18.3

THEOLOGICAL LITERATURE

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THEOLOGICAL literature embraces virtually all the literary genres, most of which are discussed separately in this Handbook, and also engendered genres peculiar to theology, including two important genres—hagiography and the homily—which are also discussed separately (see III.18.4, 5). There are genres, too, that evolve a distinctively theological form, for instance the chronicle and the church history, both of which may be seen as a development of the apology, or defence of Christianity against Graeco-Roman paganism (and, to a lesser extent, Judaism), a genre that itself barely survives into the fourth century and the Byzantine period, though together they constitute a distinct form of historiography (see III.18.2). Like the apology, the chronicle was intended to demonstrate the antiquity, and therefore the truth, of Christianity; this apodeictic purpose is manifest in the way in which the church history is concerned to provide literary documentation, even at the expense of providing a narrative history. Both the chronicle and the church history appear to be the invention of Eusebios of Caesarea (c.260–c.340), whose *Proof of the Apostolic Teaching* represents, in its extent and learning, the apogee of the apologetic genre (Attridge and Hata 1992: sect. v).

Fundamental to all theological literature are the Scriptures, which for the Byzantines meant the Greek version of the Old Testament (the Septuagint) and the Greek New Testament, understood as the definitive witness to the divine dispensation (or *oikonomia*), manifest in the history of Israel, as God's original chosen people, and culminating in the life, death, and resurrection of Jesus, acknowledged as the Christ or Messiah, and the mission of the apostolic Church. The Scriptures

provided the ultimate touchstone of orthodoxy, and also contained a wealth of metaphysical and moral doctrine, as well as a vast treasury of imagery, that underlies the theological reflection of the Byzantines. The primary form of theological reflection therefore takes the form of commentary on the Scriptures. The foundation of all Greek scriptural commentary was provided by Origen of Alexandria (c.185–c.254), who composed both commentaries, in the sense of scholarly discussions of the biblical text, and homilies, exhortations addressed to Christian congregations, based on the liturgical reading of Scripture, that together covered most of the books of the Bible. He also compiled the *Hexapla*, a vast aid to biblical study in six columns, containing the Hebrew text, and the Greek texts of the Septuagint and several other early translations: the version of the Septuagint that became current in the Byzantine Church contained readings modifying the original Septuagint text, based on the *Hexapla*. Although very little of Origen's work still survives, owing to his being condemned repeatedly for doctrinal error, the influence of his biblical scholarship was never erased. His use of allegory, as a way of revealing a fundamental harmony in the many different books of the Bible, also established itself in most Byzantine interpretations of Scripture, despite attacks on some of the conclusions Origen had drawn from the biblical text by the allegorical method (Young 1997; Dawson 2002).

In the fourth to the sixth century, the overwhelmingly predominant form of reflection on the Scriptures took the form of the homily, particularly sequences of homilies forming a continuous commentary on Scripture. Far and away the most famous and influential of these were the homilies of John Chrysostom (c.347–407), the preacher held in the greatest renown in the Byzantine Church, especially those on Genesis, the Psalms, the Gospels of Matthew and John, and the Epistles of Paul (PG 53–4, 55, 57–8, 59; Field 1845–62). The tradition of the commentary, sometimes in the form of *quaestiones* on particular passages, was continued by Theodoret of Cyrillus. Such direct commentary on Scripture did not continue for long. Already by the sixth century, direct commentary was being replaced by the compilation of extracts from older commentators, such compilations being known as 'chains' or *catenae*; the first compiler of such *catenae* seems to have been Prokopios of Gaza (c.475–c.538). Later Byzantine commentaries, other than *catenae*, such as those by Euthymios Zigabenos or Theophylact of Ochrid (both early twelfth century), are either plagiarized from earlier commentators or heavily dependent on them (Devreesse 1959, 1970).

This change from direct commentary on Scripture to the collecting of earlier comments is related to a shift in what one might call theological style that is determinative for all except the very earliest Byzantine theology. The reason for this shift is the emergence of the Fathers, both as a reality and a concept. The Ecumenical Council of Chalcedon (451) prefaced its famous Christological definition with the phrase: 'following therefore the Holy Fathers'. From the fifth century onwards, the

importance of tradition in theology, which can be traced back to the New Testament itself (cf. 2 Thess. 2: 15, 1 Tim. 6: 20, Jude 3), came to be expressed as faithfulness to the *Fathers'* interpretation of the apostolic teaching (Florovsky 1972: 73–120). One manifestation of this respect for patristic tradition is the *catenae* of patristic interpretation attached to scriptural verses. Parallel to this in the sphere of doctrine are the florilegia that begin to appear in the fifth century: collections, 'anthologies', of statements from the Fathers on controverted matters of theology, especially Christological doctrine. Increasingly, from the sixth century onwards, doctrinal formulations are expressed in, so far as is possible, the very words of the recognized Fathers (Grillmeier 1987: 51–78). Perhaps the most influential compendium of orthodox theological teaching, *On the Orthodox Faith* by John of Damascus (c.670–c.750), is a virtual florilegium; as has been justly remarked, 'Patristic theology may be said to aspire to the condition of the florilegium and in its last representative John of Damascus, whose *De Fide Orthodoxa* is a mosaic of quotations, attains its goal' (Lionel Wickham in Laga, Munitiz, and van Rompay 1985: 117). Another manifestation of this respect for patristic authority is to be found in the genre of often extensive discussion of difficult passages in the Fathers. This is most striking in the case of Gregory of Nazianzos (329/30–389/90), one of the Cappadocian Fathers who came to be known, simply, as 'the Theologian': there are many collections of comments on difficulties encountered in his elegant sermons, the most famous being the two sets of *ambigua* (difficulties or *aporiai*) by Maximus the Confessor (580–662), many of which are concerned to refute dangerous 'Origenist' interpretations of Gregory, himself an admirer of Origen, though the same genre is found in the *Amphilochia* of Photios (c.810–c.895) and the theological opuscula of Michael Psellos (c.1019–c.1078).

A good deal of theological literature is polemical, directed against those who called in question Christian orthodoxy. As already mentioned, early apologetic literature scarcely survives into the Byzantine period, Theodoret's *Cure for Hellenic* [i.e. *pagan*] *Sicknesses* being an exception, perhaps primarily designed to proclaim his (largely borrowed) learning, though we find a continuing concern for pagan practices (probably amongst Christians), notably in the canons of Church councils. Polemic against the Jews continues, though erratically: common at the turn of the fourth century, with Chrysostom and Cyril of Alexandria (c.375–444), especially Chrysostom's homilies of 386, and again in the seventh and eighth centuries (Wilken 1971, 1983; Cameron 1996). In this latter period there seems to have been a genuine engagement with the Jews over religious truth, in contrast to earlier polemic, which was occasioned rather by alarm at the attraction to Christians of Jewish practices. Another object of polemic was Manichaeism (Lieu 1988: 168–77). This was a serious threat to Christianity in the fourth and fifth centuries, though persecution under Justinian (emperor 527–65) seems to have driven Manichaeism out of the Byzantine realm. Works attacking Manichaeism continue to be written

throughout the Byzantine period, either as literary exercises or as attacks on dualism that in forms probably independent of Manichaeism continued to threaten Byzantine Christianity.

Most polemical works of theology were, however, addressed to those who embraced what were held to be deviant forms of Christianity. In the early Byzantine period this was mainly a matter of deviant forms of Christology: from the point of view of Imperial Christianity, those who had rejected the Council of Ephesus (431), that is, the so-called Nestorians, and those who had rejected the Council of Chalcedon, that is, those called Eutychians or monophysites, and later those who embraced the imperially inspired Christological compromises of the seventh century, eventually condemned at Constantinople III (680–1), monenergists and monothelites. There were, of course, polemical treatises written by those who embraced these ‘heresies’, in which the ‘orthodox’ appear as ‘monophysites’ or ‘Nestorians’, though few of these works survive. As well as Christological heresies, there was, in the sixth-century, controversy over the doctrine of the Trinity with the so-called tritheists, though this was mainly a matter among monophysites (Grillmeier 1996: 131–8; Ebied and others 1981: 20–33).

The eighth and ninth centuries saw the Iconoclast controversy, with polemical treatises on both sides, though only the orthodox treatises against the Iconoclasts have survived, notably those by John of Damascus (Kotter 1975), Theodore of Stoudios (759–826) (PG 99), and Nikephoros (758–828) (PG 100; Featherstone 1997). From the ninth century onwards, the main object of polemical literature was the errors of the Latins: liturgical (principally the question of the azymes or unleavened bread), pastoral (principally the Latin insistence on celibate clergy), and doctrinal (the doctrine of the double procession of the Spirit—the *filioque*), and lying behind all these, the Roman claim to a papal monarchy (Kolbaba 2000; Chadwick 2003). Such polemical literature took the form of letters to individuals (or groups), homilies, and treatises (*antirrhetic*), sometimes consisting of systematic refutation of formal documents or arguments. Arguments varied from straightforward refutation of heretical propositions to a presentation of orthodox doctrine that eclipsed what were seen as the narrow positions of the heretics (e.g. the first and third treatises by John of Damascus against the iconoclasts). In the case of iconoclasm and the Latin errors, the arguments often involved a good deal of historical scholarship (Nikephoros, Theophylact of Ochrid, and Nilos Kabasilas and Gregory Palamas in the fourteenth century).

In addition to polemic against particular heresies, there were works that set out to list the full array of heretical positions. The origins of this endeavour can be found in the pre-Byzantine period (Hegesippos, Hippolytos), but the main inspiration for Byzantine accounts of heresy was the *Panarion*, or ‘Medicine Chest’, of Epiphanius of Salamis (c.315–403). Notable examples are *On Heresies* by John of Damascus and Euthymios Zigabenos’ *Dogmatic Panoply*, the former of which includes the earliest Christian discussion of Islam, while the latter provides a valuable account of the

dualist system of the Bogomils. In part these were intended, like Bossuet's *Histoire des variations des églises protestantes*, to demonstrate the error of heresy from its multiplicity, but they also helped the Byzantine to organize the various threats to Christian orthodoxy, and thus to contain it.

Concerned with both defining orthodoxy and proscribing heresy were the councils of the Church (see also III.11.2). Seven of these were reckoned 'ecumenical', and their decisions had the force of law, but there were other councils, many (and increasingly) in Constantinople, and their decisions, doctrinal definitions, and disciplinary canons form another genre of theological literature.

Orthodoxy, or correct doctrine, was an important matter in Byzantium, but it went hand in hand with a concern for spiritual formation, for the working out in the individual and in the community of the restoration of human nature that had been achieved by the death and resurrection of Christ, the Word made flesh. Indeed, in all the doctrinal controversies of Byzantium, the fundamental objection to heresy was that it would undermine salvation in Christ, a salvation that made possible deification, the divine transfiguration of the human.

Monasticism emerged in the fourth century as a way of enabling a thoroughgoing following of Christ. This movement spawned a vast literature. Although the monks were deeply, often fanatically, devoted to Christian orthodoxy, monastic literature has, for the most part, other priorities. It is less concerned to define God, than to help human beings (primarily, though not exclusively monks) to pray to Him, such prayer being understood to involve a total transformation of fallen human nature.

Monastic literature takes many different forms. There are the sayings, *apophthegmata*, of the monastic saints themselves, mainly those of the fourth-century Egyptian desert, represented in the tradition, as it evolved in the early centuries, as the foundation of this tradition. These ascetics acquired a reputation for supernatural wisdom. They were sought out by others, both monks and laity, seeking spiritual guidance, seeking for a 'word' ('Father, give me a word'). These words were gathered together in collections that form the core of what one might call the standard anthology of monastic literature, in all the ancient Christian languages (Greek, Latin, Coptic, Ethiopic, Syriac, Armenian, Georgian, Old Sogdian, and later in Arabic and Old Slavonic). Whether these pithy sayings are the original form, or whether they are extracts from lengthier discourses, is a matter of scholarly dispute. The sayings, however derived, were collected in various forms: alphabetically, under the names of the monks, or systematically, under topics (virtues, vices, temptations, problems in prayer, etc.) (Harmless 2004: 167–308). There were other monastic genres included in these primary collections: saints' lives (at least Athanasios' life of Antony), monastic travel literature (Palladios' *Lausiac History*, the *History of the Monks of Egypt*), monastic rules (e.g. the rule of Pachomios (c.290–346)) (see respectively Bartelink 1994; Butler 1898; Halkin 1932). But these primary collections, that presented the fourth-century Egyptian desert as a golden age, were restricted to the early material (duly embellished).

Throughout later Byzantine history we find many further examples of these primary forms: monastic saints' lives, further travel literature (e.g. John Moschos' *Spiritual Meadow*), and monastic rules, from the so-called Longer and Shorter Rules of the Great Asketikon of Basil the Great (c.330–79), to the rules of fifth-century Palestinian monasticism, to the *typika* (monastic foundation documents containing more or less detailed rules) of later Byzantine monasticism from Theodore of Stoudios through to the monasteries of Mt Athos and beyond (Thomas and Hero 2000). There are also collections of monastic catecheses: Dorotheos of Gaza (sixth century), Theodore of Stoudios, Symeon the New Theologian (949–1022), Neophytos of Paphos (1134–1214). Some of these catecheses take the form of 'questions and answers' (*erotapokriseis*), a practical form of instruction (also found in the doctrinal context, e.g. Maximos' so-called *Quaestiones et dubia*). A probably unique form of such *erotapokriseis* survives from the fifth-century Gaza desert: the collections of questions about largely spiritual matters that were written down to be passed to the strictly enclosed hermits Barsanouphios and John (the 'Great Old Man' and the 'Other Old Man'), together with their answers in the form of letters, collected probably by their disciple Dorotheos of Gaza, 850 in all (Neyt and others 1997–2002). Perhaps the most extensive Byzantine collection of monastic literature is the *Synagoge* compiled by Paul, the founder of the eleventh-century Constantinopolitan monastery of the Theotokos Evergetis (a collection therefore often called the *Evergetinos*) (Laggi 1993).

A popular form of monastic literature, as we can already see, was a collection of short paragraphs or sayings, called chapters (*kephalaia*), on which an individual monk could meditate (such meditation being in some respects analogous to what was called *lectio divina* in Western monasticism). One popular monastic genre, probably invented by Evagrius (346–99), was the century, a collection of a hundred such chapters. Several of Evagrius' works take this form, his *On Prayer* being a variant, consisting of 153 chapters, the number of fish caught by the apostles after the resurrection (John 21: 11). Later authors of such centuries include Diadochos of Photike (fifth century), Maximos the Confessor (who uses the genre for more strictly dogmatic works, still doubtless intended for a monastic audience), John of Damascus (his *On Heresies* and *On the Orthodox Faith*), Symeon the New Theologian, Gregory Palamas (c.1296–1359), who uses the variant of 150 chapters, the number of the Psalms. Unique in Byzantine monastic literature is the *Ladder of Divine Ascent*, by John of Sinai (called *Klimakos* after his work), which sets out the monastic life as a ladder of thirty steps, leading up to union with God in love (PG 88).

Poetry was also used to express theology; indeed it could be regarded as the most appropriate literary genre for theology, as the purpose of theology is, in the words of Dionysios the Areopagite (early sixth century), to 'hymn' God. Gregory of Nazianzos composed a great deal of theological poetry, as did in the next generation Synesios of Cyrene (c.370–c.413), and later Sophronios of Jerusalem (c.560–638) and,

later still, Symeon the New Theologian. But the most significant form of theological poetry was that composed for the services of the Byzantine Church (see also III.18.7). The earliest such genre was the *kontakion*, a sermon in verse, composed to be sung. The greatest composer of these was Romanos the Melode (early sixth century), and the greatest example is the Akathistos Hymn in praise of the Mother of God. Romanos was born in Emesa in Syria, arriving in Constantinople early in the reign of Justinian. His birthplace is significant, for the *kontakion* seems to be based on Syriac models, and is thus heir to the considerable tradition of Syriac poetry, represented by such as Ephrem the Syrian and Jacob of Serugh (Brock 1989). The *kontakion* was intended for the non-monastic 'cathedral office'. In contrast, most of the rest of Byzantine hymnography was written by monks for the monastic office, which eventually became the sole form of the Byzantine rite (see III.11.4 Liturgy). The most elaborate form of such monastic hymnography was the canon, a series of verses (or troparia) originally composed to accompany the verses of the nine biblical canticles sung during the office of matins. The canon evolved in Palestine in the later seventh century, the earliest composers of such canons being Andrew of Crete (c.660–740), Kosmas the Melodist (c.675–c.751), and John of Damascus.

A further literary form not to be neglected is the prayer, countless of which were composed during Byzantine times, for use both in public and private. Pre-eminent among such prayers are the eucharistic prayers, or *anaphorai*, two of which came to be used almost exclusively in the Byzantine rite: the anaphora of St John Chrysostom, probably actually older than the saint, and the anaphora of St Basil, which is probably his (Brightman 1896: 307–411).

A final form of theological literature consists of commentary on the movement and structure of the Divine Liturgy (of the Eucharist), which begins with homilies such as those by Cyril of Jerusalem (c.315–87) and Theodore of Mopsuestia (c.350–428), finds its most profound expression in Maximos the Confessor's *Mystagogia*, and its most popular form in commentary attributed to Germanos of Constantinople (c.640–c.733) (Yarnold 1971; Sotiropoulos 1993; Meyendorff 1984).

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CHAPTER III.18.4

HAGIOGRAPHY

ALICE-MARY TALBOT

INTRODUCTION

THE term hagiography (lit. ‘writing about saints’) bears multiple meanings. Its two principal definitions are (1) edifying compositions about the life and deeds of a holy man or woman and (2) a scholarly discipline which studies saints and the literature related to them. This essay will focus on the first definition and discuss hagiographical composition as a type of literature, but inevitably will also deal in part with the cult of saints (whose development was necessarily intertwined with the writing of biographies, panegyrics, and the like) and with the history of scholarship in this field.

Hagiography is frequently described as a ‘genre’ of Byzantine literature (e.g. *ODB* 897); however, this is a conventional term implying a ‘unified category’, which is ‘filled in fact with . . . varied sub-genres’ (Kazhdan 1999: 141). More appropriate is a functional definition of hagiography, which would include all kinds of literary works promoting the veneration of saints, such as acts of martyrs (*passiones*), *vitae* (lives), *enkomia*, accounts of translations of relics and miracles, and even hymnography. Even within a ‘sub-genre’ such as a *vita*, there can be wide variation in level of style, length, content, format, and literary models. Some *vitae* closely resemble historical chronicles (e.g. the *vita* of patriarch Euthymios of Constantinople), others fairy-tales or romances (*vita* of Alexios *homo dei*, Philaretos the Merciful), yet others a *basilikos logos* (*vita* of empress Theodora, wife of Theophilos), a letter (Gregory of Nyssa’s ‘letter’ on the life of his sister, St Makrina), or a funerary oration (Gregory of Nazianzos’ *orationes* on his sister Gorgonia and on Basil of Caesarea).

HAGIOGRAPHY IN THE EARLY CHRISTIAN CENTURIES AND LATE ANTIQUITY

The development of hagiography as a new subject of literary composition went hand in hand with the emergence of Christianity as the dominant religion in the Mediterranean area and the rise of the cult of saints, beginning with Christ's apostles in the first century CE. One of the earliest new forms of hagiographic composition was the *Acta* of martyrs, of two primary types (Delehaye 1921). The first, dating from the second and third centuries, was the official shorthand records of a martyr's trial, later transcribed and deposited in an archive. The second, usually referred to by the Latin term *passio* or Greek term *martyrion*, is the accounts of eyewitnesses or contemporaries, describing the arrest, trial, and execution of Christian martyrs. The earliest date from the second and third centuries, and are sometimes of considerable literary merit (e.g. the *martyrion* of Perpetua and Felicitas). The *Acta Pauli et Theclae* can be seen as a Christianized version of the Greek romance, in which the young virgin refuses marriage with her lover, embarks on adventurous travels and suffers various torments as a result of her Christian faith. Such *martyria* were often rewritten in later centuries.

Another new form of hagiographic literature was the *apophthegmata patrum*, or sayings of the desert fathers of the fourth and fifth centuries. These were collections of stories about the Egyptian hermit saints and sayings attributed to them, and are a Christian counterpart to collections of pagan maxims. There are several types of collection, organized in alphabetic order by author (Ward 1980), a group of 400 anonymous sayings (Ward 1975), and a systematic collection organized according to topic, such as self-control, fornication, and patience (Guy 1993). These sayings present a vivid picture of the daily lives of the monks who lived in the Egyptian desert and the challenges they faced.

The *vita* of the Egyptian hermit saint, Antony the Great (c.250–356), usually attributed to Athanasios (c.295–373), patriarch of Alexandria, is considered the earliest example of a new genre of Christian biography (Gregg 1980). Written very soon after Antony's death, in the form of a very long letter to monks living abroad, it displays many of the features that came to be considered typical of a saint's *vita*: a description of the holy man's native land, parents, childhood and education, his embrace of ascetic discipline and adoption of monastic life, his struggle against temptations (often in the form of demonic visions), withdrawal to a place of greater solitude to escape growing crowds of disciples and pilgrims, control over wild animals, the exorcism of demons, healing miracles, clairvoyance and the gift of prophecy, and prediction of his death. The *vita* contained several long rhetorical passages, purporting to be discourses of Antony himself on the theory of asceticism and demonology, Greek philosophy, and the errors of the Arian heresy, but more likely due to the pen of Athanasios. It also contained numerous comparisons of

the holy man with personages of the Old and New Testaments. This new form of biography had various sources: the classical *enkōmion*, that praised the virtues of a hero; biographies of pagan philosophers; and the Scriptures. The avowed purpose of Athanasios' biography was to present Antony as an edifying model for emulation by Christians. The *vita* of Antony had immediate success, was translated into Latin and oriental languages, and spread all over the Mediterranean world. It was indeed to provide a model for much future hagiography.

From this time on hagiography flourished, reflecting and documenting the rapid spread of the cult of saints. In addition to the life of Antony and the *apophthegmata patrum*, monastic life in Egypt, both coenobitic and eremitic, is vividly portrayed in the *vita* of Pachomios (d. 346), the *Historia monachorum in Aegypto* (late fourth cent.), and the *Lausiaca History* of Palladius (c.419).

Theodoret, bishop of Cyrrhus (393–466), recorded the simultaneous appearance of monasticism in northern Syria, here more often eremitic than coenobitic in form. His *Religious History* or *History of the Monks of Syria*, composed c.440, presents short biographies of about thirty ascetic monks who lived in the fourth and fifth centuries. Theodoret wrote in atticizing style with classical vocabulary, but his tales are vivid narratives. This celebration of the strong ascetic and individualistic tendency of Syrian monasticism continues in the sixth and seventh centuries with the lengthy *vita* of Symeon the Stylite the Younger (d. 592), the pillar saint on the Wondrous Mountain near Antioch, who attracted many pilgrims and performed numerous healing miracles, and of Symeon of Emesa, the holy fool (late sixth century?).

In the sixth century the hagiographer Cyril of Skythopolis (c.525–c.559?) eulogized coenobitic monasticism by composing a corpus of lives of early Palestinian monks from c.400 to 550, most notably Euthymios the Great (d. 473) and Sabas the Great (d. 532), both founders of communities in the Judaean Desert. Cyril's *vitae* are characterized by a simple and straightforward style and detailed recording of dates, toponyms, and events, so that his works are a reliable historical source. His *vitae* reveal a deep knowledge of prior monastic literature, such as the Lives of Antony and Pachomios, and the work of Theodoret.

Characteristic of both Syrian and Egyptian hagiography are the *vitae* of repentant harlots, such as Mary of Egypt and Pelagia of Antioch, and women disguised as monks, like Mary/Marinos and Anastasia/Anastasios (Patlagean 1976). In both scenarios women turn to a life of asceticism, and seek to obtain spiritual virility by shedding their feminine identity, through adoption of male clothing or mortification of the body that led to shrivelled breasts.

Hagiography developed more slowly in Anatolia, with some of the writings of the Cappadocian Fathers being among the earliest hagiographic compositions in this region. Thus, Gregory of Nyssa's *vita* of his sister St Makrina (c.380) celebrates the pursuit of virginity in the context of a household convent, while Gregory of Nazianzos' panegyric of his sister Gorgonia (d. c.370–4) demonstrates that a

married woman could also lead a life of saintly piety and spiritual fulfilment. Later *vitae*, such as those of Nicholas of Sion (d. 564) and Theodore of Sykeon (d. 613), are written in a lower style, more accessible to the general public, and are full of miraculous stories and picturesque vignettes of rural life.

In Constantinople as well, monasticism (and hagiography) was somewhat slower to develop; the *vitae* of important monastic founders (such as Hypatios of Rouphiniana, Markellos the Akoimetos, and Matrona of Perge) and the urban stylite Daniel date from the late fifth and sixth centuries.

MIRACLE COLLECTIONS

Another new form of hagiographic literature that arose in Late Antiquity was collections of miracles. Descriptions of posthumous miracles, especially those that occurred in the years immediately following the death of a holy man or woman, were frequently incorporated into a *vita*, and may be considered a standard feature of many saints' lives. A tradition also developed of documenting the miracles that occurred over a long period of time at the healing shrine of a saint, obviously as a way of promoting his or her cult. It is assumed that records must have been kept of miraculous cures at these shrines, and that at a later date a selection could be written up for wider dissemination.

The earliest collection of *miracula*, from the fifth century, describes the miracles that took place at the shrine of St Thekla at Meriamlik in Asia Minor; as is typical of this type of hagiographical composition, the stories are vivid in style, with charming descriptions of everyday life, and provide useful information on the continuity of pagan customs such as incubation, and on disease and medical practice (Johnson 2006). The collection of miracles of Kosmas and Damian, focused on their healing cult at the Kosmidion monastery just outside the walls of Constantinople, seems to date primarily from the late sixth century. We learn that stories of successful healings were related by the grateful patients on Saturday evenings to groups of assembled pilgrims. The period of the late sixth and seventh centuries saw the composition of several other important miracle collections: the *miracula* of Sts Kyros and John at the Menouthis shrine in Egypt, written by Sophronios of Jerusalem (c.560–638); the *miracula* of St Demetrios, written by John I of Thessalonike in the first half of the seventh century for the saint's shrine in that city; and the miracles of St Artemios, who specialized in healing hernias and diseases of the testicles at the church of St John the Prodromos in Constantinople.

The *miracula* collections tended to be written in low-or middle-level style, with both levels on occasion being used in the same collection: the proemium and

certain rhetorical or ekphrastic passages in middle-level style, the descriptions of the miracles and dialogue at a lower level. In the miracles of St Thekla, in which references to pagan antiquity abound, citations of classical authors outnumber scriptural quotations, but the other collections for the most part limit their citations to the Psalms and New Testament.

MIDDLE BYZANTINE HAGIOGRAPHY (EIGHTH–TWELFTH CENTURIES)

The eighth century was in general a dark age for Byzantine literature, and hagiography was no exception. The saintly martyrs and confessors of the first period of iconoclasm (726–87) had to wait until the ninth century or later for their biographers; even the brief period of respite (787–815) before iconoclasm resumed saw the publication of only a few *vitae*, including the classic work on the iconophile martyr Stephen the Younger (d. 765–7). The pace of hagiographic production picked up during the second period of iconoclasm, 815–43 (Ševčenko 1977) with important *vitae* of such saints as Philaretos the Merciful, Nikephoros of Medikion, and Euthymios of Sardis. During the second half of the ninth and the tenth centuries there was a marked upsurge in hagiographic composition, recounting the exploits of iconophile patriarchs and monks (Tarasios, the brothers David, Symeon, and George) and monastic founders, such as Loukas of Stiris and Athanasios of Athos (Efthymiadis 1996). Noteworthy is the work of Ignatios the Deacon, from whose pen four *vitae* survive, including those of the patriarchs Tarasios and Nikephoros in very elevated style. Almost all the *vitae* of this era were composed by monks or ecclesiastics, some writing out of devotion to a spiritual master, others in response to a commission, often from the abbot of a monastery which a holy man had founded or honoured by his residence. Many of these *vitae* were intended to promote the posthumous cult of a saint, and included accounts of healing miracles (e.g. *vitae* of Theodora of Thessalonike, Mary the Younger, and Thomais of Lesbos). Another trend in the tenth and eleventh centuries was the writing of texts with marked apocalyptic and eschatological content, in particular visions of the Last Judgement and the heavenly Jerusalem (e.g. *vitae* of Andrew the Fool and Basil the Younger, Apocalypse of Anastasia). The tradition of writing biographies of monastic founders continued in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, but to a much lesser degree (Lazaros of Galesion, Meletios of Myoupolis).

Towards the end of the tenth century there were two further developments in hagiography: the compilation of the Synaxarion of Constantinople (Delehaye 1902;

Luzzi 1995), a collection of short biographical notices about hundreds of saints, organized chronologically by feast day. These texts were intended to be read aloud during the *orthros* service. A contemporaneous phenomenon was the rewriting of c.150 earlier saints' lives in a uniform style by Symeon Metaphrastes (d. c.1000). The resulting *menologion*, divided into ten volumes, was also organized by feast day, and was designed primarily for monastic liturgical use.

REVIVAL OF HAGIOGRAPHY IN THE PALAIOLOGAN ERA

Following a marked decline in the appearance of new saints in the twelfth and early thirteenth centuries (Magdalino 1981), and a concomitant decrease in the production of hagiographical texts, the Palaiologan era (1261–1453) saw a resurgence of Byzantine holy men and the composition of *vitae* celebrating their exploits (Laiou-Thomadakis 1980). For reasons that are still not fully understood, virtually no female saints were recognized in the late Byzantine era; the latest firmly attested holy woman was St Theodora of Arta, who died in the 1270s (Talbot 1996: 323–33). Among the likely explanations for the noticeable increase in saints at this time are: (1) the rise in religious controversies related to the Union of Lyons and hesychasm, which led to persecution of supporters of Greek orthodoxy and Palamism; (2) the flourishing of monasticism in Constantinople (with the reconstruction or new foundation of monasteries after the Byzantine recovery of the capital in 1261), Thessalonike, Mt Athos, and Meteora; (3) the development of a formal procedure of canonization (Macrides 1981; Talbot 1983: 21–30). Thus, the majority of the thirty-two new saints of this era were opponents of Union, hesychasts, wandering monks or neo-martyrs killed by Turks or Egyptians.

The authors of their *vitae* tended to be monks or ecclesiastics, very often disciples of an older ascetic monk about whom they wrote at the remove of one generation. One of the most distinguished Palaiologan hagiographers, the patriarch of Constantinople Philotheos Kokkinos (d. c.1377–8), composed four biographies of hesychast saints, including his fellow patriarch Isidore I Boucheir (1347–50) and Gregory Palamas, metropolitan of Thessalonike (1347–50). His compositions were in part motivated by pride in his birthplace, since all four of his subjects were connected with Thessalonike, and he incorporated panegyrics of the city in his *vitae*. Many Palaiologan *vitae* of new saints are longer than those of earlier eras, and are written in high style with extensive passages of rhetoric. Some of the authors were quite erudite, despite their monastic background; Philotheos Kokkinos was a student of Thomas Magistros, Makarios Chrysokephalos was a

professor, and Theoktistos the Stoudite had access to an excellent library at the Stoudios monastery.

The Palaiologan era also saw a renewed interest in the composition of separate accounts of miracles, such as Maximos the Deacon's *miracula* of Sts Kosmas and Damian (c.1300), Nikephoros Kallistos Xanthopoulos' *miracula* of the Pege monastery (c.1308–20), Theoktistos the Stoudite's account of the posthumous miracles of the patriarch Athanasios I (1330s), and John Lazaropoulos' collection of the miracles of St Eugenios at his monastery in Trebizond (1360s). The final three of these texts are characterized by an unusual fascination with the aetiology and symptoms of human disease, and suggest that their authors were familiar with medical literature (Rosenqvist 1995).

Another prominent feature of Palaiologan hagiography was intense interest in rewriting the *vitae* of earlier saints (Talbot 1991). About 80 per cent of hagiographic production in this era, or approximately 125 works by forty-five different authors, is devoted to holy men and women who lived before the thirteenth century (excluding the apostolic age). The hagiographers of the saints of olden days came from the ranks of secular literati, as well as monks and churchmen. Especially noteworthy is Constantine Akropolites, an imperial official under Andronikos II, who wrote twenty-eight works on holy men and women of earlier eras. For his heroic efforts he was compared to Symeon Metaphrastes and earned the epithet of 'the new translator'. Motivations for *metaphrasis*, the rewriting of older *vitae*, were various; they included gratitude for miraculous healing by a saint's relics, a commission to produce an oration for a saint's feast day, civic loyalty (numerous *enkomia* of St Demetrios were produced by natives of Thessalonike), promotion of the cult of a saint at the monastery that held his/her relics, the desire to improve the style of an earlier version, and replacement of a lost *vita*.

The composition of hagiographical texts continued until the fall of Constantinople in 1453. Very few new holy men appeared in the fifteenth century, however, so production focused on *vitae* and *enkomia* of older saints.

THE HISTORY OF SCHOLARSHIP

For almost four centuries the leading scholars in the field of hagiography have been the Bollandists, a group of Jesuit scholars active first in Antwerp and later in Brussels, devoted to the critical study and publication of the lives of saints, Latin, Greek, and oriental (Delehaye 1920, 1959). They take their name from the founder of their society, Jean Bolland (1596–1665), who first formulated the plan for the *Acta Sanctorum*, a series of edited texts of saints' lives, and oversaw the publication of

its early volumes (for January and February). The seventeenth-century golden age of the Bollandists was followed in the eighteenth century by a decline in scholarship; the Bollandists were forced to abandon their work at the end of the century following the suppression of the Society of Jesus. The Bollandists were revived in 1837, and continue their work to this day (<http://www.kbr.be/~sobcoll>). Publication of the *Acta Sanctorum* is nearly complete, having reached the *Propylaeum* for the month of December; 68 volumes have appeared so far and a full electronic database of the *Acta Sanctorum* is now available. In 1882 the Bollandists began publication of a periodical, *Analecta Bollandiana*, and in 1886 the series *Subsidia hagiographica*, which includes repertories, critical editions, and translations of *vitae*, and catalogues of hagiographical manuscripts. Primary focuses of Bollandist scholarship are the production of reliable editions of lives of saints and critical analysis of the authenticity of saints, some of whom have been shown to be legendary personages.

During the twentieth century secular scholars also developed an interest in hagiography, following in the footsteps of pioneering editors like A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus and E. Kurtz. These scholars have studied hagiographical texts for a variety of purposes, as historical sources (on this, see Halkin 1966), as evidence for *realia* and everyday life, and as literature (Ševčenko 1995; Kazhdan and Talbot 1998: introduction). Saints' lives are of particular value to the historian because so many of them describe aspects of Byzantine civilization not to be found in the narrative histories, such as childhood and family life, village society, and popular piety among the lower classes. There is also an increasing trend to prepare translations of *vitae* of Byzantine saints in order to render them accessible to Greekless students and medieval scholars in neighbouring fields.

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Further Reading

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Electronic Resources

A full text database of the original edition of the 68 volumes of the *Acta Sanctorum* is available by subscription from Chadwick-Healey.

http://www.doaks.org/research/byzantine/translations_byzantine_saints_lives.html

A.-M. Talbot, *Survey of Translations of Byzantine Saints' Lives* (Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks, 2001). A list of all saints' lives translated into western European languages.

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Holy Women of Byzantium, ed. A.-M. Talbot (Washington, DC, 1996) is available in entirety in electronic form through the Dumbarton Oaks website; R. P. H. Greenfield, *The Life of Lazaros of Mount Galesion: An Eleventh Century Pillar Saint* (Washington, DC, 2000) is available in part.

<http://www.doaks.org/Hagio.html>

The Dumbarton Oaks Hagiography Database of the *vitae* of saints of the eighth–tenth cent. provides a subject index on many aspects of Byzantine civilization organized in a tripartite hierarchy, and includes the Greek texts of a majority of the *vitae*.

<http://www.tlg.uci.edu>

Very recently the *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae* has begun to include hagiographical texts in its online web version.

<http://www.fordham.edu/halsall/sbook3.html>

A substantial number of Greek saints' lives in English translation can be found on Paul Halsall's website, *Internet Medieval Sourcebook: Saints' Lives*.

CHAPTER III.18.5

HOMILIES

MARY CUNNINGHAM

THE genre of Christian homiletics includes a variety of literary forms and thus eludes precise definition. Nevertheless, the homily (*homilia*) may be described as a discourse which was usually, although not always, delivered within a liturgical context in church, either extempore or in the form of a prepared text, by bishops or priests. Homilies served a number of different purposes in these circumstances, including exegesis, or the explanation of a scriptural reading, exhortation, instruction, praise, or rhetorical display. Catechetical homilies, which were intended to instruct adults preparing for baptism mainly in the first six centuries of Christianity, were usually delivered in special sessions held outside the hours of the liturgical offices. The different purposes of homilies frequently influenced their structure, level of style, and use of rhetoric. Whereas the form of exegetical homilies was dictated only by the scriptural text being expounded, festal homilies and panegyrics (*enkomia*) adhered to the formal structure of epideictic speeches. The literary style was also less complex in instructive homilies, while panegyrics, whose primary purpose was to praise and exalt the subject of discourse, were delivered in a classicizing, high style embellished with numerous rhetorical devices.

Since about the middle of the second century CE homilies had been delivered in church mainly by bishops and priests, or, in other words, by members of the clergy who were invested with the authority of apostolic succession. Early sources suggest that more than one sermon could be delivered in the same service: Egeria, a western pilgrim who travelled to the Holy Land in the late fourth century, for example, testifies that any number of presbyters could preach before the presiding bishop took his turn (Wilkinson 1999: 145). Bishops preached from their thrones or from the ambo, usually just after the Gospel reading in the first half of the Divine Liturgy.

Later, in the eighth and ninth centuries, trilogies of sermons are known to have been delivered in the course of all-night vigils by the same preacher, for example, John of Damascus, Germanos of Constantinople, Andrew of Crete, and George of Nikomedeia (Chevalier 1937: 361–78). The sources suggest that homilies were preached in many different liturgical contexts throughout the Byzantine period, including eucharistic celebrations, morning and evening offices, and vigils. Some lay preachers, including the eighth-century civil servant Kosmas Vestitor and the emperor Leo VI (866–912), delivered homilies which survive along with those of their ecclesiastical counterparts (Antonopoulou 1997). It would appear that by this period apostolic authority was not a prerequisite for preaching in the church; piety and, above all, the ability to deliver a high-style rhetorical oration also represented sufficient qualifications.

ORIGINS

The origins of the Christian homily are obscure, partly owing to the lack of a precise definition for the genre in the first and second centuries CE. Numerous texts, including sections of the gospels and epistles, have been labelled ‘homiletic’ in style and structure, but the arguments of some scholars have been circular and thus inconclusive (Stewart-Sykes 2000; Donfried 1974: 26). The general consensus, however, is that ‘homiletic’ describes a discourse which is directed towards an audience, thus employing a conversational style and techniques associated with oral delivery. Such ‘homilies’ sometimes, but not always, reflect a religious setting and employ some form of biblical exegesis. Parallels with Hebrew *midrash*, especially *haggadah*, have been noted (Borgen 1965: 55), but contemporary Jewish literary evidence is lacking. Some scholars have cited the influence on Christian homiletics of the pagan diatribe, or informal speeches aimed at engaging audiences’ attention, employed by Stoic and Cynic wandering philosophers in Late Antiquity (Bultmann 1910: 107–9; Kennedy 1983: 182; Uthemann 1998), but conversational methods of public speaking may have been so pervasive in this period that this is also difficult to prove. Many scholars regard II Clement, dated to approximately 98–100 CE, as the earliest complete homily to survive in the Christian tradition since it appears to have been delivered orally to a congregation. Melito’s discourse *On Pascha*, dated to between 160 and 170 CE (Hall 1979; Stewart-Sykes 2001), may represent an early example of a more poetic style of homily intended for a liturgical context. The close relationship between homiletics, epistolography, and hymnography even in this period is striking and suggests the inexpedience of establishing precise boundaries between the various literary genres.

DEVELOPMENT OF THE HOMILETIC TRADITION

In the first six centuries of the Church, eloquent preaching attracted large and appreciative audiences. Figures such as John Chrysostom, who preached as presbyter and bishop in Antioch and Constantinople at the end of the fourth and beginning of the fifth centuries, were highly trained as rhetoricians and sought to entertain as well as instruct their audiences. The fourth century is usually seen as the 'golden age' of Greek homiletics. The Cappadocian Fathers, Basil of Caesarea, Gregory of Nyssa, and above all, Gregory of Nazianzos, were responsible for adapting the techniques of pagan rhetoric to Christian discourse more than ever before; although these Christian orators may have felt some ambivalence in their approach to pagan literature, its rules and style were the best examples of eloquence known to them. The successful marriage of Christian oratory with classical rhetoric in this period is revealed especially in the homilies of Gregory of Nazianzos. Byzantine homiletics underwent some changes in the fifth and sixth centuries: preachers in this period employed a variety of styles ranging from conversational to high-flown. The popularity of the so-called 'Asiatic' style, employing short, repetitive, and rhythmic verses, is attested in the homilies of such preachers as Proklos of Constantinople and Basil of Seleukeia. Leontios of Constantinople, in the sixth century, employed a rhythmic but also colloquial style; these texts contain a wealth of information about contemporary audiences, preaching practices, and daily life (Allen and Datema 1991).

After the sixth century, scholars have traditionally identified a decline in both the quality and quantity of surviving sermons (Allen 1996; Cunningham 1996). This has been attributed to a number of causes, including the lowering of educational standards among the clergy, political and military instability within the empire, and illiteracy among the general population. Evidence such as canon 19 of the Council of Trullo (692 CE) suggests that a number of bishops and priests lacked the theological and rhetorical education to preach effectively. They are enjoined instead to read out sermons written by earlier and renowned Fathers of the Church. The smaller number of sermons which survive from the seventh century may thus be explained in various ways. While it is possible that standards of preaching did decline and that the majority of clergy were unable to preach sufficiently eloquently, it is also likely that scribes favoured the works of earlier preachers in their transmission of texts intended as liturgical readings.

During the eighth and ninth centuries high-style homilies began to be produced again; this reflects the revival that was taking place in all fields of Byzantine culture. Homilies attributed to bishops, patriarchs, and even emperors in the middle and later centuries of Byzantine history take a variety of forms: eulogies of saints,

festal sermons, occasional homilies delivered to commemorate a particular event or celebration, and many others. These are often transmitted in special collections, testifying to their status as literary oeuvres which were valued as much for their eloquence as for their instructive function within the Church. Various reforms, including the establishment in 1107 of a group of paid *didaskaloi* (both lay and clerical) in Constantinople, were intended to encourage preaching in this period (Gautier 1973: 172–7). It is noticeable that the informal, exegetical homilies which survive from the fourth to the sixth centuries become less common in the later centuries of Byzantium, although there are exceptions to this rule (Antonopoulou 1997: 102–10; 1998: 336–9); it is possible that while such homilies continued to be delivered in church, they were not regarded as worthy of transmission to posterity (Cunningham 1990: 44).

TYPES OF HOMILY

In the Byzantine period various types of homily became better defined, although it is important to stress that the boundaries between the various genres remained fluid. It is debatable whether formal genres such as the *enkomion* should really be defined as ‘homiletic’, but these forms were clearly regarded as sermons by the Byzantines and are transmitted in the same liturgical collections as other types of homily. The various types described below represent the main categories within the homiletic genre as a whole; it is important to note, however, that individual sermons may display more than one form and may alternate between informal and more literary rhetorical styles.

1. Exegetical homilies: Exegetical homilies are distinguished by their lack of structure and generally simple, conversational style. Literal, moral, or allegorical exegesis may be employed, according to the categories established by Origen and other early preachers. Exegetical homilies frequently interpreted scriptural readings dramatically, quoting biblical or apocryphal texts or inventing their own dialogues. It has been suggested that besides entertainment, dramatic homilies served a didactic purpose (Kecskeméti 1993). Dramatic homilies influenced the development of the *kontakion*, a hymn or sermon in verse, which appeared in the late fifth–early sixth centuries (Grosdidier de Matons 1977). After the end of the sixth century both exegetical and dramatic homilies became much less common, although this may be an accident of transmission as discussed above.

2. Catechetical and mystagogic homilies: This genre of homily survives primarily from the early period of Byzantine history, especially the fourth century, in texts

written by Cyril of Jerusalem, John Chrysostom, Theodore of Mopsuestia, and Ambrose of Milan. When the catechumenate included adults embarking on a three-year period of initiation into the Christian Church, instruction was delivered in the final phase of their initiation, during Lent, Holy Week, and in the week following their baptism at Easter. Catechetical homilies expound the doctrine, ethics, and sacraments of Christianity, focusing on texts such as the Nicene Creed, the Lord's Prayer, and the liturgies of baptism and the Eucharist.

3. Occasional homilies: This refers to the isolated productions which were preached in response to occurrences which the preacher wished to celebrate or deplore. Occasional homilies may be composed in any literary style, depending to some extent on the event being celebrated. Many of the sermons of Gregory of Nazianzos are occasional, relating to events in his lifetime, as are John Chrysostom's series of homilies *On the Statues*, which commemorate the events of an Antiochene rebellion against the emperor Theodosios I in 387. Later examples of occasional homilies include the ninth-century patriarch Photios' homilies on the safe deliverance of Constantinople from the Rus' attack of 860, his commemoration of the unveiling of the mosaic image of the Virgin Mary and child in the apse of the Great Church of St Sophia (Mango 1958: 74–110; 279–96), and the sermon by Nicholas I Mystikos on the capture of Thessalonike which took place in August 904 (Westerink 1981: 8–17).

4. Socio-ethical homilies: Especially associated with John Chrysostom, socio-ethical homilies attack secular activities such as the circus and theatre, or individual vices. The preacher speaks directly to his congregation, attempting to persuade them of the necessity to adopt the Christian way of life in order to attain salvation. Socio-ethical homilies contain considerable information about social behaviour, daily life, and the relations between preachers and their audiences (Mayer and Allen 2000: 118–25).

5. Polemical homilies: Homilies directed against perceived ideological adversaries, including heretics, Jews, and others, survive from all periods of Byzantine history. In addition to the homilies devoted specifically to attacking these opponents and setting out the orthodox position, many other genres, including especially exegetical and festal homilies, contain sections of polemic, most commonly directed against the Jews (Cunningham 1999). The most well-known examples of polemical homilies include John Chrysostom's series against 'Judaizing Christians' and the Anomoeans (a radical Arian sect) (Wilken 1983), and Photios' homilies against the Arians in which he attempts to identify the fourth-century heresy with iconoclasm (Mango 1958: 236–78). Polemical homilies employ devices such as exclamation, direct address to the audience, and hyperbole in order to heighten their rhetorical impact.

6. Festal homilies: Festal homilies, usually designated *logoi* or *enkormia* in manuscripts, tend to be more formal in style and structure than exegetical or catechetical

homilies. Written in honour of the great feasts of the Church, including both dominical and Marian, the purpose of these sermons is as much to offer praise and honour as to instruct. Orations honouring events in the lives of Christ and Mary, his mother, increasingly followed a well-established tradition in their use of rhetorical devices and expression of theology. By the eighth and ninth centuries the poetic quality of many homilies suggests a close relationship with hymnographic treatment of the same subjects. Rhetorical devices such as anaphora, antithesis, homoioteleuton, apostrophe, and ekphrasis may all feature, depending on the subject of the oration. Many festal homilies end with a short ethical section in which the preacher extracts a moral lesson from the theme being treated, before the final doxology.

7. Panegyrics and *enkomia*: This genre includes the sermons written in praise of saints, normally delivered on their feast days, as well as funeral orations such as Gregory of Nazianzos' eulogies of Basil and various relatives. All of these forms follow the classical rules for speeches of praise outlined in the two treatises ascribed to the third-century rhetorician Menander (Russell and Wilson 1981). After a flowery prologue in which the importance of the subject is set out and the speaker's inadequacy is acknowledged, *enkomia* follow a set structure, including an account of the subject's ancestry, birth, education, activities, and death. Comparison with classical heroes, or, in the case of Christian hagiography, biblical figures, forms an important section towards the end of most *enkomia*.

8. Monastic catecheses: Catecheses delivered in a monastic setting survive from the middle and later periods of Byzantine history. Examples include the catechetical homilies of Theodore of Stoudios, Symeon the New Theologian, and Paul of Evergetis. Catecheses, which abbots normally delivered to their monks several times each week after the office of orthros, deal with ethical and practical issues, attempting to strengthen the asceticism and moral determination of the congregation. Like exegetical and catechetical homilies intended for the general public, monastic catecheses quote and expound Scripture, but they emphasize its moral implications more than its theological meaning. Much information about daily life in monasteries and the relations between monks and their abbots may be gleaned from monastic catecheses.

9. Theological homilies: The aim of theological homilies is to expound Christian doctrine, sometimes in response to external or internal challenges or in connection with liturgical associations. It is frequently difficult to determine whether a theological oration was actually intended for public delivery or whether its author intended it as a written treatise. Whereas many fourth- and fifth-century theological discourses appear to be intended for private reading, John of Damascus' three orations in defence of images contain features of oral delivery, including rhetorical questions and exclamations, lack of structure, and repetition. The precise circumstances of delivery are often lacking for theological orations, however, and it is likely that

in subsequent centuries they were used for educational purposes rather than as liturgical readings.

TRANSMISSION

Byzantine homilies are transmitted mainly in liturgical collections (called homiliaries), panegyrica, menologia, and mixed collections, arranged in the order of the liturgical year (Ehrhard 1937–52). Most surviving examples were compiled after the ninth century and appear to have been used as readings in church. It is unlikely that such readings, which according to surviving *typika* were delivered in the course of monastic offices and vigils, ever took the place of spontaneous preaching. These compilations were selective in their transmission of texts, however, with famous early Fathers such as John Chrysostom, John of Damascus, Andrew of Crete, and a number of others being favoured over less well-known preachers of the later period. After the ninth century, special collections containing the homilies of just one preacher, such as Photios, Leo VI, and John Xiphilinos, began to appear. It is likely that these authors edited their sermons carefully before publication even if these had originally been delivered in a less formal manner. The use of stenography, or the copying down in shorthand of preachers' extempore homilies is well attested in the early centuries of the Church, with the works of Origen, the Cappadocian Fathers, John Chrysostom, and Cyril of Jerusalem representing the best-known examples. The ninth-century patriarch Tarasios employed stenographers, as did his contemporary, Theodore of Edessa. Whether or not preachers spoke spontaneously, according to the best traditions of Greek rhetoric, or wrote out their sermons beforehand, it is likely that most edited them carefully before they were published in liturgical or special collections (Antonopoulou 1997: 100–1). Preachers throughout the Byzantine period quoted freely or even incorporated sections of earlier homiletic works; as in other genres of literature, plagiarism does not appear to have carried the stigma that it does today.

THE IMPORTANCE OF HOMILETICS

Homilies represent an important source of information for historians, philologists, theologians, and art historians. From an historical point of view, homilies, especially those written before the seventh century, provide insight into the daily lives

of ordinary people, their behaviour and reactions to preaching in church, and a wealth of other *realia* (see MacMullen 1989: 503–11; Allen and Mayer 1993: 260–80). Homilies of all periods represented the Church authorities' main vehicle for conveying to the population an approved set of social norms, theological teaching, and ethical values. From a philological point of view, homilies may display levels of style ranging from the simple *koine* of New Testament Greek to the high-flown, atticizing or asianic rhetoric of the Second Sophistic. As the only liturgical texts in which rhetorical skills could be displayed to the full, homilies of all periods represent important examples of Byzantine literary invention. Whereas some homilies expound complex theological ideas, the majority convey fairly simple summaries of Christian teaching, emphasizing especially the central doctrines of the incarnation and resurrection of Christ. Art historians have suggested that homilies of all periods influenced the development of iconography and choice of images in monumental art. Only a few illustrated homiliaries (manuscript collections of homilies) survive, in contrast to the large numbers of illustrated bibles, lectionaries, and menologia. Homilies remain a largely untapped source of information for all of these fields, owing to the number of surviving texts and the lack of translations into modern languages.

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Suggested Further Reading

No comprehensive textbook covering the field of Byzantine homiletics yet exists. Introductions to various aspects of the subject may be found in M. Sachot, 'Homilie', *Realexikon für Antike und Christentum* 16 (1992): 148–75; Kennedy 1983; Cunningham 1990; Antonopoulou 1997, especially pt. II, ch. 1: 'The development of the Byzantine homiletic tradition (4th–10th centuries)'. The development of a specifically Christian form of rhetorical discourse in the early centuries of the Church and its expression in homilies is explored in A. M. Cameron, *Christianity and the Rhetoric of Empire: The Development of Christian Discourse* (Berkeley 1991).

Lists of extant homilies to the eighth century CE are provided in M. Geerard (ed.), *Clavis Patrum Graecorum*, I–V; *Supplementum* (Brepols–Turnhout, 1983–98) and for enkokia of Christ, the Virgin Mary, and other saints, see F. Halkin (ed.), *Bibliotheca hagiographica graeca*, I–III; *Auctarium*, IV; *Novum Auctarium*, V (Brussels, 1957–69).

On the origins of Christian homiletics, see now Stewart-Sykes 2000. Studies of homiletics in the Patristic period include E. Mühlberg and J. van Oort (eds.), *Predigt in der Alten Kirche* (Kampen, 1994); D. G. Hunter (ed.), *Preaching in the Patristic Age: Studies in Honor of Walter J. Burghardt*, S.J. (New York, 1989).

On the use of rhetoric in homilies, especially with reference to John Chrysostom, see T. E. Ameringer, 'The Stylistic Influence of the Second Sophistic on the Panegyric Sermons

of St John Chrysostom: A Study in Greek Rhetoric' (Ph.D. thesis, Catholic University of America, Washington, DC, 1921).

Audience–preacher relations are explored in A. Olivar, *La Predicacion Cristiana Antigua* (Barcelona, 1991); with reference to homilies of John Chrysostom in Mayer and Allen 2000 and MacMullen 1989. For various preachers between the second and ninth century CE, see M. Cunningham and P. Allen (eds.), *Preacher and Audience: Studies in Early Christian and Byzantine Homiletics* (Leiden, 1998). An excellent summary may also be found in Antonopoulou 1997: 105–10.

The manuscript transmission of Byzantine homilies of all periods may be studied in Ehrhard 1937–52. See also the review of this monumental work by C. Martin, 'Aux sources de l'hagiographie et de l'homilétique byzantines', *Byzantion* 12 (1937): 347–62. For a more general discussion which includes homiliaries in other Christian languages, see R. Grégoire, 'Homéliers orientaux', *Dictionnaire de Spiritualité* 7, pt. 1 (Paris, 1968): 606–17.

On 'dramatic' homilies, see Kecskeméti 1993: 29–68; S. MacCormack, 'Christ and empire: time and ceremonial in sixth-century Byzantium and beyond', *Byzantion* 52 (1982): 287–309; G. La Piana, *Le Rappresentazioni sacre nella Letteratura Bizantina dalle Origini al Secolo IX* (Grottaferrata, 1912); idem, 'The Byzantine Theatre', *Speculum* 11 (1936): 171–211; A. M. Cameron, 'Disputations, polemical literature and the formation of opinion in the early Byzantine period', in G. J. Reinink and H. L. J. Vanstiphout (eds.), *Dispute Poems and Dialogues in the Ancient and Medieval Near East* (Leuven, 1991) = A. M. Cameron, *Changing Cultures in Early Byzantium* (Aldershot, 1996), III: 92–9.

Studies of individual homilists in the early Christian and Byzantine periods include A. M. Castagno, *Origene predicatore e il suo pubblico* (Turin, 1987); F. van de Paverd, *St John Chrysostom. The Homilies on the Statues: An Introduction* (Orientalia Christiana Analecta 239; Rome, 1991); M. Aubineau (ed.), *Les homélies festales d'Hésychius de Jérusalem*, I–II (Subsidia Hagiographica 59; Brussels, 1978–80); idem, *Homélies pascales: cinq homélies inédites* (Paris, 1972); Allen and Datema 1991; F. List, *Studien zur Homiletik Germanos I. von Konstantinopel und seiner Zeit* (TF 29; Athens, 1939); Antonopoulou 1997; Mango 1958; K. G. Bonis, *Prolegomena eis tas 'hermeneutikas didaskalias' tou Ioannou VIII Xiphilinou, Patriarchou Constantinopoleos* (Athens, 1937); R. E. Sinkewicz, *Theoleptos of Philadelpheia: The Monastic Discourses. A Critical Edition, Translation, and Study* (Toronto, 1992); H. Hennepf, *Das Homiliar des Patriarchen Neilos und die Chrysostomische Tradition. Ein Beitrag zur Quellengeschichte der Spätbyzantinischen Homiletik* (Leiden, 1963); V. Christophoridis, *Homilies Isidorou Glaba*, vol. 1 (Thessalonike, 1992).

CHAPTER III.18.6

EPISTOLOGRAPHY

MARGARET MULLETT

BYZANTINE epistolography was singled out by Johannes Sykutres as a genre in which Byzantine writers outpaced their classical forebears (Sykutres 1930). Work carried out largely in the second half of the twentieth century has confirmed his view and allowed more sophisticated assessments to be developed. Typically Byzantine letters are ‘real letters’ (McGann 1969), having the potential to influence events outside the text, though their position on a continuum of fact and fiction may be uncertain. They conform to an expected length (*metron*) which may relate to a single sheet of parchment; in many collections this represents around 400 words. They usually lack formulas of opening and closing, and are hardly ever dated. They are composed in an elaborate prose style, influenced by epideictic rhetoric, and imbued with a ceremonial of address (Zilliacus 1953; Grünbart 2005a) which emphasizes the relationship between sender and recipient. They were carried by letter-bearers who delivered an oral message as well as the rolled and sealed parchment (Tomadakis 1993), and were often accompanied by poems, perfumes, gifts, or food (Karpozilos 1984, 1995); the symbolism of the accompaniment may connect with the content of the letter. Letters seldom abound in occasional detail, almost never relate current events, and concentrate on the author and recipient rather than on third parties. They deal with high emotion and compress its expression into the scope of the *metron* and the expected decorative and ceremonial language (Mullett 1981). Letters survive from the early period in Latin, Greek, Coptic, and Syriac, but from the seventh century Byzantine letters were in Greek. They are self-consciously aware of the difficulties of communication, and ambivalent about the quality of letters as ‘icons of the soul’ or mask—of both writer and recipient. All cloak the realities of everyday life in acceptable dress; the concept of ‘deconcretization’ (Karlsson

1962) ensures the literary status of the work, but does not make the letter any less effective as a political tool. Letters were highly valued, described as the song of the nightingale or honey from Hymettos. Fictional letters (like those of Philostratos and Alkiphron) were revived in the sixth century; the fourteenth century saw also collections of 'laconic letters'. At various periods longer letters carried a theological or philosophical argument, and works of various kinds were cast in epistolary form, for example Photios' *Bibliotheca* (Treadgold 1980). Mostly, letters have been preserved as single sides of a correspondence, but occasionally the question-and-answer exchange is the important feature and letters the medium (Regnault 1997; Chrysavgis 2003). Letters from different milieux may have distinctive features: letters from a monastery may have an ascetic or theological aura. But they can also be more like than unlike their secular counterparts (Darrouzès 1972; Grünbart 2007). Letters are preserved from emperors, bureaucrats, bishops, soldiers, monks, schoolmasters, lawyers, rhetors, and (Hero 1986) imperial women; lead seals (Oikonomides 1983) suggest that an even wider range of people, including a *stylistissa* from her column, engaged in correspondence. They are accessible to us mostly through collections made in various ways in the Middle Ages (Grünbart and Papaioannou forthcoming).

THE THEORY OF THE LETTER

Unlike the Latin Middle Ages (Murphy 1974) with their *artes dictaminis* Byzantium did not have a rich theoretical tradition on epistolography; letter-writing was not taught in schools. Most Byzantines must have constructed their letters on the basis of *mimesis* (Hunger 1969–70), a process for which we have good evidence from late Byzantium (Webb 1994). There are three additional sources. From classical antiquity (first century BCE–first century CE) Demetrios' brief excursus in *Peri Hermeneias* is the most extensive, though not comprehensive (Roberts 1902). It touches on various issues which become important in Byzantine letter-writing and appears to have been read by some Byzantine letter-writers. Its most-quoted dictum is that 'the letter is the heart's good wishes in brief', indicating emotion within the constraints of the *metron*. Letters are more elaborate than one side of a conversation, and there are epistolary subjects and non-epistolary subjects: logic and science are simply non-epistolary. Further on, Demetrios says that the letter is the 'icon of the soul', an idea which Byzantine letter-writers were to embrace. Life-like emotion, revealing of character, appears to be the forte of letter-writers in theory as well as practice.

Demetrios further tries to distinguish the letter from other forms. 'The letter should be a little more studied than the dialogue since the latter reproduces an extempore utterance, while the former is committed to writing and is (in a way) sent as a gift.' Letters are not an oratorical display, the work of an actor, a treatise, a speech for the law courts, or philosophy. Finally, the letter should be a compound of two styles, the graceful and the plain. The letter as gift is a concept which will run throughout Byzantine literature, and its style will tend more to the graceful or decorated than the plain.

The second theoretical treatment of letters is in letter 51 of Gregory of Nazianzos, to Nikoboulos (Gallay 1964–7). Gregory is replying to a request for a discussion of letter-writing. Writers are like archers; some exceed the mark, others fall short. The essential characteristics of epistolary style for him (and he was a model for many Byzantines) are *syntomia*, *sapheneia*, and *charis*. On brevity, he shows flexibility: necessity is the *metron* of a letter. If the subject demands it, a letter should be longer; if otherwise, it should be shorter. But his conclusion reinforces its importance.

Secondly he deals with clarity. Romilly Jenkins said 'a Byzantine letter is an impersonal rhetorical flourish which either contains no message at all, or if it does, the message is couched in so obscure and allusive a fashion as to be nearly unintelligible' (Jenkins 1963a). We now believe that letters always contained a message, even if they were fictional, or if that message was purely a desire for communication. But in the Middle Byzantine period 'obscurity becomes established as a definite literary standard... by men such as Geometres and Sikelianos' (Kustas 1973). Gregory, however, asserts the difference between a riddle and a letter: decoding a letter is undesirable. He shuns the form of a speech and tends towards the tone of conversation. Other commentators point out that letters have more need to be clear than other forms: Simplicios explaining Aristotle's deliberate use of obscurity in the *Categories* points out that in his letters 'he more than provides that combination of clarity and grace which the epistolary style requires' (Kalbfleisch 1907).

Gregory's third quality is grace. He discusses figures of style, to be used moderately like purple in woven garments. Gregory urges less sophistication and more nature, or emulation of nature. And his final observation is that Nikoboulos will learn the rest from practice, for he is well disposed, and people who are good at letter-writing will teach him. But there is a conflict here: riddles and proverbs decorate, but also obscure. This offers infinite scope for the letter-writers of the future.

Finally, Byzantines had access to another kind of text, the *Types of letters*, of which two main groups of manuscripts survive: ps.-Demetrios, *Epistolary types*, and ps.-Libanios, *Epistolary styles* (Weichert 1910; Malosse 2004). Ps.-Demetrios (second century BCE–third century CE) lists 21 kinds of letter: friendly, commendatory, blaming, etc. and proceeds to work through the types, giving examples as he goes. Ps.-Libanios (fourth–sixth century CE) aims to help the letter-writer to write 'not artlessly or indifferently, but with the greatest precision and skill. One could write

in the best possible style if he knew what an epistle was, what, generally speaking, custom allowed one to say in it, and into what types it was divided.' He adds a definition: 'A letter then is a kind of written conversation with someone from whom one is separated, and it fulfils a definite need. One will speak in it as though in the company of the absent person.' He then launches into 45 different types of letter. Finally he demands Attic style, clarity, length determined by the subject-matter, conciseness, and archaism. He uses the same archery metaphor as Gregory of Nazianzos, and finally, before a set of examples, says that 'mentioning works of history and fables will lend charm to letters, as well as ancient writers, well-aimed proverbs and philosophers' doctrines.

What these texts are dealing with is genre: the rhetorical kinds of writing which are determined by mood or occasion as well as the expectations of the form. They are the closest that we get in Byzantium to a theory of genre. Taken with the *Peri Hermeneias* and Gregory, we can also piece together a theory of the letter which leaves maximum room for manoeuvre, offers ambiguity around brevity, clarity, and decoration, and makes it clear that the letter is both a gift and a portrait of the soul.

AN OVERVIEW OF BYZANTINE LETTER-WRITING

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The total of extant letters may number somewhere around 15,000; there are upward of 150 major letter-collections dating between 300 and 1500. Surviving letter-collections before 900 are few but fairly sizeable, the biggest being those of Libanios (Cabouret 2000; Fatouros and Krischer 1980), Neilos of Ankyra (Cameron 1976), and Isidore of Pelousion (Halton 1995). The earliest are the desert letters of Antony (Rubenson 1995), Ammonas (Outtier 1985; Brenneke 2002), and the collection of Athanasios of Alexandria (Merendino 1965). But it is in the writings of Libanios, the emperor Julian (Eitrem 1957), and Synesios (Garzya 1989; Rocques 1989) that we first see the full development of Byzantine letter-writing practice. With the three Cappadocian Fathers it took on a Christian tone (Courtonne 1973; Dennis 1988); together with Theodoret of Cyrillus (Wagner 1948) and John Chrysostom, who introduced the theme of writing from exile into Byzantine letter-writing (Callegari 1976), they were subsequently regarded as classic epistolographers (Webb 1994). This was also a great period of letter-writing in the West: Augustine's letters (Keenan 1935) have much in common with those of Basil the Great or Julian, and Paulinus of Nola's letters best express late antique views of friendship (Amherdt 2004). The end of this milieu, where exchange of letters was regarded as a valued and expected bond

of an intellectual society spanning the Mediterranean, may be seen in the letters of Cassiodorus (Leanza 1983) and Sidonius Apollinaris (Anderson 1936), each in his own way coming to terms with successor states in the western empire. In the East the long sixth century saw an Indian summer of the ancient form of the fictional letter in the works of Prokopios of Gaza (Garzya and Loenertz 1963), Aristaenetos (Arnott 1973, 1975, 1982), and Theophylact Simocatta (Moffatt 1984) just as epigrams and Thucydidean history were also revived.

Letters reflect the great changes of the seventh century: seventh- to ninth-century letter-collections are far more political in content and tend to express the vicissitudes of ecclesiastical crises, from the struggles of Maximos Confessor against monotheletism (Louth 1996) through the iconoclastic dispute to the Photian schism and the tetragamy (Laourdas and Westerink 1951; Jenkins and Laourdas 1956). The number of collections is low, but letters were a vital means of holding together political allies as the collection of Theodore of Stoudios demonstrates (Alexander 1977). The contemporary collection of Ignatios of Nicaea, however, shows epistolographic commonplaces common to the patristic era and the tenth century (Mango and Efthymiadis 1997). The first signs of the end of the Dark Age come with the letters of Photios although the polemic aspect of Byzantine letters continues well into the tenth century with the collections of Nicholas Mystikos and Arethas (Jenkins and Westerink 1973; Karlin-Hayter 1965).

But there are major collections in the tenth century, when the letter realized its potential (Darrouzès 1960; Darrouzès and Westerink 1978; Vinson 1985). We have letters from many of the major figures of the period: emperors, generals, diplomats, bishops, and important monastic leaders. There is a standard repertoire of *topoi*, and an expectation of brilliance and craftsmanship. Developments in the eleventh century are hard to document: as well as smaller collections we have only the mangled collection of John Mauropous (Karpozilos 1982, 1990) and the major ones of Michael Psellos (Papaioannou 1998) and Theophylact of Ochrid (Mullett 1997). But from Theophylact the line is clear; it runs through his relatives the Tornikai (Darrouzès 1970) to the Constantinopolitan generation of Theodore Prodromos (Op̄ de Coul 2006), Michael Italikos (Gautier 1972), and John Tzetzes (Grünbart 1996), and on to the end of the century with the productions of Eustathios of Thessalonike, Euthymios Tornikes, Euthymios Malakes, and the Choniates brothers (Kolovou 1995, 1999; Darrouzès 1965).

The fourth Crusade of 1204 was not significant in terms of letters: there is very little difference between the epistolary worlds of Euthymios Malakes and Michael Choniates and those of Demetrios Chomatianos (Prinzing 2002), John Apokaukos (Lampropoulos 1988; Delemars 2000), or even Michael Gabras (Fatouros 1973). But the Palaiologan period is different: as many letter collections survive from the thirteenth–fifteenth centuries as from the previous thousand years, and they are very varied. Many continue the themes of the middle period, others show the effect of politics (hesychasm, the Civil Wars, Union of the Churches, the Fall) but

in general letters are more open and descriptive: Demetrios Kydones (Tinnefeld 2003; Kianka 1992; Hatlie 1996*b*) wrote a letter on the plague of 1347 which has no parallel in earlier letter-writing. Writers are closer to events than their predecessors, so there is a fusion between public and private in the correspondence. The letters of the patriarch Athanasios (Talbot 1975), Gregory Akindynos (Hero 1983), Nikephoros Gregoras (Leone 1982–3), Theodore Metochites (Ševčenko 1975), John Chortasmenos (Hunger 1957), Symeon of Thessalonike (Balfour 1979), and Manuel II (Dennis 1977) show this clearly. *Ekphraseis* of places and cities become more frequent together with the ever-popular descriptions of journeys, as does travel itself: early Byzantine concerns about the difficulties and seasonality of letter-exchange give way to travellers missing letters because they have moved on too quickly in the cosmopolitan world of Venice and Cyprus, Florence and Thessalonike—and indeed of the Ottoman Empire.

READING BYZANTINE LETTERS

Byzantinists have long ceased (Dennis 1984) to bemoan the vacuous nature of Byzantine letters and have come to appreciate them both as significant artefacts of Byzantine literature and for what they can teach us about Byzantine society (Dennis 1988). Work on the nature of letter-collections and methodology (Hörandner and Grünbart 2003) has followed the publication of important collections in the past thirty years. Authorial and other collections, arrangement by chronology or theme, the inclusion or not of detail, are major issues which remain to be teased out (Grünbart and Papaioannou forthcoming). There are implications for the study of literacy and education (Mullett 1990; Markopoulos 1982, 2000). Other issues which may be illuminated by letters are those of the spread of news within the empire and internal communications. The process of letter-exchange is depicted in biblical and historical manuscripts, such as the Madrid Skylitzes, and deserves more research. More recently letters have been used to analyse personal networks and their efficacy (Mullett 1997; Ysebaert 2005; Grünbart 2005*c*), and indeed to determine the nature of personal relations in a spectrum including patronage, ritual and fictive kinship, and the place of emotions and the erotic in Byzantium (Mullett 1999; 2003). Recent work has also focused on the individual and the autobiographic potential of letter-collections, and the rhetorical quality of *pathos* (Papaioannou 2003). In certain periods (twelfth and fourteenth centuries) letters also appear to be prime sources for understanding the nature and interactions of literary society and the aristocracy (Mullett 1984; Gaul forthcoming). This all depends on a clearer sense of the expectations of the letter-reading public (for private letters were seldom private) and of

the aesthetics of epistolography. *Mimesis* is key, but it has been established that the use of classical quotation was measured and varied, and that classical and biblical quotations may be used in different ways, placed in different positions in the letter (Littlewood 1988). The theorists' conflict between *sapheneia* and *charis* is worked out in practice with a certain literary obscurity created by a decorative casing of proverbs, mythology, allusions, and wordplay. The thematics of letters remain those of the types of ps.-Demetrios and ps.-Libanios, among which predominate death (Littlewood 1999), separation, sickness (Timplalexi 2002), friendship (Tinnefeld 1973; Ysebaert 2005), and exile, while politics (George 2006), and the careers of the correspondents (Grünbart 2005*b*), interact with these timeless themes. Of late the potential fictionality of the letter has been considered and ways in which narrative includes letters and letters involve narrative (Mullett 2007)—included letters were standard in histories (Taragna 2000) and novels (Harder 1997). In all this recent work there is a concern for the epistolarity of the letter, those qualities that mark the writing as belonging to a letter.

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Suggested Reading

There is as yet no equivalent to the introductory work of Giles Constable for the medieval west, *Letters and Letter-Collections* (Turnhout, 1976), now supplemented by Mary Garrison, 'Send more socks: on mentality and the preservation context of early medieval letters', in M. Mostert (ed.), *New Approaches to Medieval Communication* (Turnhout, 1999). A useful review article is Hatlie 1996a, which suggests various lines of research for the future as well as surveying the achievements of the past. Crucial are Grünbart 2001a, 2005a, and his web-bibliography.

His articles in *Lo spazio letterario del medioevo*, 1: *La cultura bizantina*, ed. G. Cavallo (Rome, 2004), and *Lexikon des Mittelalters* are exemplary. Early into the field were Littlewood 1976 and Mullett 1981 and 1997. For original letters preserved as such see A. K. Bowman, *Life and Letters on the Roman Frontier: Vindolanda and its People* (London, 1994); R. S. Bagnall and R. Cribiore, *Women's Letters from Ancient Egypt, 300 B.C.–A.D. 800* (Ann Arbor, 2006). Hörandner and Grünbart 2003 is an important collection. Essential is J. Altman, *Epistolarity: Approaches to a Form* (Columbus, Oh., 1982); J. Derrida, *La carte postale* (Paris, 1980) is suggestive.

CHAPTER III.18.7

POETRY AND ROMANCES

WOLFRAM HÖRANDNER

DEFINITION AND CLASSIFICATION

In this chapter the term 'poetry' refers to all texts written in verse. The traditional distinction between dramatic, epic, and lyric poetry can hardly be applied to Byzantine verse-writing. Drama does not exist in Byzantium, apart from a few pieces obviously belonging to the realm of teaching (Puchner 2002; Marciniak 2004); nor is there any lyric poetry in the sense of a genre mainly concerned with expressing individual emotions. This does not mean, however, that dramatic or lyrical elements are completely absent, but it has to be stressed that Byzantine literature, including poetry, is strongly marked by the element of function. The concept of an autonomous literature, highly esteemed by modern theorists from the period of romanticism on, is essentially alien to Byzantine literature as it is to any medieval literature (Jauss 1977). Byzantine poems, at least those written in the learned language, are very often made on behalf of a patron, and they nearly always serve a particular function, although in many cases their original purpose can no longer be established with certainty. Thus to arrive at a fair and reasonable judgement of Byzantine poetry one has to take account of its underlying aesthetic principles, on the one hand, and its role in the life of contemporary society, its *Sitz im Leben*, on the other. In this respect research has made considerable progress during the last few decades. Elements which seem strange or even bizarre and tasteless to modern readers or listeners, like the abundant use of rhetorical figures

or extremely adulatory formulations, are no longer condemned wholesale, but seen in the context of the genesis of the poems in question and of the interrelationship between author and contemporary audience.

When treating the whole of Byzantine literature, Karl Krumbacher drew a distinction between texts written in the learned language and those written in the vernacular (Krumbacher 1897). Within learned poetry he distinguished between ecclesiastical and secular poetry. Though these criteria have since been severely criticized (Kazhdan and Constable 1982), they are still useful and will therefore be applied here. The two levels of language, despite certain overlappings and mutual interferences, can be clearly distinguished (see III.17.1 Language). The overwhelming majority of texts are written in the learned language, that is, in an idiom basically modelled on the rules of ancient Attic Greek. Vulgarisms in vocabulary, morphology, and syntax occur very early; yet literary texts written entirely (or mainly) in the vernacular do not appear before the twelfth century—there is a certain parallel here to development in the Latin west—and even then writing in the popular idiom is at first restricted to a small number of genres.

In the following pages, due to the lack of space the references are restricted to some important recent publications. For editions of texts and for further bibliography the reader is recommended to consult the relevant articles of the *Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*.

POETRY IN THE LEARNED LANGUAGE

Here a distinction between liturgical and non-liturgical poetry needs to be made. The term ‘secular poetry’ used by Krumbacher for the whole of non-liturgical poetry is somewhat misleading because this group comprises also texts of religious content, and time and again secular and religious elements are contained in one and the same piece. So the decisive criterion of distinction is not so much content, but function and also form insofar as there is a clear-cut difference of metrical shape between the two spheres.

1. Liturgical Poetry

1.1. *Metrics*

In the first centuries of the Christian era perception of the length of vowels and syllables diminished. Christian hymnography took account of this linguistic process by gradually replacing the old quantitative systems with models based purely on accent (Meyer 1905; Mitsakis 1971). Thus, unlike ancient Greek poetry, the metrical

pattern of Byzantine hymnography does not consist of a regulated sequence of long and short syllables, but rather a strict regulation of the number of syllables and the position of accents. Slight deviations are possible and can be partly explained by the musical performance (Wellesz 1962).

1.2. *Kontakion*

The kontakion is a hymn type which developed, partly under Syrian influence, in the course of the fifth century and flourished in the sixth century (Grosdidier de Matons 1977, 1980–1). The stanzas are made up of metrically complex lines whose syllable numbers and placing of accents is identical in each corresponding line. The initials of the stanzas form an acrostic which either consists of the 24 letters of the alphabet or gives information about the author of the hymn. A refrain connects the stanzas with each other and with the proemium. Some hymns have a new metrical and musical pattern, others were based on existing examples. The most important author of kontakia, and indeed the only one about whose person we have some, if scanty, information, is Romanos the Melode (born around 485 in Emesa, Syria, active in Constantinople at least until 555) (Koder 2008). The style of his hymns is conspicuous for its liveliness and spontaneity, a love for details, a clear and comprehensible language, rich use of dialogue, many-faceted imagery, and an antithetic mode of expression. These elements give his hymns a persuasive character, and Herbert Hunger was certainly right in calling him a ‘poet, preacher and rhetor’ (Hunger 1984a). The approximately sixty kontakia generally considered as authentic refer to the dominical festivals and various subjects from the Old and New Testament.

A special case is that of the famous Akathistos Hymn (Trypanis 1968), also called the ‘Salutations of the Theotokos’, which is still sung in its entirety in the Greek Church. It has been associated with Romanos, but also with other authors such as George Pisides, the ascription to the latter originating in later reports about its having been recited on the occasion of the liberation of the capital from the Avar siege in 626. Because of its contents—the incarnation of Christ and the special role of the Virgin Mary—and its relationship with Marian homilies of the fifth century recent scholarship is now moving towards an earlier dating, shortly after the Council of Ephesos (431) (Peltomaa 1997, 2001).

1.3. *Kanon*

From the end of the seventh century onwards, the kontakion was gradually replaced by the kanon (Grosdidier de Matons 1980–1), which used the same basic principles of construction. Following the example of the nine biblical canticles it consists of nine (often only eight) odes which each consist of a number of stanzas. Sometimes this results in very voluminous products like, for example, the Great Kanon by

Andrew of Crete (first half of the eighth century), a penitential hymn of about 250 stanzas. Andrew's contemporaries John of Damascus and Kosmas Melodos are among the most important authors of kanons. Some monasteries became significant centres of kanon production, in particular the Stoudios monastery in Constantinople, the abbey of Grottaferrata near Rome, and the Greek monasteries in South Italy.

In its style and character the kanon differs considerably from the kontakion in that it is much less vivid and persuasive and much more contemplative and hieratic. The repertoire of rhetorical devices remains by and large unchanged, with antithesis being the most potent means of expressing the paradoxes of the Christian message (Hunger 1984*b*).

It may be mentioned in passing that the model of the kanon is sometimes also used outside the liturgical sphere, mostly for didactic poems, less frequently for satirical ones.

2. Non-Liturgical Poetry

2.1. *Metre and function*

While liturgical hymnography, apart from a few iambic kanons, pursues new paths as regards metrical shape, in non-liturgical poetry ancient metres such as the hexameter, pentameter (Opstall 2008), iambic trimeter, and anacreontic remain in use. Especially in the cases of the iambic trimeter (Maas 1903; Lauxtermann 1998) and the anacreontic (Nissen 1940; Lauxtermann 1999; Ciccolella 2000), the old quantitative patterns are combined with new accent regulations. Seen from this point of view, the early seventh century can be regarded as the period of transition from antique to Byzantine poetry. The transition from the iambic trimeter to the Byzantine dodecasyllable can be traced in the oeuvre of George Pisides (first third of the seventh century): while following the old laws of the iambic metre strictly, he also increasingly observes the new tendencies of the dodecasyllable, that is, a constant number of syllables and a paroxytone verse end. The choice of metre changes too: for his epic-panegyric poems Pisides chooses the iambic trimeter whereas the court poets of the sixth century had used hexameters for poems of a similar character. In the same period an analogous change can be observed in epigrammatic poetry: while in antiquity epigrams were nearly exclusively a field for the elegiac distich, from the seventh century onwards they are mostly written in the Byzantine dodecasyllable with only a few examples in hexameter.

Beside the partly modified antique metres new models, based completely on accent regulation, emerge, particularly the so-called political verse (*stichos politikos*), a fifteen-syllable line with alternating rhythm and paroxytone ending (Jeffreys, M. 1974; Lauxtermann 1999). The earliest datable examples of poems

written entirely in this metre date from the beginning of the tenth century (Ševčenko 1969–70). In the following centuries it gains ground more and more, without replacing the other metres completely. From its first appearance in literature the political verse is closely connected with the imperial court: hymns destined for recitation in imperial ceremonies are written in political verse and often divided into stanzas which are to be sung by different choirs. Examples of this practice have been preserved from the tenth, twelfth, and thirteenth centuries (Hörandner 1974, 2003). From the very beginning this verse is also connected with the religious sphere, and from the eleventh century on it becomes the favourite metre for didactic poems. Finally it gains great popularity as the metre *par excellence* of vernacular poetry.

As mentioned above, Byzantine poems more often than not have to fulfil a certain function, whether the author himself writes them to serve a certain purpose, or he is writing on behalf of a patron. Some of the most important genres, defined according to criteria of contents and function, will now be discussed briefly (Hunger 1978).

2.2. *Epigram*

The epigram (Lauxtermann 1994, 2003) is a piece of antique heritage adapted to Byzantine needs and circumstances which means that religious subjects now come to predominate (Kominis 1964, 1966). Epigrams are by definition poems intended to be inscribed on various objects (Hörandner 1987, 1992, 1994; Talbot 1999) such as church decorations, icons, reliquaries, textiles (Speck 1966; Nunn 1986), etc. Usually, though by no means always, they are short and transmit a message in a very pregnant way. Some have been preserved in their original positions, others have been copied in manuscripts. The most important collection of antique and Byzantine epigrams is the *Anthologia Palatina* (Cameron 1993; Lauxtermann 1994, 2003, 2007), put together in the tenth century and later, towards 1300, enlarged by Maximos Planoudes (Kambylis 1994–5). Another collection, preserved in the manuscript Venice, Marc. gr. 524 from the late thirteenth century, contains a large number of texts from the eleventh and twelfth centuries which are of great value for the cultural history of the period (Hörandner 2001; Odorico and Messis 2003). Sometimes the patron may be the author of the verses but more frequently professional poets were charged with the task of composition. Among the prominent poets active in this field we may mention George Pisides, Theodore Stoudites, John Geometres, John Mauropous, Christopher of Mitylene, Nicholas Kallikles, Theodore Prodromos, and Manuel Philes.

2.3. *Ekphrasis (description)*

Beside epigrams, which often have a descriptive character (Maguire 1994, 1996a and 1996b; see also III.16.1 Art and text, in this volume), long poetical descriptions of

monuments and events have been preserved (Hörandner 2006). Some of them are obviously meant as a vehicle of imperial representation, for example, the lengthy and very detailed description of the Hagia Sophia by Paul the Silentiary (Macrides and Magdalino 1988) which was recited on the occasion of the reopening of the church (562), the poem by Constantine of Rhodes (c.900) on the Church of the Holy Apostles, and the poem on a bath built by the emperor Leo VI (Magdalino 1984). Towards the end of the twelfth century Constantine Stilbes wrote a lengthy poem on a great fire in Constantinople which combines laments with passages of a descriptive character (Diethart and Hörandner 2004, 2005).

2.4. *Occasional poetry*

Under this heading we may subsume those numerous poems which have generally been written on behalf of the emperor or another prominent person and refer to historical events like wars and triumphal entries or to important events in the life of the patron like births, marriages, and deaths (Jeffreys, M. 1987). In their rich rhetorical shaping these poems mirror the aesthetic principles and feelings of the period. Beyond that they are vivid illustrations of court culture and imperial propaganda (Magdalino and Nelson 1982; Magdalino 1993; Maguire 1997; Hörandner 2003). It is evident that some writers like George Pisides, Theodore Prodromos, and Manuel Philes made their living mainly by writing poems of this kind.

Sometimes the author himself and his fate is the main subject of a poem as, for example, in some mendicant poems by Theodore Prodromos and the so-called Manganeios Prodromos, or in some of the twenty hexameter poems of Theodore Metchites (Featherstone 2000; Hinterberger 2001).

2.5. *Didactic poems and verse chronicles*

From the eleventh century onwards, beginning, as we may conclude from extant texts, with Michael Psellos, it becomes a custom to summarize the material of various disciplines in verse form. Questions of grammar, classical philology, antiquarianism, theology, jurisprudence, astrology, and medicine are treated in this way. The few verse chronicles in the learned language (Constantine Manasses, Ephraem Aenius) may also be viewed partly under this didactic aspect.

The level of these products varies considerably. Some of them are mere versified lists, others treat their subjects in a much more elaborate way. Among the most remarkable examples of the latter kind are the various poems by John Tzetzes on the Homeric epics and the so-called *Chiliads* by the same author, a huge collection of notes on various subjects mainly concerning classical antiquity. From the dedicatory prologues to the poems we often receive information about the patron.

This is the case with several poems by Tzetzes and other authors commissioned by the sebastokratorissa Eirene, a daughter-in-law of the emperor John II (Jeffreys, E. 1982). Modern scholars have even characterized this lady as the head of a literary salon.

2.6. *Religious and penitential poems*

In all the genres mentioned so far the element of religion plays an important part, be it in epigrams, descriptions of works of art, praise of emperors, or didactic poems. In addition we may mention the penitential and paraenetic alphabets (poems of contrition and admonition with alphabetical acrostic) and the Hymns of Symeon the New Theologian (around 1000) where the great mystic speaks in a very personal way of his mystical experiences.

2.7. *Verse novels*

In the twelfth century the late antique tradition of the erotic novel was revived (Beaton 1996; Agapitos 1998; Agapitos and Reinsch 2000; Cupane 2004). Four novels, imitating those of Achilles Tatius and Heliodoros, came into being. Only one of them, that by Eumathios (or Eustathios) Makrembolites, was written in prose, the other three, by Theodore Prodromos, Niketas Eugeneianos, and Constantine Manasses, were in verse. Regarding overall conception and motifs the authors follow by and large their late antique examples, and the milieu in which they place the story is basically an antique, not a Christian, one. Yet research in recent decades has also unveiled elements that are typically Byzantine as well as traits specific to each author. Typical of Makrembolites, for example, is the rich use of descriptions of works of art (Nilsson 2001). Eugeneianos is a pupil of Prodromos, but does not follow him slavishly. From Manasses' novel only fragments of a gnomic character have been preserved.

Some questions are still open, for instance, the order in which the novels were written or what factors led to the revival of the genre. There have also been attempts to explain some motifs through Latin influence.

POETRY IN THE VERNACULAR

The earliest preserved literary works using mainly or at least in great parts the vernacular date from the twelfth century (Beck 1971; Jeffreys, E. and M. 1983;

Hinterberger 2006). Although some texts may have been lost there is reason to assume that the shift from popular, orally transmitted songs to literary works using the popular idiom deliberately took place in this period. It is worth noting that the first products of this kind were obviously written by authors who generally used the learned language in their oeuvre. However, the bulk of vernacular literature has been transmitted without a named author.

1. Mendicant Poems

The writer Michael Glykas was imprisoned by the emperor Manuel I, probably because of his involvement in a conspiracy. From prison he addressed a poem to the emperor in which he used the vernacular, mostly in quotations of popular proverbs.

Things are much less clear concerning the so-called *Ptochoprodromika*. This is a group of four relatively long poems, also dating from the twelfth century, which are also addressed to the emperor (one to a *sebastokrator*) and end with a request for help. The first-person narrator (in one poem a married man, in another a monk) eloquently bewails his poverty and his miserable living conditions. In one of the poems the deplorable state of affairs of a monastery is severely criticized, and this detailed account provides much information about everyday life, particularly concerning food and drink. Many motifs are taken from poems by Theodore Prodromos, and there can be no doubt that the (Ptocho-)Prodromos to whom the manuscripts ascribe the poems is the famous rhetor and poet (Hörandner 1993). Yet the question whether this ascription is correct (Alexiou 1986 and 1999) or not (Eideneier 1991, 2007) is still not settled. As is often the case with vernacular texts, some of the *Ptochoprodromika* are available in two widely differing versions. This fact, together with the formulaic character of many verses, has led to the suggestion that the texts have been through a phase of oral transmission (Eideneier 1987).

2. Epic and Romance

2.1. Digenes Akrites

Digenes Akrites, sometimes misleadingly called the Byzantine national epic, combines elements of epic and of romance (Beaton 1993, 1996). As the title suggests, the text mainly deals with the life and adventures of a hero whose task is to defend the eastern frontier of the empire. He is the son of a Christian-Byzantine mother and a Muslim-Arab father. A number of personal and place-names can be interpreted as reminiscences of historical events of the ninth and tenth centuries.

In its present shape it dates probably from the early twelfth century. The text is transmitted in several versions which differ widely regarding the linguistic level. Their interrelationship is still under discussion (Jeffreys, E. 1998).

2.2. *Love romance*

Love romances are perhaps the most prominent genre of vernacular literature from the fourteenth century on (Agapitos 1991; Beaton 1996; Cupane 2004). They continue the tradition of the late antique novel as resumed by the authors of the twelfth century (see above) to which motifs from folk narrative are added. Western influence is strong: some romances are even complete translations from Romance languages. Thus the novels testify not only to the rise of vernacular literature in the last two centuries of the empire, but also to cultural change caused by the Latin presence in hitherto Byzantine territory.

3. Verse chronicles

Perhaps even more than the romances the two extant verse chronicles in the vernacular show a close relationship between the authors and their audience on the one hand, and the new Frankish governors on the other. The *Chronicle of Morea* reports on the time of the Frankish rule in the Peloponnese from 1204 until the end of the century. It has been preserved in Greek, French, Italian, and Aragonese versions. While the original language seems to be Greek (Jeffreys, M. 1975), the author's outlook is decidedly anti-Byzantine.

The *Chronicle of the Tocco*, published relatively recently (Schirò 1975), is expressly associated with a Frankish dynasty: it is the family chronicle of the Italian rulers of the Ionian islands and Epiros from 1377 to 1426.

4. Other genres

Apart from the above-mentioned genres several other groups of texts have to be mentioned at least cursorily. There are poetical treatments of antique subjects (*Achilleis*, the *Song of Belisarios*), satirical poems (*Spanos*), moral poems, love songs, animal fables, and finally dirges on the Fall of Constantinople. Thus, while important parts of literature remained the domain of the learned language, literature in the vernacular gained ground in various fields in the last three centuries of the empire. This development was certainly not ended in 1453, but was radically reduced by the fall of the capital.

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Suggested Reading

Once published in its entirety, Lauxtermann's two-volume *Byzantine Poetry from Pisides to Geometres* will be a comprehensive study of the poetry of the seventh to tenth centuries, its genres, its representatives, and its place in the society of its time. For concise, yet substantial information on authors, genres, and forms the relevant articles of the *ODB* are extremely useful. In addition to these and to the publications mentioned in the references, the following publications offer valuable insights into Byzantine literature, including poetry, and its world:

KANTOROWICZ, A. 1963. 'Oriens Augusti—Lever du Roi', *DOP* 17: 117–77.

KAZHDAN, A., and FRANKLIN, S. 1984. *Studies on Byzantine Literature of the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries* (Cambridge–Paris).

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CHAPTER III.18.8

MILITARY TEXTS

ERIC McGEER

BYZANTINE military literature belongs to a tradition of writings on war in Greek which reaches back to the fourth century BCE. The corpus of ancient military treatises, which the Byzantines inherited and preserved, can be divided into several genres treating war in its various aspects: *taktika*, outlining deployment and manoeuvres, and defining tactical terminology; *strategika*, presenting the principles of generalship; *poliorketika*, listing the methods and devices for attacking or defending fortified places; *naumachika*, treatises on naval warfare; and *strategemata*, collections of ruses, maxims, and military lore (Dain 1967; Hunger 1978: vol. 2, 321–40). Within these genres certain authors came to be regarded as authoritative (e.g. Aelian on tactics, Onasander on generalship), but it must be remembered that in most cases these authors were not soldiers but rhetoricians or philosophers, who wrote about war from a theoretical perspective, and did not intend their works to serve a strictly military readership or to be applied directly on the battlefield.

Byzantine military science developed within this theoretical framework. In fact, much of what we call ‘Byzantine’ military literature is the continuation of the ancient tradition in the form of copies, excerpts, and paraphrases, with the result that Byzantine military works tend to be derivative rather than original in content, and therefore shed little light on contemporary reality and practices. The great military manuscripts and compilations assembled during the tenth century, such as the *Taktika* of Leo VI (c.900) or the *Taktika* of Nikephoros Ouranos (c.1000), are good examples of the conservatism inherent in Byzantine military literature, in that they were put together from an assortment of ancient and Byzantine works to provide didactic encyclopedias of war. This does not mean, however, that these and other Byzantine military texts are wholly without current or original material, or that

the Byzantines were oblivious to the differences between ancient practices and their own. The anonymous compiler of the *Sylloge tacticorum* (c.950) inserts descriptions of contemporary equipment and tactics into a text assembled from various sources, and clearly distinguishes Byzantine armour, weapons, and formations from those of the ancients (Dain 1938: chs. 38–9, 46–7). Testimony from Byzantine authors, such as Nikephoros Phokas (tenth century) or Kekaumenos (eleventh century), indicates that soldiers read the ancient military authorities as sources of knowledge and ideas, but did not regard these works as definitive or exhaustive—both declare that commanders should combine knowledge of military literature with the lessons drawn from their own experience. In short, although the tradition of ancient military writings weighed heavily on the Byzantine tacticians, it did not prevent the development of a distinctly Byzantine approach to the art of war. The tactical handbooks produced during the second half of the tenth century furnish ample evidence of a coherent tactical system shaped according to the fighting capacity of Byzantine armies, the theatres of operation, and the nature of the enemy. Nor should the military texts be read in isolation, or the study of Byzantine warfare be confined to these sources alone. Related sources, whether historical, administrative, legal, or rhetorical, present equally valuable evidence for the conduct, logistics, and ideology of war in Byzantium.

Scholarship on Byzantine military literature has proceeded along two main paths of research. The first is philological, focusing on the manuscripts and transmission of the military texts, as well as on the linguistic and lexical evidence which they preserve for the study of medieval Greek. From the 1850s on, a succession of scholars has identified and classified some 260 manuscripts containing military texts, and has reconstituted the collection of ancient and Byzantine military writings. The most comprehensive investigation of the tradition was carried out by the French scholar Alphonse Dain (1896–1964), whose posthumously published monograph, ‘Les stratégistes byzantins’, laid out the principal manuscripts and the stages in which the corpus of *militaria* had taken shape from Antiquity, through the Byzantine period, and into the early modern age. Although in certain places subsequent scholarship has modified or improved upon Dain’s findings, his work remains the starting point for all serious study of the military treatises (Dain 1967; see also Dain 1946; Rance 2007).

The philological approach prevailed within the field of military literature until very recently. It opened the way for the publication of critical editions and translations of the military texts, a task which has been largely completed over the past thirty years, although a number of important works still await modern editions, translations, and commentaries. Indispensable as their research was, however, the specialists in this discipline were at times overly schematic in their reconstitution of the tradition and slow to recognize the historical worth of the Byzantine treatises. Yet thorough philological research applied to historical questions can produce excellent results, for example on the role of the *parakoimomenos* Basil (Mazzucchi

1978). In fairness, the appraisal of Byzantine military literature as sterile and retrospective contained a good deal of truth, and was very much in accord with the general view of Byzantine civilization until well into the twentieth century; but it did play a part in deflecting scholarly attention from a potentially rich body of source material.

The work which set the study of military literature on a new course was Dagron's 1986 edition and analysis of the treatise on guerrilla warfare (*De Velitatione*) attributed to the emperor Nikephoros Phokas (963–9) (Dagron and Mihăescu 1986; trans. Dennis 1985: 144–239). In this work, the first detailed examination of a Byzantine treatise from a historical perspective, Dagron proposed three criteria by which to gauge the relative modernity of the military texts: (1) the attention to changes in military equipment or technology, as shown by the adoption of new weapons, material, or devices; (2) the description of the enemy as a distinct people, distinguished by such features as tactics and equipment, habits and customs, religious beliefs, social structure, and motivation in battle; (3) the connection between the army and the society which put it in the field, with particular regard not only to its sources of manpower, but also to its administrative structure, legal and political status, hierarchy, and the emergence of a military elite embodying certain ideals of military prowess and prestige.

The judicious application of Dagron's criteria can be very helpful in eliciting contemporary evidence from a treatise and in weighing the balance between its theoretical and practical aspects. A further clue to the degree of realism lies in the level of language in which a treatise was written. The day-to-day Greek spoken by Byzantine soldiers was full of Latin words inherited from the old Roman army (e.g. *skoutarion*, *tenda*, *porta*, *kontubernion*, *kaballarios*, *prokoursator*, and hundreds more referring to weapons, armour, procedures, and ranks) which appear in treatises and documents drafted by military officers or officials for consultation by their peers. Byzantine Greek also absorbed many words from other languages, such as Slavic (*laisa*), Arabic (*saka*), Armenian (*tasinarios*), Turkic (*pasmagadion*), and Iranian (*klibanion*), which echo the myriad contacts with foreign peoples, not only as enemies but also as allies and mercenaries, who introduced new equipment and tactics, and hence new terms, to the Byzantines (Dawson 1998; Rance 2004). Where the level of language is concerned, the 'low' or plain level of style is characterized by simple syntax and the inclusion of Latin or foreign words. By contrast, authors striving for a more literary effect preferred to replace words of Latin or foreign origin with pure Greek equivalents (e.g. *aposkeue* for *petzimenta*), and to use a more classicizing, archaic style intended primarily for a non-military audience. Broadly speaking, the simpler the style and the more frequent the instance of technical, non-Greek terminology, the closer the treatise is likely to be to the military situation of the period in which it was written.

It will be evident from the foregoing remarks that the study of Byzantine military literature requires a close, comparative reading of the texts within the corpus, and a

thorough understanding of the progression of philological and historical research. Recent publications covering the history of the Byzantine army from the Late Roman period to 1204 (Haldon 1999), and from 1261 to 1453 (Bartusis 1992), provide the necessary background and context, while the standard secondary literature on western European and Islamic military history offer useful comparative studies of war in other medieval societies (Contamine 1984; de Vries 2002). The second half of this section will consider the major Byzantine treatises and the state of current research.

The production of Byzantine military literature was concentrated in two main periods, of which the first is the sixth century. The decline of Roman power in the West, the emergence of a Christian empire based in Constantinople, and the arrival of new enemies were among the factors which prompted the renewal of military science in an age marked by the transition from the Roman to the Byzantine way of war. The treatise taken to be the first work of Byzantine military literature is the so-called 'Byzantine Anonymous', traditionally dated (not without reservations) to the reign of Justinian (527–65), which opens with an analysis of the state and its parts and turns to an exposition, mainly theoretical, of fortifications, tactics, procedures, and other topics. Only recently, however, has this treatise been identified as part of a larger work, attributed to Syrianos Magister, which included the 'Anonymous', a section on naval warfare, and a manual on military rhetoric (Zuckermann 1990; ed. and trans. Dennis 1985: 1–135). This last is of particular significance, for its author adapted the rules of classical rhetoric to the composition of military speeches, and set the genre of military rhetoric within the Christian tradition. The influence of Syrianos' military compendium can be measured by the value assigned to it by later writers. It was among the treatises to be included in the imperial baggage train, according to Constantine VII Porphyrogenetos (913–59), whose reliance on the *Rhetorica Militaris* is evident in the two harangues which he composed for his armies during the Byzantine–Arab wars in the 950s (Dagron 1983; McGeer 2003).

The single most important Byzantine treatise is the *Strategikon* of Maurice, composed about the year 600. This work records the changes in warfare brought about by the encounter with new peoples, especially the Huns and Avars, whose skills and tactics as mounted archers forced the Byzantines to revise their methods and conduct of war (Dennis 1984; Bivar 1972; Rance forthcoming). The author of the *Strategikon* gives the preponderant role in battle to the cavalry, and devotes much of the treatise to the training, formations, and manoeuvres required of cavalrymen. The attention to archery, the use of reserves, and the emphasis on tactical flexibility stand out among his instructions. To judge from the evidence of the tenth-century manuals, the 'manifold' cavalry system outlined in the *Strategikon* long remained the standard tactical disposition for Byzantine armies. Yet the enduring interest and influence of the *Strategikon* must be attributed above all to its book 11, in which the author reviews the tactics and characteristics of the empire's enemies. Such intelligence is crucial, he states, for it allows us to adapt ourselves to each of

these enemies, both in fighting against them and in dealing with them. Although Byzantine descriptions of foreign nations vary in their immediacy, and tend to harden into cliché over time, those recorded in the *Strategikon* preserve valuable accounts of the nomadic peoples in a preliterate phase of their history (Wiita 1977; Dagron 1987). This section of the *Strategikon* also set an important precedent, for the necessity to adapt to the enemy became a deeply engrained principle of Byzantine warfare and diplomacy.

Surprisingly, despite the rise of Islam and incessant wars against the Arabs from the seventh century onwards, three centuries passed in which no military treatises appear to have been written. Not until the reign of Leo VI (886–912) did there come a resurgence of interest in military science which coincided with the reassertion of Byzantine power during the tenth century. The manuscripts, compilations, and manuals produced in this storied age of military expansion were undertaken at imperial initiative, beginning with Leo VI who, in adherence to the emperor's duty to bring order to the empire's affairs, sought to revive the study of war as a means of turning the tide against the Arabs. As his purpose was to restore the tradition, not to create a new one, his principal work, the *Taktika* (c.900), is mainly a paraphrase uniting the *Strategikon* of Maurice with Onasander's treatise on generalship; but on topics where written sources were lacking, Leo did introduce contemporary information obtained from his generals and referring to events in his own day (PG 107; Dennis forthcoming). Leo's most significant contribution is the section on the Arabs, added to the *Strategikon*'s dossier on foreign peoples, in which he identified religious zeal as the key factor in the success of the Arabs against the Byzantines. His appeal to his armies to match their enemies on the level of religious intensity, not merely in the clash of arms, exerted a powerful influence on subsequent military writings. The escalation of religious ideology promoting the image of the emperor and his armies as the defenders of Christianity, and exalting the role of soldiers fighting on behalf of their co-religionists, so pronounced in the manuals attributed to Nikephoros Phokas, stemmed from Leo's application of the Islamic model to the Orthodox Christian realm (Dagron and Mihaescu 1986: 145–60, 259–86). Leo also paid attention to the maritime elements of Byzantium's military strategies (the relevant texts are collected in Dain 1943; see also Pryor and Jeffreys 2006 and II.8.9 Shipping and seafaring, in this volume).

The reign of Leo's son Constantine VII (913–59) stands as the decisive phase in the history of military literature. This emperor, who saw it as his duty to preserve the intellectual heritage of the past, was the guiding spirit behind the assembly and copying of military writings, both ancient and Byzantine, in a single collection (Florence, Laur. LV-4 preserves the core of the tradition). The same spirit of encyclopedism is evident in the major works produced during this time, notably the second, expanded recension of the *Taktika* of Leo VI, and in the anonymous manual known as the *Sylloge Tacticorum*; but, as noted above, this text demonstrates that Byzantine compilers did not approach their sources uncritically. The

underappreciated *Sylloge* also commands attention for its exposition of current infantry and cavalry tactics, which shows the further development of Byzantine tactical doctrine.

The once untapped manuals on siege warfare composed in this period have lately attracted scholarly attention. The treatise of the pseudonymus Heron of Byzantium draws on classical poliorcetic works to present the machines and devices used in offensive siege operations (Sullivan 2000). Here again, despite the derivative nature of the work, the author's approach is noteworthy. He attempted to communicate technical information in terms comprehensible to all readers, and he provided realistic diagrams of the siege engines and methods covered in the text. The result is an innovative demonstration of siege technology which commanders could easily consult. What they made of this or other poliorcetic treatises is best encapsulated by the author and soldier Nikephoros Ouranos (c.1000), who concluded his own chapter on sieges by remarking that although the ancients had created an impressive repertoire of siege technology, his own experience had proved that tunnelling operations were the most effective. That sieges were just as much psychological as technical contests is demonstrated by the anonymous manual known as the *De Obsidione Toleranda*, which discusses siege warfare from the perspective of the defenders (van den Berg 1947; trans. Sullivan 2003). The pastiche of sources in this treatise makes it necessary to sift the evidence with care; but the author does present valuable information concerning the measures by which the defenders sought to ensure the town's defences and security, and to maintain morale, during an extended siege.

The gap between theory and practice closes when we come to the tactical handbooks written or inspired by the soldier-emperor Nikephoros Phokas. Unlike his imperial predecessors, Phokas knew war in both its theoretical and practical dimensions, and the handbooks under his name recorded the methods and procedures employed by Byzantine armies fighting against the Arabs along the eastern frontiers of the empire. His treatise on guerrilla warfare, the aforementioned *De Velitatione*, focuses on the defensive campaigns conducted by the Byzantine frontier forces against Arab raiders, listing four main kinds of raid and the measures best suited to counter each one. The treatise evokes the martial spirit of the Byzantine–Arab borderlands, on the periphery of the empire, and expresses the intensity of religious motivation in a frontier society where the struggle between Christianity and Islam had dominated life for over two centuries. A training manual attributed to Phokas, the *Praecepta Militaria*, shows the transition from a defensive to an offensive policy during the 950s and 960s (McGeer 1995). Here Phokas rehearses the steps by which to prepare an army of combined infantry and cavalry to meet and destroy hostile forces in battle. Its most interesting sections are the battle plans, in which Phokas sketches out the various tactical situations his soldiers might face and the necessary reactions in each case. Beyond the practical information which they convey about the equipment, logistics, and tactics of the time, however, Phokas' treatises afford

the reader a glimpse into the nature of war in Byzantium, especially the physical and psychological factors, and the need for constant training and discipline to maintain the army's battle-worthiness. A third handbook, known as the *De Re Militari*, was prompted by Phokas but written after his death (Dennis 1985: 241–335). It outlines the construction of the expeditionary camp and reviews the procedures for Byzantine armies on the march; although it refers to the western side of the empire, the *De Re Militari* combines with its companion treatises to demonstrate the comprehensiveness and sophistication of Byzantine military science.

The tradition of military literature ends with the *Taktika* of Nikephoros Ouranos. A vast compilation of ancient and Byzantine tacticians, with a modicum of current material inserted by its compiler, and not yet published in full, it both typifies the military writings of the Byzantines and points to the amount of research still to be done on this body of literature. This applies not only to the edition of the texts but also to the further elucidation of the treatises with reference to archaeological and artistic evidence, technology and material culture, geographical and historical studies, lexical and linguistic research, and the ideological, religious, and cultural dimensions of war in the medieval world.

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CHAPTER III.19

MUSIC

ALEXANDER LINGAS

INTRODUCTION

TODAY 'Byzantine music' most commonly refers to the received eastern Mediterranean and Balkan traditions of monophonic singing in Christian services of the Byzantine rite. Here, however, it will denote the full spectrum of musical activity—practical and speculative, secular as well as sacred—practised within the East Roman Empire that was ruled from Constantinople. Musical activity in the Byzantine cultural and religious mainstream fell into three, partially overlapping, areas: (a) the transmission, study, and application of late antique writings on music; (b) secular vocal and instrumental performance, diverse in form and function and ranging from music for imperial ceremonies to folk song; and (c) the practices and repertoires of Christian sacred song known collectively as 'psalmody', the development of which is closely tied to that of Byzantine liturgy as a whole due to singing's role as the primary—or, in the cathedral tradition, the only (Strunk 1977: 115; Lingas 1996*b*: 2–9)—medium for audible liturgical texts. The literary and physical evidence for Byzantine music, the study of which is in many cases still at preliminary stages, includes treatises of music theory, lyrics (with or without musical notation), literary references to music and musicians, depictions of music-making in visual art, and the archaeology of churches and other performance venues. Interpretations of this material must be tempered by recognition of Byzantine musicians' reliance on oral methods of transmission, which was apparently total for secular music.

What follows is a brief survey of Byzantine musical culture from its foundations in the cosmopolitan cities and monastic deserts of the late antique Mediterranean

to 1453. The traditions of the empire's linguistic and religious minorities—including Armenian, Coptic, Latin, Slavic, and Syrian Christians, as well as Romaniote Jews and Muslims—will only be considered where their contributions are known to have impinged directly on musical developments in the Byzantine mainstream. This decision was made partly for reasons of space (which also precludes a detailed treatment of notation), and partly because the histories of these musical 'others' have, at best, been unevenly studied (for some recent studies, see the relevant chapters of Danielson, Marcus, and Reynolds 2002).

THE FOUNDATIONS OF BYZANTINE MUSICAL CULTURE

1. Pagan and Secular Music

Around the time of Christianity's legalization in 313 CE, music was integral to the conduct of many public and private activities, including festivals honouring pagan gods, theatrical presentations, sports events, symposia, wedding banquets, and funerals. Monophonic song was the dominant form of music, but instruments were widely employed both with and without voices. The most important melody instruments belonged to the families of the lyre, plucked string instruments that included the kithara played by professionals, and the aulos, a cylindrical single- or double-reed wind instrument often played in pairs and known for its piercing tone. Hydrostatic and pneumatic pipe organs were used domestically and in public processions, while large models were installed in amphitheatres. Brass and percussion instruments were routinely employed in military and state ceremonial.

Despite the existence since classical times of Greek systems of instrumental and vocal notation, melodies were evidently transmitted mostly by ear. From the small corpus of notated sources (mostly fragments and all gathered in Pöhlmann and West 2001), West (1992: 196) discerns two stylistic trends in the Hellenic music of Late Antiquity: the creation of a mildly florid vocal style characterized by the setting of single syllables to multiple notes; and a growing preference for the diatonic genus (obscured in some instances by the use of melodic inflections of a semitone or less). Many of these features are displayed by the Hymn to the Trinity from the Oxyrhynchus Papyrus 1786 (3rd or 4th cent.; Pöhlmann and West 2001: 190–4), the only surviving example of an early Christian song with ancient Greek notation and thus a fully recoverable melody.

The surviving corpus of late antique theory also shows continuity with Hellenistic traditions through its extensions and codifications of earlier musical

thought (Mathiesen 1999: 355–607). Porphyry (232/3–305 CE) and Aristides Quintilianus (probably late 3rd or early 4th cent.) ambitiously sought to unite the science of harmonics (which includes the tuning of scales) with late antique elaborations of Pythagorean and Platonic teachings regarding the cosmological and ethical significance of music. Of more modest scope is an undated group of instructional handbooks distilling Aristoxenian and Euclidean teachings on harmonics. Notable among these are the writings attributed to Gaudentios and Alypius, which contain the fullest surviving accounts of ancient Greek musical notation. The problem of dating these handbooks is particularly acute in the case of Bakchios Geron, whose treatise carries a dedication that may apply to either Constantine I or to Constantine VII Porphyrogennetos (Troelsgård 1988: 231–3).

2. Christianity and Music

The rise of the Christian Church as an institution had important ramifications for musical practice in what, by the end of the fourth century, had become an officially Christian Roman Empire. First among these was the formation of Christian psalmody as a regionally varied body of repertoires and practices, a process initiated during the fourth century by monks in the deserts of Egypt and Palestine. Seeking to fulfil literally St Paul's command to 'pray without ceasing' (1 Thess. 5: 17), they chanted biblical psalms in sequence, punctuating their psalmody with prayers and readings. Monasticism's spiritual prestige contributed to the rapid diffusion of psalm singing among urban Christians (McKinnon 1994), who adapted it for their own emerging 'cathedral' traditions of worship. In place of textually continuous and probably musically simple solo cantillation, urban churches offered melodious renditions of biblical psalms and canticles chosen for their thematic relevance to their nascent daily, weekly, and yearly liturgical cycles. Sonic interest was further enhanced by dividing the performance of psalmody among groups of singers arranged hierarchically to reflect both ecclesial status and musical gifts: while ordained soloists or choirs sang the major part of any given text, groups of less musically skilled singers—including, in some instances, the entire congregation—chimed in after each verse with refrains varying in length from a single word to a brief paragraph. Responsorial psalmody, otherwise known as call and response, was the simplest form of alternation. Antiphonal psalmody was more complex, employing multiple groups of singers and, in some instances, more than one refrain (Taft 2003; Nowacki 1995: 287–304).

Psalmody was recognized by urban pastors as serving their pastoral agendas. Its structured performances and scriptural basis promoted good order and orthodoxy, concerns enshrined in the Council of Laodikeia's proscription of 'privately composed psalms' (canon 59) and its limitation of musical leadership from the ambo to ordained cantors (canon 15; McKinnon 1987: 118–19). Worship was rendered

more accessible by refrains, which allowed for congregational participation, and melodically appealing settings, which made the reception of doctrine pleasurable and popularized the use of psalms in private devotions (McKinnon 1994). Psalmody also offered an antidote for what the patristic writers were united in denouncing as deleterious elements of non-Christian musical culture. Chief among these was the use of voices and instruments (especially the aulos and kithara) to excite bodily passions in pagan rituals, funerals, wedding banquets, and the theatre (McKinnon 1965). Rhetorically fierce and supported by canonical legislation that officially placed such activities off limits for Christian clergy and laity, these polemics were nevertheless selective: the instruments of state ceremonial were not attacked, whilst positive musical metaphors are sprinkled throughout the writings of the Church Fathers (McKinnon 1987: 6–7). Underlying the Church Fathers' positive and negative assessments was the belief, shared with contemporary science and philosophy, that music possessed ethical properties related to the mathematical proportions governing its tunings which operated at levels ranging from the microcosm of the individual human being to the macrocosm of astronomy (Vourles 1994; for some late Byzantine references to the ethical power of music, see Lingas 1996*b*: 201).

PSALMODY IN CONSTANTINOPLE AND PALESTINE

The politically turbulent period encompassing the end of Late Antiquity and Byzantium's 'Dark Centuries' witnessed significant innovations in the form and practice of Christian psalmody, particularly in the vicinities of Constantinople and Jerusalem. These developments contributed both to the distinctiveness of the two cities' liturgical rites (about which, see III.11.4 Liturgy above as well as Taft 1992) and to the formation of the musical repertoires of 'Byzantine chant'.

1. Constantinople

Constantinople's rise to geopolitical and ecclesiastical prominence was accompanied by the creation of two local liturgical rites: the monastic Office of the Sleepless Monks ('Akoimetoï'), which disappeared after the rise of Stoudite monasticism, and the cathedral rite of the Great Church of Hagia Sophia, which remained in at least partial use until the Ottoman conquest. The 'Sleepless' monks maintained a daily cycle of 24 offices (one for each hour of the day), the celebration of which was rotated between three choirs serving eight-hour shifts. The survey of their

worship by Phountoules (1963) suggests that their services offered little in the way of melodically elaborate singing or non-scriptural hymnody.

The roots of distinctly Constantinopolitan forms of cathedral psalmody are traceable to the archiepiscopacy of John Chrysostom (398–404), who countered Arian musical propaganda with psalmodic processions featuring doctrinally orthodox refrains (McKinnon 1987: 101–4). His countermeasures laid the foundations for an elaborate system of stational liturgy that united the capital's sacred geography in song and endowed the services of the Great Church with processional psalmody that was employed even on non-stational days (Baldovin 1987: ch. 5). Imperial patronage helped both to institutionalize and to magnify the scale of these developments through the construction of churches that were architecturally suitable for the new rites and by financially maintaining the clergy who chanted them. Under Herakleios (Nov. 1, ed. Konidaris 1982: 62–72, 94–100), the pool of clergy that served Justinian's Great Church of Hagia Sophia and its dependent foundations reached 525, including 160 readers (*anagnostai*, whose duties according to later sources included choral singing; see Mateos 1963: vol. 2. 52, 283, 328–9; Schlötterer 1953: 4–13) and 25 cantors (*psaltai*) (Moran 1986: 14–38; 2005: 1–3). Liturgical commentators saw in the magnificence of these Constantinopolitan services reflections of the heavenly liturgy celebrated by the angels, an identification made explicit in the Divine Liturgy by the addition of the processional chant known as the *Cheroubikon* ('We who in a mystery represent the Cherubim...').

The height of what Taft calls Constantinopolitan liturgy's 'Imperial Phase' (see III.11.4 Liturgy, above) coincided with the emergence of hymns influenced by Syriac prototypes: isosyllabic Greek hymns *kata stichon* and the elaborate metrical sermons known as *kontakia*, consisting of at least one short preface (*proimion* or *koukoulion*) succeeded by a series of up to forty metrically and melodically identical strophes known as *oikoi* that are united by an acrostic (Mitsakis 1986). The *oikoi* share with the *koukoulion* a refrain, the original purpose of which was presumably to encourage congregational participation in their performance between the offices of an urban all-night vigil (*pannychis*) (Grosdidier de Matons 1977: 104; Lingas 1995).

2. Palestine

In 478 St Sabas (439–532) founded his eponymous monastery in the desert southeast of Jerusalem, the members of which would gather on weekends for the celebration of an all-night psalmodic vigil (*agrypnia*). The community soon established strong ties with the outside world, stationing in Jerusalem a colony of monks that was known collectively as the *spoudaioi* and contributed to worship at the Holy Sepulchre. The ascent of the monks John Moschos (d. 619 or 634) and Sophronios (d. 638) to the Holy City's patriarchal throne inaugurated a period during which

the psalms and canticles of the Palestinian cathedral and the monastic rites were adorned on Sundays and major solemnities with non-scriptural hymns (*troparia*), the texts of which were collected in the Tropologion (on the Georgian translations of these collections and their relationship to Hagiopolite liturgy, see Jeffrey 1991, 1994; Frøyshov 2004). While many early hymns are anonymous, others are attributed to ‘melodists’ who created both their text and music. Among the first was Sophronios himself, who composed sets of hymns for Christmas and Theophany that are still sung (with stylistically updated music) today.

Although some monastic conservatives resisted the introduction of hymnody and melodious chanting (*asma*) into their ‘canon of psalmody’ (Frøyshov 2000), this did not prevent the flowering of a school of prolific melodists associated with the monastery of St Sabas. Andrew of Crete, John of Damascus, and Kosmas of Maiouma were among those who created an impressive body of office hymns in a number of different genres (*stichera*, *kathismata*, etc.) distinguishable from one another by their form and liturgical use (Lingas 1996b: 137–45; Rentel 2006: 282–6). Such hymns may possess a unique melody (*idiomelon*), or be contrafacta (*prosomoia*; i.e. based on) of a standard tune (*automelon*). A comparable system of model melodies is found in kanons, complex multi-stanza poems consisting of up to nine ‘odes’ of troparia farcing (i.e. being inserted into) two or more of the nine canticles of the Palestinian morning office. Each ode of a kanon, which is ideally related thematically to its host canticle, features a model stanza (*heirmos*) followed by metrically identical troparia. Collections of heirmoi were transmitted independently of their original troparia in the Heirmologion to facilitate their application to contrafacta.

While the earliest surviving Greek source for the psalmody at the Holy Sepulchre is the so-called *Typikon of the Anastasis* (copied in 1122 but representing practices antedating the destruction of Christian shrines in 1009; ed. Papadopoulos-Kerameus 1894/1963), earlier layers of the repertory are accessible in translation. Incipits for cathedral psalmody from the first half of the fifth century are preserved in the so-called ‘Armenian Lectionary’. The eighth-century ‘Georgian Lectionary’ specifies the use of many troparia, indicating each chant’s musical mode given according to the Octoechos (Jeffrey 1991, 1994). This new system of classifying chants according to a scheme of four authentic and four plagal modes, which was also used to index the Georgian versions of Jerusalem’s Tropologion and Heirmologion, was eventually taken up by Armenian, Constantinopolitan, Gregorian, Slavonic, and Syriac chant (Jeffrey 2001).

3. The Sound of Early Byzantine Music

We have seen thus far that urban psalmody of the fourth and fifth centuries was sung by various combinations of choirs, soloists, and congregations, that it was

perceived as—according to some writers, perhaps too—beautiful, and that it was viewed as more sober than certain other contemporary forms of instrumental and vocal music employed outside the Christian Church. It could also, according to Niceta of Remesiana (d. after 414), be marred by insensitivity and incompetence:

[Singing in church] must not remind one of anything theatrical, but rather create compunction in the listeners.

... And for him who is not able to blend (*aequare*) and fit himself in with the others, it is better for him to sing in a subdued (*lenta*) voice than to make a great noise, for thus he performs both his liturgical function and avoids disturbing the singing brotherhood.

(*De Utilitate Hymnorum*, trans. McKinnon 1987: 138)

Positive and negative assessments of sacred and secular music, as well as complaints regarding transgressions of the boundaries between them, continued throughout Byzantine history to draw upon the terminology, rhetoric, and moral judgements of Late Antiquity. Yet for modern readers, it is often all but impossible to discern what sorts of sounds were at issue, especially when these discussions refer to periods or repertoires for which we lack notated sources. Canon 75 of the late seventh-century Council in Trullo, for example, orders cantors to sing with care and compunction whilst refraining from disorderly shouting, unnaturally crying out, or the performance in church of anything inappropriate. These prohibitions, similar in character to the Roman Catholic Church's later rejection of 'lascivious and impure' music at Trent, are so vague as to offer few clues as to whether a particular musical practice or repertoire—as opposed to literal shouting—was being censured. The attempts by the later Byzantine canonists (Rhalles and Potles 1852: vol. 2, 479–80) to provide some context for this canon—including Zonaras' reference to 'obscene songs' (*asmata pornika*) and Balsamon's citation of 'theatrical chants' (*thymelika mele*)—are themselves problematic due to changes in liturgical aesthetics. Whereas for Balsamon the high singing of eunuchs, whom he mentions elsewhere as dominating the ranks of twelfth-century cantors (Moran 2002: 107), was in itself unremarkable, any attempt to introduce male sopranos into modern Greek Orthodox worship would undoubtedly be challenged on the basis of Trullo's canon 75.

LITURGICAL MUSIC FROM THE STOUDITES TO THE OTTOMAN CONQUEST

Innovations in liturgical music from the eighth to the fifteenth centuries profoundly affected the development of the Byzantine rite as a whole, with new genres of

psalmody playing a leading role in Taft's twin tales of 'Two Cities' and 'Two Deserts' (described elsewhere in this volume). The ways their texts and melodies shaped the form and ethos of Byzantine religious experience during this period may be investigated with the aid of musically notated sources, of which more than one thousand survive (Levy and Troelsgård 2001: 734).

1. Byzantine Musical Notation

From the six centuries after the copying of the Oxyrhynchus Hymn we possess only a few fragments of non- or proto-Byzantine notation, most of them from the empire's periphery (Papathanasiou and Boukas 2002: 3–6). The earliest specimens of notation commonly referred to as 'Byzantine' are signs in ninth-century lectionaries representing orally transmitted formulas (Høeg 1935). Graphically an extension of the Alexandrian system of prosodic signs (Arvanitis 2004: 362), so-called 'lectionary' or 'ecphonetic' notation remained in use (with some modifications; see Engberg 1996: 33–55) into the fourteenth century for the cantillation of Scripture and, in a few instances, other texts such as the *Synodikon*. While the available evidence precludes anything other than highly speculative modern performances, Martani (1999) has recently shown how patient study of notated lectionaries may yield a surprising amount of information regarding the use of music to underscore the theological meaning of biblical pericopes.

Tenth-century manuscripts are the first to contain 'Palaeo-Byzantine' signs (neumes) for the notation of fully melodic psalmody and hymnody. Functionally similar to (and holding signs in common with) lectionary notation, Palaeo-Byzantine melodic notations functioned as *aides-mémoire* for cantors steeped in oral tradition, graphically indicating melodic formulas, ornaments, and rhythmic nuances but—as is also true of early Gregorian neumes—not exact sequences of intervals. Like the earliest Latin chantbooks, sources with Palaeo-Byzantine neumes transmit repertoires that are already highly developed and represent a full spectrum of approaches to the setting of text, ranging from the syllabic (approximately one note per syllable) to the melismatic (many notes per syllable). While it is reasonable to conclude that syllabic traditions underlie some florid repertoires (as is clearly the case for *kontakia*, the rotated versions of which include both long and short melodies; see Raasted 1989), this should not be universally assumed (Jeffrey 1992: 78–83; Lingas 2004).

Modern scholars have distinguished two families of developed Palaeo-Byzantine neumes: the so-called 'Coislin' and 'Chartres' notations (Levy and Troelsgård 2001: 735; fully illustrated in Arvanitis 2004 and Floros 2005), named after the libraries in which they were first discovered and associated, respectively, with the traditions of Jerusalem and Constantinople. Both were transmitted at an early stage to the Slavs, who employed them to record their repertoires of *Znamenny* and 'Kondakarion'

chant (Velimirović 2001: §2 ‘Russian and Slavonic church music: monophonic chant and its notation’). In Russia chant notation remained intervallically inexact (adiastematic) until the seventeenth century, but in Byzantium the Coislin neumes were transformed during the twelfth century into a fully diastematic system (‘Middle Byzantine’ or ‘Round’ notation) employing ‘quantitative’ signs to represent melodic steps (‘bodies’) and leaps (‘spirits’). Other aspects of musical performance including rhythm, tempo, ornamentation, phrasing, and modulation are governed by a complementary set of ‘qualitative’ signs, the realizations of which were transmitted orally or through the medium of cheironomy, the Byzantine art of choral conducting (described in Moran 1986: 38–47).

The starting note and scalar context for a series of intervallic neumes is set by sung intonations (*apechemata*)—modally characteristic melodies on nonsense syllables that Carolingian theorists adapted for use with Gregorian chant (Huglo 1973: 81–90)—customarily represented in manuscripts by modal signatures (*martyriai*). Strunk (1977: 3–18) demonstrated that these intonations and signatures presuppose a tonal system spanning two octaves (represented conveniently in staff notation by the pitches A to a′) divisible into pairs of tetrachords (sets of four notes). Each tetrachord is constructed from the intervals (tone–semitone–tone) that constitute the scalar basis for the eight modes of the Octoechos. According to medieval theorists, ascent by step through the basic tetrachord—corresponding in one transposition to the diatonic pitches from d to g—produces the home notes (finals) of the four authentic modes, while those of the four plagal modes are found in descent. Some originally pre-Octoechal chants from Constantinople, however, were conceived within a different tonal system of tetrachords occurring in ‘high’ and ‘low’ versions beginning, respectively, on d and G (Thodberg 1960).

Although evidence exists for chromaticism in medieval Byzantine chant, its prevalence is in dispute (the full range of opinion is represented in Troelsgård 1997). Some scholars have projected the received tradition’s chromatic tunings for Modes II and Plagal II back into the Middle Ages, while others discern in medieval repertoires only occasional chromatic passages, the incidence of which may have increased in late Byzantine times as part of a general enrichment of the musical vocabulary. Regardless of the tunings employed for the Byzantine modes, it is important to recognize that they, like Indian ragas and Arabo-Turkish makamlar, can be distinguished from one another not only by their scales, but also by their use of characteristic melodic formulas.

2. The Rite of the Great Church after Iconoclasm

The mature Rite of the Great Church carefully integrates various types of singing within a framework of three Eucharistic liturgies, a textually and musically archaic Divine Office (the *asmatike akolouthia* or ‘Sung Office’) consisting almost entirely

of antiphonal psalmody, and an elaborate stationary liturgy (Lingas 1996*b*: chs. 3 and 4). Services were assembled from sources containing primarily the material for their appointed users, including:

- three notated lectionaries with rubrics for the responsorial psalmody that accompanied the proclamation of Scripture: one for the higher clergy (the gospel book or Evangelion), and two for the reader or cantor (the Apostolos and Prophetologion, containing respectively apostolic and Old Testament lessons);
- the Synaxarion and Kanonarion (ed. Mateos 1962–3), respectively the fixed and movable festal calendars of the Great Church, which governed seasonal variations in Constantinopolitan cathedral worship;
- the Cathedral Psalter or Antiphonarion containing the Sung Office’s psalms and canticles together with their refrains; notated versions of the cathedral rite’s two-week ferial cycle of antiphonal psalmody are preserved only in the Thessalonian manuscripts Athens 2061 (early 15th cent.) and Athens 2062 (late 14th cent.), the musical settings of which are surveyed in Strunk (1977: 112–50) and Balageorgos (2001);
- the Asmatikon and Psaltikon, notated collections of melismatic choral and solo chants (Lingas 1996*b*: 57–61). Most of the surviving Greek copies come from Stoudite monasteries in southern Italy (Di Salvo 1962), but the Slavonic Kondakars—thus named because of their textually abridged cycles of florid kontakia—appear to represent archaic versions of the Asmatikon.

Celebration of the Sung Office was interrupted by the Latin occupation of 1204–61, after which it was celebrated in Constantinople only on major feasts and some Saturday evenings (Lingas 1997). The provincial cathedral of Hagia Sophia in Thessalonike continued to serve the old rite on a daily basis until 1430, but shifts in popular taste and liturgical piety led its Archbishop St Symeon (1416/17–29) to incorporate large quantities of hymnody and florid psalmody from contemporary neo-Sabbaitic worship (Lingas 1996*b*: 191–278). Unique blends of the cathedral and monastic traditions may be seen in the music of two services celebrated annually in late Byzantine Constantinople and Thessalonike: a matins for the Exaltation of the Holy Cross incorporating Palestinian hymnography and kalophonic psalmody; and the *Akolouthia tes Kaminou*, a dramatic rendering of Daniel’s account of three youths in the fiery furnace that was performed on the Sunday before Christmas (Velimirović 1962; White 2006).

3. The Music of the ‘Stoudite Synthesis’

Despite the appearance of hymns attributed to Patriarch Germanos I in Georgian copies of the Tropologion, Palestinian hymnody appears to have firmly taken root in

Constantinople only after 799, when the formerly ‘Sleepless’ monastery of Stoudios adopted the Divine Office of St Sabas at the behest of its abbot Theodore. From a musical perspective (see III.11.4 Liturgy elsewhere in this volume for its other aspects), the ‘Stoudite Synthesis’ that followed this act of transplantation further enriched the Palestinian offices with many new compositions (for example, the Sunday Antiphons of the Octoechos attributed to Theodore, surveyed in Strunk 1977: 165–90) and large-scale borrowings from the Constantinopolitan cathedral tradition, including its cycle of kontakia, the florid psalmody of the Psaltikon and Asmatikon, and, in some locations, the complete Sung Office of Pentecost Vespers (Conomos 1979).

As Stoudite monasticism spread from southern Italy to Kievan Rus’, melodists and hymnographers including Kasia and Joseph the Hymnographer systematically filled gaps between the festal propers of the older Palestinian collections. By the eleventh century, each day of the fixed and movable cycles of the liturgical year had been supplied with its own set of hymns, forming the basis for the modern Byzantine rite’s fifteen volumes of proper texts: the Octoechos, the Triodion, the Pentekostarion, and the twelve-part Menaion. The absorption of these vast quantities of new hymns—a total of over 60,000 according to Levy and Troelsgård (2001: 743)—was made musically practical by the fact that most of them are contrafacta to a small but rarely notated corpus of automela (Shkolnik 1996; Troelsgård 2000). Notation was mainly used to record hymns with unique melodies, sometimes in copies of full liturgical books (for example, the Triodion: Follieri and Strunk 1975), but more commonly in two special musical volumes: the Heirmologion (Velimirović 1973a; Antoniou 2004) and the Sticherarion (a collection of stichera, most of which were idiomela). The move towards fully diastematic notation was accompanied by some shrinkage of the notated repertoires of hymns. What Strunk named the ‘Standard Abridged Version’ of the Sticherarion (Strunk 1977: 107; checklist of hymns in Troelsgård 2003) excluded both so-called *apocrypha* (items apparently marginal to the tradition) and some extremely common hymns (prosomoia and theotokia).

4. Liturgical Music under the Palaiologans (1261–1453)

Liturgical music flourished under the Palaiologan emperors as composers, scribes, and theorists contributed numerous refinements and innovations to the repertoires of psalmody, including the composition of distinctly personal and musically interchangeable settings of texts from the Byzantine Eucharistic liturgies and Neo-Sabaïtic All-Night Vigil (Lingas 1996a: 160–8). A necessary prerequisite for this ‘Byzantine *ars nova*’ (Williams 1972) was, as Levy (1979) has noted, the achievement of greater precision in musical notation through the introduction of intervally specific neumes and a wider range of qualitative signs. The central figure in these musical developments was the theorist, editor, and composer St John

Koukouzeles (c.1280–c.1341). In addition to creating new versions of the Heirmologion and Sticherarion, Koukouzeles helped to compile a new musical collection called the ‘Akolouthiai’ or ‘Orders of Service’, the earliest example of which is the manuscript Athens 2458, dated 1336 (inventoried in Stathes 1989). It is in copies of the Akolouthiai that we most clearly see Koukouzeles and a host of other composers (for a representative list, see Velimirović 1966) including Ioannes Glykys (fl. late 13th cent.), Xenos Korones (fl. c.1325–50), and Ioannes Kladas (fl. c.1400) breaking the one-to-one relationship between text and music that had typified the work of earlier melodists.

Many of the eponymous works of the Palaiologan period are written in a virtuosic ‘beautified’ or ‘kalophonic’ idiom, the stylistic roots of which are to be found in the Asma, a collection of mostly anonymous florid chants surviving in a few thirteenth-century manuscripts from southern Italy (Di Salvo 1959–60). Characteristics of the mature kalophonic style include textual troping, melismatic passages, and vocalizations on nonsense syllables (‘teretisms’). The latter frequently occur as interludes within kalophonic psalm verses, stichera and heirmoi, as well as in such new genres as the *anagrammatismos*, a work scrambling the textual phrases of the hymn upon which it is based (Stathes 1979*b*). Extended teretisms appear as independent compositions known as ‘kratemata’, some of which bear such evocative titles as ‘Viola’ and ‘Persikon’ (Anastasiou 2005; Velimirović 1973*b*). Transmitted both in Akolouthiai and in specialized volumes including the Oikoimatarion and the Kalophonic Sticherarion, kalophonic works served liturgically as substitutes or optional extensions to chants from the standard repertoires of the Divine Liturgy (Conomos 1974, 1985*a*) and All-Night Vigil (Williams 1972; Lingas 1996*a*).

Although Greek and Latin music appeared to have remained for the most part aurally compatible to contemporary observers throughout the Middle Ages (Lingas 2006), some fifteenth-century Byzantine manuscripts show a reversal of the patterns of influence that prevailed during the first millennium, when Byzantium exported the Octoechos, the organ, and a number of chants to the Franks (for liturgical chant see Troelsgård 2001). Although services were still announced with the striking of wooden planks or metal bands known as *semantra*, belfries were installed in many Byzantine churches after 1204 (Williams 1985: 3–25). Notated examples of simple two-part polyphony are found most prominently among the works of the imperial court musicians Manuel Gazes and Manuel Chrysaphes, as well as those of the theorist (and later uniate bishop of Methone) John Plousiadenos (Conomos 1982; Stathes 2001). Stylistically compatible with what has survived from the largely improvised Western traditions of *cantus planus binatim* (Weincke 1985), they represent antecedents of the practices of spontaneous polyphony cultivated in Venetian Crete and on the modern Ionian Islands (Dragoumis 1976–8; Toulitatos-Miles 2003).

MUSIC THEORY

After Iconoclasm two streams of theoretical writing about music may be distinguished: one concerned with the transmission of the ancient musical thought, and another with the practice of contemporary liturgical chant. Ptolemy, Cleonides, Aristoxenus, and Aristides Quintillianus were among the ancient theorists whose works, as part of the quadrivium, continued to be copied and remained current among Byzantine intellectuals (Mathiesen 1999: 644). Michael Psellos did much to advance the assimilation of ancient musical thought, commenting upon and summarizing early authors in several of his own works (Matheisen 1999: 644–55). Byzantine interest in ancient theory climaxed during the Palaiologan period with the musical treatises of George Pachymeres (c.1242–c.1310) and Manuel Bryennios (c.1300), both of which feature discussions of the *Octoechos* (Mathiesen 1999: 656–68; Richter 1998: 167–78). The juxtaposition of ancient and contemporary music is not unique to Pachymeres and Bryennios, but may also be found in Nicholas Mesarites' description of music lessons at the Church of the Holy Apostles (Downey 1957: 866, 895–6) and the fourteenth-century *Hagiopolites* treatise (Raasted 1983). The relation of classicizing theory to Byzantine performance is unclear, but scholars no longer (*pace* Wellesz 1961: 62–3) automatically reject the possibility of dynamic applications of ancient musical thought (Troelsgård 1988). Unquestionably practical materials for instruction in Byzantine chanting, however, are not lacking (examples in Tardo 1938 and Gertsman 1994). The simplest are descriptive lists of neumes (notably the so-called *Papadike*), exercises (*methodoi*) in solmization (*metrophonia*) and modulation (*parallage*), diagrams of the modes, and didactic songs (some of the most important are studied by the contributors to Troelsgård 1997). Extended treatises on various aspects of Byzantine chanting include those of ps.-Damascenos (Hannick and Wolfram 1997), the Hieromonk Gabriel of Xanthopoulos (Hannick and Wolfram 1985), and Manuel Chrysaphes (Conomos 1985*b*).

NON-LITURGICAL MUSIC AND MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS

With the exception of a few examples of ancient Greek music copied in manuscripts of music theory, no medieval Byzantine source transmits notated works that are unambiguously non-liturgical. This holds true for two musical genres found with notation only in manuscripts of liturgical chant: the acclamations of monarchs

and bishops, which are usually presented within the context of a service; and, notwithstanding some recent recordings with allegedly Byzantine instrumental ensembles (critiqued in Martti and Pennanen 1997), *kratemata*. The only strictly non-liturgical works for which melodies can reliably be reconstructed (from chant collections!) are didactic and satirical poems employing the metres of well-known hymns (Mitsakis 1990). Reliance on oral means of transmission was not, however, an impediment to the practice of secular music in post-Iconoclast Byzantium, which literary sources and visual depictions show to have been both extensive and varied.

1. Ceremonial and Military Music

Manuals of imperial ceremonial and numerous eyewitnesses record how vocal and instrumental performance was a fundamental element of Byzantine court life. Within the Great Palace singers joined in acclamations and para-liturgical renditions of hymns, while decorated organs were heard alongside such automata as a golden tree with whistling birds, instruments that were valued as much as symbols of imperial power as for their musical qualities (Maliaras 1991). There are no reports from any period of instruments accompanying liturgical chanting. The Palaiologan emperors appear to have abandoned the use of organs, adopting instead wind bands for such ceremonies as the *Prokypsis* (Maliaras 2002). Brass and percussion instruments had already been employed since Antiquity in the Roman military for signalling and ceremonial (Maliaras 2001), and echoes of late Byzantine ensembles may be discerned in the similar instrumentarium of Ottoman Janissary music (*meterhane*).

2. Secular Entertainment and Folk Song

Voices and instruments continued to be used (sometimes in combination with dance) by all social classes to entertain and mark major events of the human life-cycle, especially marriages and deaths (see, for example, the eyewitness report of a Cretan funeral from the year 1420 in Alexiou 2002: 34). As in Late Antiquity, literary references to instrumental performance ranged from their generally positive treatment in Byzantine hymnography (Plemmenos 2005), to extremely negative discussions of sexually loose theatrical performers (*thymelikoi*; see Maliaras 2002: 12). While the names of instruments also showed continuity with the past, their forms had in many cases changed as 'aulos' and 'kithara' became, respectively, generic labels for families of wind and string instruments. By the eleventh century, 'kithara' was employed mainly to denote the plucked *pandoura* (a lute with three or four strings), although bowed instruments of Asian origin that are depicted

as resembling either the modern Cretan lyra or the Western medieval fiddle (of which it was an ancestor; see Maliaras 2002: 14–15; Remnant 2007) were also in use. Polychordal zithers, flutes, and various forms of percussion also enjoyed widespread distribution in Byzantium (Maliaras 2002: 15–16).

MEDIEVAL PERFORMANCE PRACTICE AND MODERN IDEOLOGY

One of the most difficult questions in Byzantine musical scholarship is the degree to which gaps in the medieval literary record might be filled by the study of the received musical traditions of the eastern Mediterranean. For repertoires that eschewed the use of pitch-specific notation (e.g. secular song and scriptural cantillation), successor traditions offer virtually the only angle of approach to medieval sounds, albeit one that, as in the case of the Akritic Songs (Jeffreys 1991), rarely yields more than tentative results. The notated sources of Byzantine chant present modern researchers and performers with a different set of problems, chief among which is ascertaining the extent to which the unwritten conventions that originally governed the vocal realization of medieval scores, known collectively as ‘performance practice’, are recoverable from post-Byzantine sources (Lingas 2003). This task is complicated by changes over time in the balance between oral and written tradition, most notably through the introduction during the early nineteenth century of a ‘New Method’ of Byzantine notation capable of precisely recording chromaticism and subdivisions of the basic beat (Stathes 1979a; Giannelos 1996).

From the late nineteenth until the mid-twentieth century, discussions of post-Byzantine chanting and its medieval forebear were often inseparable from the contemporary Western classical or traditional Greek sound worlds of their authors. Scholars thus tended to posit either radical discontinuity—generally associated with a distaste for the allegedly decadent ‘oriental’ or ‘Turkish’ character of the received traditions of Byzantine chanting that was, in some instances, coupled with admiration for the modern ‘restoration’ of medieval Gregorian chant by the monks of Solesmes—or something close to perpetual stasis, achieved by accepting as authoritative witnesses to medieval performance practice only early nineteenth-century transcriptions into the ‘New Method’ (Lingas 2003). Versions of these starkly contrasting narratives continue to circulate in reprint editions of the dated but still useful (with much caution) surveys of Wellesz (1961) and Papadopoulos (1890/1977), as well as in popular and confessional literature. Since the 1960s the mainstream of Byzantine musical scholarship has, through the close study of late

and post-Byzantine repertoires (briefly surveyed in Lingas 2006: 139–40), moved steadily towards intermediate positions on questions of historical continuity in notation and sound.

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Further Reading and Listening

There is currently no book-length survey of Byzantine music in any language that reflects the great advances in scholarship made since Wellesz (1961). The best way to acquire an overview of the field is to start with Levy and Troelsgård's article 'Byzantine Chant' in the revised *New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* (2001) or C. Hannick, 'Byzantinische Musik', in *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart* 2 (1995: 288–310), both of which provide long bibliographies. These two encyclopedias of music are also a good place to start for information on particular melodists, hymnographers, and composers. The Monumenta Musicae Byzantinae in Copenhagen has produced facsimiles, editions, and studies of medieval Byzantine music (a full publication list is available at <http://www.igl.ku.dk/MMB/pub.html>) since the 1930s, efforts that have been complemented in recent years by the equally ambitious publications programme of the Holy Synod of the Church of Greece's Institute of Byzantine Musicology. Richter (1998) and Mathiesen (1999) survey the scholarly traditions of classicizing music theory and both provide references to a host of primary and secondary sources. The most reliable work on musical instruments in Byzantium is that recently undertaken by Maliaras (1991, 2001, and 2002). Arvanitis (2004) and Floros (2005) are compact but comprehensive introductions to medieval Byzantine notation, while Stathis (1979a) discusses the process of transcription ('exegesis') into the 'New Method'.

Recordings of medieval Byzantine music fall into two basic categories: those based upon the work of the early nineteenth-century transcribers into the 'New Method', who generally practised a living tradition of 'long exegesis' that involved reading medieval notation as a form of shorthand for orally transmitted formulas ('theseis'), thereby roughly quadrupling the length of the melodies indicated by the quantitative neumes (the 'metrophonia'); and

various forms of 'short exegesis' employed by scholars whose efforts to reconstruct medieval performance practice yield ratios of intervals notated to those performed ranging from 1:1 to 1:2 (Lingas 2003). Examples of long exegeseis of medieval works may be heard on recordings by the Greek Byzantine Choir directed by Lycourgos Angelopoulos (notably their 1995 disc *Ioannis Koukouzelis, The Byzantine Maestro: Mathimata*) and the Maïstores of the Psaltic Art, founded by G. Stathis and now directed by A. Chaldaiakis. Recordings featuring shorter exegeseis of medieval chants include those of the Byzantine Chorale of Los Angeles (directed by F. Desby and singing in a style influenced by the monks of Solesmes), Ted Alevizos (a student of K. Levy) and the choir of the Society for the Dissemination of National Music (dir. S. Karas), as well as three ensembles employing transcriptions by I. Arvanitis: Cappella Romana (dir. A. Lingas), Hagiopolites (dir. I. Arvanitis), and the Romeiko Ensemble (dir. Yorgos Bilalis).

PART IV

THE WORLD
AROUND
BYZANTIUM

CHAPTER IV.20

BYZANTIUM AND ITS NEIGHBOURS

JAMES HOWARD-JOHNSTON

In the course of its millennial history, much changed in the world around Byzantium. The Roman empire from which Byzantium emerged as the true successor state was gradually pulled to pieces in late antiquity, a process of disaggregation which was but fleetingly reversed in the reign of Justinian in the sixth century. Byzantium proper—the reduced medieval state—was fashioned in the seventh century, when the explosive force of Islam blasted both established empires in west Eurasia, the Persian as well as the Roman, out of existence. What survived was a collection of territories centred on the Aegean—the capital city in an exposed position on a small peninsula at the head of the Sea of Marmara, the many islands of the Aegean, all too vulnerable to naval attack, the Thracian approaches to Constantinople, Greece (despite the potentially disruptive presence of Slav tribes in its mountains) and Anatolia, which, thanks to its natural mountain ramparts in the east, formed Byzantium's main resource base; not to mention outlying territories in the east—south-west Crimea and a large protectorate in Caucasia—and others in the west—southern Italy, Sicily, and North Africa. Byzantium was a medium-sized power abutting onto the north-west flank of the caliphate, the huge empire established by Islam, and was designated the principal target for continuing religious warfare because it was conveniently close and was still ideologically potent. In simple material terms, the transition from imperial to regional power may be dated to the 640s, when the whole Levant, including Egypt, was swept out of Roman control. In 644, probably not long before his assassination in November, the Caliph Umar I went down to Jar, the port of Medina, to watch the arrival of the first

convoy conveying the surplus grain of Egypt to the Hijaz, the political and religious heartland of the new empire. This episode signalled the start of a fundamental reordering of human affairs, which was to see the economic as well as political centre of gravity move away from the Mediterranean towards Iraq and Iran.

The Roman Empire had been master of its destiny for most of its history, with the striking exception of the third century when its defences were temporarily overwhelmed and its fiscal institutions barely coped with the strain. Byzantium, by contrast, was seldom a free agent, was seldom in a position to launch initiatives of its choosing. In the first two centuries of Islamic history, it fought a long, often desperate, war for survival. The high degree of militarization required, the heavy taxation needed to sustain the war effort, and, of course, the damage inflicted by enemy invasion led to a vertiginous drop in living standards, a sharp contraction in urbanism, the grafting of what remained of the old landed aristocracy onto the apparatus of government, and, above all, widespread cultural debasement. As regards foreign policy, it was only in intermissions, when Muslims turned on each other, that attention could be paid to other fronts, principally the Balkans where the Bulgars had established a small but powerful nomadic state south of the Danube (by 681). Italy and the west drifted to the periphery of Byzantium's field of diplomatic vision.

There was only one short period, from the middle of the ninth to the middle of the eleventh century, in which Byzantium could and did set about reshaping the world around as it saw fit. The caliphate was weakening, breaking apart into a number of regional states on a par with Byzantium and the three principal powers of the north, Khazars, Rus, and Bulgars. Unprecedented opportunities opened up for aggressive activity, in what amounted to a concert of nations operating in several interconnected diplomatic arenas. Any consideration of Byzantium's relations with its neighbours should home in on this period, when, largely under the leadership of the so-called Macedonian dynasty, Byzantium took full advantage of its central position and its inherited statecraft to extend its territory in the east and the Balkans, thereby simultaneously increasing its resources and boosting its international standing. Ultimately it achieved an evident, if often unacknowledged, primacy in the affairs of the Mediterranean, the Levant, and the northern Slavonic world.

The skies darkened all too soon. The southern world had long been nervous of the steppes, from the distant past when the Achaemenid empire met its military match in Scythian nomads. The peoples of the north and north-east were lowering presences for much of classical antiquity, but there was a step-change in the fourth century, when, for the first time, a large group of Altaic nomads from the steppes fronting China, the Hsiung-nu, known in the west as Huns, crossed the diagonal mountain spine of central Asia. It was not their numbers which mattered so much as an ideology of limitless rule and a well-developed organizational capability which their leadership brought with them. A new era opened in which southern powers



Map 12 The Empire's northern neighbours

had to pay far more attention than before to developments in the north, had to take costly measures to secure their defence. Four other Altaic empire-building ventures followed at intervals over the next millennium. The first two of these peoples, the Turks who created an empire which straddled the whole of Eurasia in the middle of the sixth century and the Khazars who established their hegemony in the western steppes in the second half of the seventh century, were, like the Huns, confined to the steppes. Their territories lay north and east of a natural line of demarcation between the nomad and sedentary worlds, which ran from the Danube in the west along the Caucasus and Elburz ranges in the centre to the mountains of Khurasan in the east. That line was breached in the first half of the eleventh century when the Oghuz Turks, recent converts to Islam who were committed to the reimposition of Sunni authority on the heartlands of the caliphate, first established a bridgehead in Khurasan and then swept west over Iran towards Iraq. Regular Turkish forces, under the able leadership of the Seljukid dynasty, were followed by Turkoman nomads, who percolated in large numbers into Iran and Caucasia. From there inviting avenues of invasion led west towards the Anatolian plateau. Byzantium was now directly exposed to attack by steppe nomad forces, more manoeuvrable, more flexible, and with superior fighting skills. Even without intervention on the part of the organized Seljukid sultanate, which commanded the resources of Iraq as well as Iran after 1055, Byzantium was going to be hard put to maintain control over the inner core of Anatolia.

Developments elsewhere were to pose equally serious threats to Byzantium's fleeting pre-eminence in the Levant and eastern Europe. In combination with that of Turkomans and Seljukid Turks they were to prove fatal. The first is a familiar phenomenon—the slow but sustained economic growth of western Europe from around 600 CE, when settlements devoted to commerce, *emporía*, first become visible around the edges of the North Sea, which was followed, after a long transitional period, by the reconstruction of the sub-Roman social and political order from the base upwards. The Europe seething with internecine conflict between solidly grounded local lordships, all the while increasing the range and intensity of commercial exchange, which was in the early modern period to cast its economic and political net over much of the globe, had become, by the middle of the eleventh century, a formidable force in the Mediterranean world, capable both of challenging Byzantium's long-standing naval hegemony and of discharging large bodies of fighting men into remote theatres of war. Ideologically too the greatest powers of this new bustling, energetic, militaristic Europe began to cut themselves loose from an old conceptual framework, which relegated them to the periphery. In this they were helped by the assertiveness of the papacy in the middle of the eleventh century, as it not only set about emancipating the Church from secular control throughout Latin Christendom but claimed jurisdiction over the churches of the eastern Mediterranean.

The second phenomenon is less startling, primarily because much slower-moving and often unobserved by contemporaries. The Slavs had been the least developed of the peoples who impinged on the Roman Empire in late antiquity. They had tended to move into areas vacated by Germanic peoples (in central Europe) and, where there was an established population (as in the Balkans), to slip through and settle in marginal lands. It took several generations of cultural and political interaction with other peoples before durable supra-tribal institutions took shape. The process of development was accelerated by the imposition of effective government in their respective spheres by Franks, Bulgars, Byzantines, and Viking Rus, and by exposure to Christianity. Even so, consciousness of ethnic and cultural distinctiveness was slow to surface, and, along with it, aspirations to political independence. The first Slav polities were either ruled by non-Slavs, or were frail creations, all too likely to be absorbed by better-ordered expansionist neighbours. Thus it was that by the middle of the eleventh century, most of the western Slavs had been absorbed into the Saxon empire (only Poland was too large to swallow) and all the southern had been incorporated into the resurgent Byzantine empire, after the final crushing of Bulgar resistance in 1018.

Macedonia assumed its natural place as the political and military centre of the Balkans. All too little, though, is known about the justice system, civil administration, and fiscal structure introduced into what was to become, from the end of the eleventh century, the heartland of the empire. It has been conjectured that security was the governing principle, investment being concentrated in forward military bases and defended administrative centres, and that imperial authority was lightly imposed on much of the interior. It seems likely, however, that the Balkans were expected to produce their fair share of the money and manpower required by the state in the twelfth century and that the consequent burden falling on provincials contributed to the emergence of a new sense of regional, cultural, and ethnic identity both among the Serbs, occupying the hills, upland plains, and river valleys north of Macedonia, and the now-Slavicized Bulgarians in the north-east. These two nations were taking shape in the wings in the course of the twelfth century while Komnenian emperors strutted on the Mediterranean stage and sought to impress distant political audiences with their wizardry. The magic wore off at the death of Manuel Komnenos in 1180.

These external forces struck Byzantium a succession of blows which proved cumulatively fatal. Anatolia was first raided, then, after the intervention of regular Seljukid forces and the defeat of the full Byzantine field army at Manzikert in 1071, overrun by Turkomans. With the loss of the interior plateau, the coastlands and the mountain ranges backing onto it were now exposed to attack. The situation worsened once the Seljukids imposed their authority effectively over most of the plateau and the Danishmendids built up their power in the east. Byzantium also came under direct attack from the Normans in southern Italy (from 1059), and lost its position of unchallenged dominance in east Mediterranean waters to the Italian

city-states. Next came the intervention in massive force of Latin Christendom in the Levant, in the First Crusade (1096–9), which, for all the hopes of cooperation between Byzantines and Westerners entertained at the outset, engendered bitter hostility. While this was subsequently allayed by strenuous diplomatic effort, it was never entirely eliminated and was suddenly re-aroused by the wholesale massacre of Latins resident in Constantinople in 1182. Finally came the decisive assertion of independence by the two principal Slav peoples of the Balkans, first the Serbs (backed by the Hungarians) from 1183, then the Bulgarians in association with the Vlachs in 1185–7. It was but a matter of time before the empire, now shorn of much of its second Balkan heartland, succumbed to attack. It was ironic that the final blow was delivered by Venice, Byzantium's principal early medieval client in the West, and by Latin Christians whom Byzantium had summoned, back in the 1090s, to make war on Islam.

The capture of Constantinople by the Fourth Crusade in 1204 destroyed the Byzantine Empire for good. Only a simulacrum of empire was reconstructed over the following two generations by the rulers of a small rump state centred on Nicaea, and their success owed much to good fortune and traditional diplomatic skills. Good fortune came in the form of the Mongols, the fourth and greatest of Altaic empire-builders, who, after conquering northern China, Transoxiana, Khurasan, Russia, and Ukraine, turned their attention to the core territories of Islam and inflicted a devastating defeat on the Seljukids at Kose Dagh in 1243. The rise of the Nicaean state took place in the shadow of great events in the east, as the new world power absorbed Iran and Iraq, before once again turning east and attacking southern China. It was only after much complex diplomatic manoeuvring and fighting in the Balkans, that Michael Palaiologos managed to recover Constantinople in 1261, with the vital backing of the Genoese. That event, however, did not signal the re-emergence of Byzantium as arbiter of east Mediterranean or Balkan affairs. The reconstituted state was loosely structured, impoverished by comparison with the Komnenian empire, strong only in statecraft (as it showed, most spectacularly, in its successful subversion of Angevin power in Sicily in 1282).

From the high point of 1261, Byzantium entered a period of remorseless but long-drawn-out decline. It was much more plaything than playmaster of larger neighbouring powers—Turks (in the new form of the expansionist Ottoman sultanate), Serbs (after their decisive victory over the Bulgarians at Velbuzhd in 1330), and Latin maritime states (Angevin, Venetian, and Genoese). Its history became increasingly complex as it became increasingly parochial. It was weakened by religious and social tensions, which broke out in open conflict in the 1340s, and by outside predators, often little more than minor military adventurers, who installed themselves on its territory. In the second quarter of the fourteenth century it was under pressure in the Balkans from the Serbs and in Asia Minor from the Ottoman Turks. Once the Ottomans crossed over to Europe (1354) and broke Serb power at Kosovo (1389), the remaining Byzantine enclaves in the Peloponnese and around Trebizond, together

with the capital itself, were doomed. Timur's near-destruction of the Ottoman state in 1402 merely postponed the inevitable for fifty years.

Such in outline is the story of Byzantium's relations with its neighbours, a heroic tale of resistance and steadfastness in adversity, punctuated by a limited period of revival and renewed confidence in the ninth–eleventh centuries. The prime influence on the course of events was exercised by outside powers disposing of superior resources, above all Arabs and Turks (Seljuks and Ottomans), and by slow processes of structural change which transformed western Europe into the principal driving-force in the economy and politics of Europe and the Mediterranean and which, independently, produced something approximating to an early efflorescence of nationalism among Slav peoples. The final outcome may have been determined from without, but Byzantium itself played a major part in shaping its relations with its neighbours, as well as demonstrating extraordinary powers of endurance and resilience. Ultimately its long survival depended on nerve, a virtually unshakable assurance of its special place in God's providential scheme which was firmly rooted in historical memories of its imperial past, and on the successful application of intelligence to the management of foreign affairs over innumerable successive generations.

Byzantium's problems but also its opportunities were products of its position. Romans could not conceive of uprooting themselves and moving bodily to take over a better-defended territory—say the Iberian peninsula or the North African littoral—in the manner of Huns, Alans, Suebi, Vandals, Burgundians, Franks, Goths, Turks, Arabs, Bulgars, Hungarians, Rus, Normans, Mongols, etc., etc. They were affixed to the imperial centre founded by Constantine at the ancient Greek colony of Byzantium, which was well positioned to manage a Mediterranean-wide empire, but appallingly exposed to attack once control was lost of the sea's western basin and central narrows. Constantinople became vulnerable, as did all the islands and coastlands of the Aegean, its own inner sea, where much of the wealth of Greece and Asia Minor was concentrated. In the Levant, the zone of fertile lands, commercially and industrially well developed, which extended from northern Syria to southern Palestine was indefensible on both its eastern, desert, and western, maritime, façades. So too was Egypt, if ever control were to be lost of southern Palestine. In the event the danger came from the east. The whole of the Roman Near East was swept, with remarkable speed, between 634 and 643, into Arab control, rendering the empire's position yet more parlous. The ports, dockyards, and shipping which the Arabs acquired, taken together with the skilled manpower and fiscal resources of the conquered provinces, gave them instant superiority in resources over the rump of the Roman Empire to the north.

There was no question of downgrading the land forces, which had been the foundation of Roman power and which were assigned the task of defending Anatolia. The Roman army, redeployed and supported directly from the land in off-seasons, remained the senior service, but for the first time a strategic navy was built up to

secure the Aegean lands and the southern approaches to Constantinople. At first, when the caliphate could mobilize the resources of Syria, Palestine, and Egypt, Byzantium's new navy could do no more than slow the Arab advance and harass their shipping. Three grand western offensives culminated in combined land and sea attacks, targeted on Constantinople, in 654, the early 670s, and 717–18. A violent storm may have helped the defence in 654, as did the bitter winter of 717–18 together with pressure from allied Bulgars, but on all three occasions Constantinople depended ultimately on the strength of its walls, with the fleet acting as its outer defence, a counterforce which could be used to harry and disrupt enemy preparations and movements. Armed as it was from the 670s with Greek Fire, the terror weapon of its time, it achieved a formidable reputation and established what amounted to naval hegemony in the east Mediterranean, from the middle of the eighth to the middle of the eleventh century. Such successes as were achieved by Arab fleets—notably the invasion of Sicily (827) and seizure of Crete (828), or the sack of Thessalonike (904)—resulted from surprise (and Byzantine preoccupation elsewhere).

If the high priority given to the navy was one distinguishing feature of Byzantium, another was the concern taken to observe neighbouring peoples, to collate and conserve the information gathered, and to attune foreign policy to past and present realities in the world around Byzantium. A traditional disdain for foreign peoples, from which only the rival eastern empire, Parthian or Persian, had been partially exempted, was shed as the impact of their activities grew greater with time. The image of the barbarian faded away to reveal a multitude of individual peoples, with defined territories and constitutions, with distinctive histories and cultures. Not once is the word *barbaroi* used of any of the many neighbouring peoples who feature in the *De Administrando Imperio*, an imperial handbook of diplomacy compiled in the first half of the tenth century. Byzantium relied for its survival then, as it had since the seventh century, on intelligence, in both senses of the word. A continuing inflow of detailed and accurate information about foreign peoples, about the ebb and flow of power in different diplomatic arenas, was needed if appropriate policies were to be formulated, and much calculation and guile was required in their execution, to maximize the effect of actions taken. Politics in the sublunary world were, the Byzantines knew, in a state of continual flux, and their survival depended upon swift tracking of changes and apt responses.

They also knew that the peoples immediately surrounding them inhabited the nearer reaches of a vast outer world, and that changes in that outer world, whether the rise of a new power (which, they knew all too well, might be very swift) or a new diplomatic alignment or ideological transformation of an existing polity, might have repercussions close at hand. So it was that in the middle of the tenth century the field of observation was extended far beyond the arenas in which Byzantium was militarily or diplomatically active (northern Syria, western Armenia, and Caucasian Iberia (Georgia), the Balkans and the trans-Danubian steppes, southern Italy). Lists

of protocols for addressing correspondence to foreign rulers, as also for formal exchanges at imperial audiences for foreign embassies, two of many documents appended to Constantine Porphyrogenetos' *De Cerimoniis* (2.47–8) in a final editorial stage after his death, give us a radar scan of this outer zone. Not unexpectedly, given Byzantium's geographical position, the range is greater to the east and north-east than to the west, reaching out across Iran to Khurasan and India, and across Ukraine to the Khazar khaganate and the Rus. The main component parts of transalpine, Germanic Europe are mentioned but so vaguely as to give the impression that they lay on or just beyond the horizon of vision, and within the Mediterranean the scan halts at North Africa, Italy, and Sardinia. There are some telling gaps in the coverage too, apart from the failure to register properly the military and political potential of Saxony under the Ottonians. The Umayyad caliphate in Spain, a great naval power in the west, is not listed. The same is true of the North Sea powers, as well as Poland, the Volga-Bulgars, and the Oghuz Turks (although the last two make fleeting appearances in the *De Adm. Imp.*). The explanation probably lies in a preoccupation with Caucasia, pullulating with competing local powers, which was plainly regarded as the most important current diplomatic arena at the time.

Knowledge gathered from scanning the ever-changing neighbouring world was put, on the whole, to good use. Byzantium deserves its popular reputation as a subtle exponent of the dark arts of diplomacy. Guile, however, would have served little purpose without coordination of policy. Given its position, exposed to attack by land and sea from all quarters, and its limited military and naval resources, Byzantium had no choice but to adopt a global approach to foreign policy. Priorities had to be established and resources allocated accordingly. Action might take different forms: major troop or fleet deployments on defensive or offensive campaigns, small expeditionary forces with strictly limited objectives, covert intervention on an even smaller scale, negotiations designed to neutralize or to gain the support of a great power, diplomatic management of small neighbouring powers, and propaganda. Actions of all these sorts had to be harmonized both within and across all arenas of active diplomacy. Coordination of policy and orchestration of action were the keys to Byzantium's survival and subsequent resurgence as a regional power.

For the first two centuries of its medieval existence, the main lines of Byzantium's foreign policy were determined by circumstance. The overriding priority was defence against the greatly superior forces of Islam, since they threatened its very existence. Only when the caliphate was distracted by civil war (*fitna*), as happened twice in the seventh century (656–61, 682–92), or by political revolution (743–50) and the subsequent restructuring of the state by the new Abbasid dynasty, or by the long war of succession after the death of Harun ar-Rashid (809), only during these respites from pressure from the east did Byzantines regain some freedom of manoeuvre. They refrained at first from taking initiatives elsewhere. Efforts were

concentrated on shoring up the defences of Asia Minor during the first *fitna* and on preparing for counter-attack during the second. But the longer interludes provided by later, more political conflicts provided opportunities for activity on other fronts. On both occasions, Bulgaria was targeted, the aim being to break the prestige of the ruling house and begin the process of subordinating Bulgars and Slavs to Byzantine authority. Latin Christendom, it should be noted, drifted almost out of diplomatic range, until the shocking news arrived of Charlemagne's coronation in Rome (800) and, twelve years on, that of the Frankish seizure of Venice. Even so, there was no change in Byzantine priorities: defence in the east ranked above aggression in the Balkans, which in turn ranked above reassertion of authority, however attenuated, in the central Mediterranean. The Franks were duly extruded from Venice, but at the cost of a major political concession, recognition of Charlemagne's imperial title.

The encirclement and defeat in 863 of the raiding army of Melitene, one of the two principal bases for carrying on the *jihād* against Byzantium in the Arab marches, marked a turning-point in Byzantine–Arab relations. Thereafter the balance of power shifted steadily in Byzantium's favour, and with it came increasing freedom of diplomatic manoeuvre on other fronts. Byzantium's central position, instead of multiplying dangers, now gave it the advantage of diplomatic inner lines. Successive regimes were able to take initiatives in sectors of their own choosing, involving peoples whom they picked out, sometimes perhaps simply to mark themselves off from their predecessors (for example, the flurry of diplomatic activity throughout the Mediterranean initiated by Constantine Porphyrogenetos at the start of his period of personal rule in 945), sometimes in response to external threats (for example, Basil I's dispatch of a large expeditionary force to relieve the siege of Ragusa in 868 and to take the war to the Arabs in Apulia and Sicily), but more often in pursuit of a long-term goal. The story of Byzantium's gradual ascent to primacy in the east Mediterranean between the middle of the ninth and the middle of the eleventh century is a complex one. The course was somewhat sinuous, but it was set by 900 and held steady for many subsequent decades, despite occasional aberrations (notably the overambitious, overaggressive policy of Nikephoros Phokas).

Five initiatives, two of Basil I (867–86) and three of Leo VI (886–912), were of long-lasting significance, laying down policies which would be pursued over many generations. They were, in chronological order: (i) the decision, originally made by Michael III but confirmed by Basil I, to commit substantial resources to halting and reversing the advance of Muslim power in the central Mediterranean (and incidentally boosting Byzantium's prestige in Italy and transalpine Europe); (ii) Basil's selection of the Arab marches, running south-west from Melitene to Tarsos, as the objective of attack by Byzantine field armies (the significance of which was marked by his taking personal charge of operations in 871, 873, and 878); (iii) Leo's replacement of Basil's policy of confrontation with the principal Armenian dynasty

of the Bagratids, with one of conciliation and alliance, which was broadened subsequently into a general cultivation of Armenian princes, great and small (a policy which proved disastrous in the short term, since it led to the temporary destruction of the Bagratid state in 914); (iv) Leo's grand offensive against Bulgaria in the early 890s, involving a coordinated attack across the Danube by the Hungarians, which made it plain that, in the long run, Byzantium would not brook the presence of an independent power, albeit now Christianized, in the Balkans; and finally (v) the establishment of good relations with the Rus at the beginning of the tenth century, substantial economic inducements being used to entice them into alliance with Byzantium.

Priorities, of course, had to be established. Given limited resources, a choice had to be made at any one time between territorial expansion in the east and offensive operations against Bulgaria. The solution adopted was one of slow oscillation, long periods of preoccupation in the east being interleaved with equally long periods of near-continuous involvement in the Balkans. Basil I began the process of chipping away at exposed parts of the Arab marches, only overreaching himself towards the end of his reign, in 883, when he launched an attack against Tarsos, now the principal base where Muslim *jihad*-fighters congregated. The serious defeat suffered then led to a general reappraisal of policy and ultimately resulted in the three initiatives of Leo VI listed above. The most controversial of these was an unprovoked attack on Bulgaria, on the pretext that Christianity, only recently accepted (864), was under threat. This initiated a phase of hostile relations lasting more than thirty years, in the course of which Byzantium suffered serious reverses and a considerable loss of prestige. It ended when the growing weakness of the Caliphate, beset by economic, political, and military problems, became all too manifest by the early 920s. To take full advantage of this, there was a dramatic change of policy on the part of the new regime of Romanos Lekapenos (920–44). Disengagement was sought and obtained in the Balkans, at the cost of major diplomatic concessions (923), opening the way for a sustained but carefully targeted offensive in the east.

Over the next forty years, Byzantium transformed its strategic position in the Near East. Its field forces moved cautiously, probing the Arab marches, identifying key military centres, and concentrating their efforts against them. Bold strokes were shunned (except for a short period, 942–4, when Iraq was in political turmoil), for fear of igniting a *jihad* which might bring thousands of soldiers from distant reaches of the caliphate to the threatened frontier zones. Instead the aim was to make unobtrusive, incremental gains over a long period, which would amount, in aggregate, to a massive accretion of territory. Discretion and patience characterized the strategy. An initial attack in force, accompanied by extensive devastation of its environs, marked a city as prime target. This was then followed by a phase of what may be termed offensive guerrilla warfare, in which the targeted city was isolated and subjected to unremitting pressure, in the form of small-scale raids from a nearby castle

securely held by Byzantine or allied forces. The *coup de grâce* would be administered by a second conventional attack, deferred until both the material and psychological resources of the target were exhausted. One after another the principal Arab bases succumbed, Melitene being followed by Arsamosata, Theodosiopolis, Germanikeia, Adata, Tarsos, and, finally, Antioch. Military action was accompanied by precision diplomacy, designed to gain the good will and, if possible, active collaboration of Christian princes in western Armenia and to neutralize the greatest Muslim power of the Near East, Ikhshidid Egypt. Further afield still, occasional headline-catching expeditions maintained Byzantium's influence and prestige in the west.

Two events forced a change of policy—the replacement of a weak, complaisant regime in Egypt by that of the Fatimids (969), religiously charged and aggressive, and the unintended consequence of calling in the Rus against Bulgaria (968), the creation of a Viking state menacingly close to Constantinople. The offensive in the east was halted, save for intermittent shows of force, designed to remind both Armenian and Arab powers of Byzantium's military potential. Instead priority was given to the Balkans, in the first instance to the extrusion of the Rus (achieved in 971). The conquest and pacification of the whole peninsula became the prime aim of Byzantine foreign policy for nearly fifty years. Elsewhere attention continued to be paid to the Rus (in their homeland), regarded as a distant but valuable reservoir of fighting manpower, and to Italy and the central Mediterranean. The policy of cultivating Christian princes in Caucasia was maintained. The two most powerful neighbouring rulers (the Curopalate of Iberia in the north and the Artsruni prince of Vaspurakan in the south) were transformed into clients, and induced, under pressure, to make over their lands to the Byzantine emperor. These cessions, together with a swathe of territory running south to Lake Van (in 1000) and Vaspurakan (in 1021–2), brought the whole of western Armenia under direct Byzantine rule, except for a small enclave on the north shore of Lake Van. Byzantium's position as the great power of the east Mediterranean was secured when Bulgar resistance was crushed in the Macedonian heartland of the Balkans (by 1018).

In a final phase, Byzantium sought to consolidate this position in both east and west, by the conquest of Edessa (1032), by the annexation under duress of the principalities of Ani (1045) and Kars (1064/5) in Armenia, and by an assault (only partially successful) on Arab-held Sicily (1038). Already, though, the situation was deteriorating in the east, as Seljukid power grew and Turkoman raids penetrated the Armenian lands so recently annexed by Byzantium. The Balkans came under increasing pressure from Pecheneg nomads. In the far west Norman adventurers began successfully unpicking Byzantine authority in southern Italy. The steady, piecemeal growth of Byzantine power had reached its apogee. The collapse which followed was far more dramatic, and was to inaugurate a period of prolonged decline. It was slowed by obstinate resistance. It was reversed twice, by Komnenian

and Nikaian emperors. A late reprieve came from the Mongols. But there was no escaping final destruction.

Pragmatism shaped Byzantium's foreign policy in its all too brief heyday, just as it did in the preceding and following eras when this vestige of the ancient world was belaboured from without. Successive regimes, between the middle of the ninth and the middle of the eleventh century, continued to attend to shifts in power formations in the neighbouring world. Their responses, though, were no longer afforded by circumstance, but were based on observation, calculation, and measured deliberation. Opportunities were exploited. Threats were countered. Potential difficulties were avoided. There were short-term shifts of emphasis, but there was more consistency of policy, more sustaining of offensive thrusts in particular sectors over longer periods than there had been before. Byzantium was for a while arbiter of earthly affairs in its vicinity, able to pursue, with relatively little constraint, what it regarded as its interests. As to what those interests were, what long-term aims were pursued, there are no clear statements. They must be inferred from actions and occasional declarations of specific intent, and from the general thrust of policy from generation to generation as described above. Three principal aims may be detected: first and foremost, improved security for the empire's Anatolian heartland through annexation of buffer zones north and south of the Taurus; second, reimposition of imperial authority on all former Roman territory up to the Danube; and, third, promotion of a sense of cross-cultural, supranational Christian solidarity, in what might become great reservoirs of fighting manpower analogous to Khurasan in the caliphate, namely Caucasia, Russia (after its conversion in 988), and the West, with a view (it may be speculated) to drawing them in future into a grand anti-Muslim alliance.

Byzantium was not just the heir of the Christian Roman empire of late antiquity. It continued to define itself as that empire. Ideological inertia was (and is) a force which should not be underestimated. It took two long rounds of damaging warfare before Byzantium acknowledged (in the eighth century) brute reality and abandoned its futile effort to fight nascent Islam in conventional fashion, trading blow for blow. Imperial pretensions were not abandoned, but adapted to brute reality. The empire which had acted as the arena for the Incarnation and for the subsequent dissemination of Christianity, would continue to play a central, directing part in earthly affairs. It might have been battered from without and reduced in size, but its people remained God's chosen agents charged with propagating the faith, whose severe punishment was evidence of their special status. There was no shortage of reminders of that status—Hagia Sophia, the Great Palace, the capital's endowment of public fora and colonnaded streets, the aqueduct of Valens, the Theodosian walls, imperial ceremonial and its material paraphernalia (the hydraulically powered throne, wall hangings, fine silver plate, ceremonial robes, etc.). Not to mention universal histories which laid out Rome's special place in God's providential scheme. It should cause little surprise then that reconstitution of empire should become

something more than a pipe-dream, once Byzantines were purged of their sins and the balance of power in the Near East began to shift back in their favour.

Faith, regularly reaffirmed by the liturgy and the annual cycle of church festivals, pervaded Byzantine society and shaped its thought-world. Once survival was assured (by the middle of the ninth century), the prescribed task of propagating Christianity was taken up, attention being directed principally at the main zone of paganism, the northern lands stretching from eastern Europe to the Caucasus. Nomads as well as sedentary peoples were targeted. Conversion was conceived as a top-down process, beginning with the conversion of the ruler and the appointment of a bishop. The idea of solitary proselytizing among alien peoples gained ground only gradually. Striking successes were achieved in Bulgaria, Alania, and among the Rus, which more than compensated for failures in Moravia and the Khazar khaganate. The balance between Christianity and Islam began to shift back in Christianity's favour. The Rus, who commanded vast resources and were ready to embark on bold ventures, military and commercial, stood out as the most powerful of the remoter northern peoples after the Khazars. They were, as has been seen, drawn into permanent relations by generous commercial concessions, long before their conversion in 988. Byzantium gained thereby a valuable ally in the north, and the opportunity to attract Rus warriors into its service. Conversion when it came, over a century after the initial push by Photios, strengthened these ties. Byzantium could now play on their Christian affinities, as they did in Armenia and in the West, and could entertain the hope of drawing them in the future into their centuries-long war against Islam.

Byzantium's world-view can best be observed through two of the texts commissioned by Constantine Porphyrogenetos in the tenth century, the *De Administrando Imperio* and *De Cerimoniis*. No overt claims are made to universal rule. The rights and independence of other states are recognized. None are relegated to the status of barbarian. But Byzantium is presented as the central place, a superordinate power, around which others revolve, and to which many of them defer. Byzantium receives, but does not pay out *pakta*, tribute. The same is true of *dora*, gifts, which are brought to the emperor, *qua* vicegerent of God, by latter-day magi. Foreign rulers are not arranged in a clearly stratified and stable hierarchy, as were office-holders at home—that would be highly counterproductive—but they are honoured and categorized in deliberately confusing ways by what is evidently a higher, divinely privileged earthly power. Its special status was impressed on visiting ambassadors by court ceremonial which had antecedents in late antiquity, by the great public halls of the palace, decked out for their reception, and by Hagia Sophia, a building of unique design and awe-inspiring size, to which they were taken on guided tours. The presents (not so called but itemized, mainly cloth and vessels made of precious and semi-precious material), which were sent to foreign courts, testified to the wealth of Byzantium and, by their intricate workmanship, to extraordinary, divinely inspired technical virtuosity.

Every verbal communication, every ceremonial act and gesture, reiterated and propagated Byzantium's claim to a pre-eminent role on earth. Neighbouring peoples could not but be affected by so confident an assertion of special status, unless they were inoculated by a rival, universal faith. Armenian princes succumbed to the blandishments of Byzantine diplomats. Armenian contingents joined in a war which was directed exclusively at Muslim emirates north and south of the Taurus. Arcane but divisive doctrinal differences were overlaid, as rulers and nobles came increasingly into Byzantium's political orbit. There is a chorus of praise for the emperor, Basil II, who made the largest annexations in Armenia. In the north, Byzantium's self-image was widely accepted. Slavs, Bulgars, and Rus have been quite rightly categorized as members of a Byzantine commonwealth, caught under the ideological spell of Byzantium, regarding the empire even in its later enfeebled days as an exemplary centre through which supernatural forces were channelled. Latin Christendom too was susceptible. Liudprand, Bishop of Cremona, granted Byzantium the leading role in tenth-century Christendom, and, a century and a half on, the whole West responded to the call to join a Christian *jihad* under joint Byzantine–papal leadership.

Byzantium's relations with its neighbours were ultimately shaped by this consciousness of a special, God-given destiny. For all the pragmatism shown in two centuries of comfortable existence, when the initiative in foreign affairs lay with Byzantium, for all the desperate expedients to which it was forced to resort at other times and which did, on occasion, involve significant political concessions, Byzantium never relinquished claims which were solidly founded in a well-remembered historical past. The behaviour of its neighbours cannot be understood unless they are placed in Constantinople's force-field. Yet more important, Byzantium itself cannot be understood, if, in retrospect, it is subjected to ideological castration. For the ultimate rationale of its existence was its Christian imperial mission. That conviction, widely shared in a thoroughly Orthodox society, was the shaping influence on its foreign policy. It provides the basic, underlying reason for Byzantium's tenacious longevity, for its stubborn resistance in the opening confrontation with Islam, and, even more extraordinary, for the resilience shown in the last three and a half centuries of decline.

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CHAPTER IV.21

BYZANTIUM'S ROLE IN WORLD HISTORY

CYRIL MANGO

THE subject of this entry would have appeared puzzling to a Byzantine reader. True, he was familiar with the concept of universal history: it was a history that started with the creation of the world in 5508 BCE and extended to the present, but it was not a history of all the peoples that inhabited the earth. After the Incarnation of Christ in particular the historical process was restricted to the Roman, i.e. Byzantine Empire, whose role was to lead up to the Second Coming. Daniel's Fourth and final Kingdom was not part of the story; it was *the* story and needed no justification, except in the scheme of divine Providence. As to the stuff of that story, it consisted in a sequence of emperors, good or bad, and the growth of the Church, both its geographical spread and, especially, the elaboration of its dogma.

At the same time history was seen as a contest between the invisible forces of good and evil. Satan and his army of demons were constantly chipping away at humanity's moral order, but their most effective form of subversion was through the introduction of heresies. A heresy may appear innocuous, even plausible at first sight—indeed, it is deliberately camouflaged—but, step by step, it leads to increasing impiety and perdition. The principal task of the Empire, therefore, was to guard the correct ideology. Individual rulers were judged by history not on the basis of their political acumen or military success, but by the criterion of orthodoxy: Constantius II, Valens, Zeno, Anastasios I, etc. were bad because they

had championed heresy, while Theodosios I and II, Marcian, Leo I, Justin I, etc. were good. Even the great Justinian, the builder of Hagia Sophia, won disapproval because in his old age he fell into Aphthartodocetism.

On its own terms, therefore, Byzantium should be viewed as an ideology, religious in content, but intimately involving the secular power because it alone had the means of rooting out heresy by the convocation of general councils, by legislation, and, ultimately, by coercion.

For reasons that are not far to seek, the truth of the above definition has been more obvious to eastern European scholars, who had personal experience of state ideology, than to western historians of a liberal stamp. Here, for example, is Alexander Kazhdan:

When I think of the history of Byzantium and its significance for the 20th century, I always come back to the same idea: Byzantium has left us a unique experience of European totalitarianism. For me, Byzantium is not so much the cradle of Orthodoxy or the storehouse of the treasures of ancient Hellas, as a thousand-year-long experiment in totalitarian practice, without whose understanding we [i.e. Russians] are, it seems, unable to see our own place in the historical process. (Kazhdan 2003: 486)

Kazhdan did not venture to decide whether this totalitarianism was a good or a bad thing, an element of strength or an element of weakness.

Western historians have taken a different stance. Rather than defining the essence of Byzantium (ideological totalitarianism), they have sought to identify its achievements, the useful services that Byzantium performed for us, Europeans. J. B. Bury described them as follows in his Introduction to the first edition (1923) of the *Cambridge Medieval History*. As a political power, he wrote, Byzantium acted throughout the Middle Ages as the bulwark of Europe against Asiatic aggression. In terms of civilization, it educated the Slavs of eastern Europe; it sent to Italy, France, and Germany its manufactures as well as products of the East; it preserved the masterpieces of Hellenic thought and imagination, which would otherwise have perished. We may eliminate from consideration, as being of secondary importance, Byzantium's role of intermediary in the circulation of manufactured goods, but the three other achievements have been invoked again and again. Norman Baynes in 1948 added a few more to the list, namely the preservation of Roman law and jurisprudence, the maintenance of historiography, the institution of monasticism, and a religious art 'which today western Europe is learning to appreciate' (Baynes and Moss 1948: xxxi). However generous the assessment, Byzantium is not credited with any advance in science, philosophy, political theory, or with having produced a great literature.

Bury's reference to Asiatic aggression may strike us as unduly Eurocentric, but factually it cannot be faulted. More often than not in the course of its long history Byzantium found itself in a defensive posture and its most dangerous enemies were

indeed Asiatics: Persians, Arabs, and various peoples of the steppe (Huns, Avars, Bulgars, Pechenegs, Cumans, Turks). In particular, the Arabs under the Umayyad dynasty were determined to destroy Byzantium until the failure of their attack on Constantinople in 717/18, an event probably more momentous than Charles Martel's victory at Poitiers. Reviled by Byzantines for his heresy, Leo III, himself an Asiatic, must count as one of the great heroes of European history. Had Constantinople fallen in 718, there was little to stop the advance of Islam, in Gibbon's phrase, 'to the confines of Poland and the Highlands of Scotland'. It is ironic in this perspective that the dismemberment of the Byzantine state should eventually have come about as the result of western, not Asiatic, aggression, but that is another story.

The 'education' of the Slavs calls for a more nuanced judgement. It means in effect the spread of Byzantine Christianity from the ninth century onwards to encompass the Bulgarians, Serbs, Russians, and (in part) Romanians, thus forming what Dimitri Obolensky has called the Byzantine Commonwealth, an ideological, not a political grouping, united by a common religion and the acknowledgement of Constantinople as its spiritual centre. Some may think that from a European point of view that may not have been an entirely good thing. It was an accident of history that Bulgaria was not converted to Roman Catholicism, and the same may have happened even in Russia. In 1829 the Russian thinker P. Chaadayev bewailed the fact that his country had received its civilization from 'despised Byzantium' and thus failed to join the brotherhood of (western) Christian nations.

One thing is clear: the conversion of the Slavs (except in parts of Greece) did not entail the enlargement of the hellenophone area. The common language of the Byzantine Commonwealth was and remained Church Slavonic, which Byzantium itself had helped to mould into a literary idiom. Byzantium has often been praised for its tolerance in this respect. Unlike the Church of Rome, which admitted only three sacred languages (Hebrew, Greek, and Latin), but in practice only Latin, the Byzantine Church allowed the Slavs to worship in their own idiom, as did several other peoples (Syrians, Armenians, Georgians). Seeing that in the mid-ninth century Slavonic had as yet no alphabet and no written form, an alphabet had to be invented for them and the basic texts of Christian worship and Orthodox culture translated. The result was that the Slavs, who had not been forced to learn Greek, remained locked into the body of writing that was gradually translated for them: the liturgy, biblical lectionaries (but not the complete Old Testament), an extensive body of apocrypha, hagiography (especially monastic), a selection of homilies, various edifying miscellanies, a certain amount of historiography of the more popular kind, like the chronicles of Malalas and George the Monk, with the help of which the Russians proceeded to create an excellent native tradition of annals, whereas the Bulgarians did not. Science, if that is the right word, was represented by the

Christian Topography of Kosmas Indikopleustes (sixth century), who demonstrated on the basis of the Bible that the world was shaped like a rectangular box. He continued to be read in Russia until the seventeenth century.

Byzantium did not transmit to the Slavs either the more sophisticated products of its own literature or any part of the ancient Greek classics. It probably gave what the Slavs were able to absorb or was considered suitable for them. In this process, which continued until the close of the Middle Ages, Constantinople does not appear to have played a very active part. We do not hear of any training of missionaries or the composition of glossaries and grammar books for the use of Slavs. The metropolitans of Kiev, ordained at Constantinople, were until the Mongol conquest almost all Greeks who probably did not know the local language. The same applies to the higher clergy in Bulgaria after the Byzantine re-conquest of 1018. The activity of these prelates did not, however, help the imposition of Greek on the lower clergy and the monks, that is, the kind of people who were specifically targeted by the Carolingian reform in the West.

By contrast, the Roman Church, while appearing more rigid in its insistence on Latin, helped create a medium of international communication that extended to all spheres of life, not only religion, but also law and administration, philosophy and literature. Whoever learnt Latin, whether he was German, Irish, or English, gained access to the entire corpus of Latin letters, Christian as well as pagan. He could read not only Augustine and Jerome, but also Cicero, Ovid, and Virgil. The Byzantine model, on the other hand, confined the converted Slavs to the cultural ghetto of translated texts (few of them secular), from which they only emerged at a later date through a process of slow seepage from the Catholic West and state-led de-byzantinization in eighteenth-century Russia.

The preservation by Byzantium of a sizeable body of the ancient Greek classics is an achievement that has won high praise. That was not a passive process. Following the Dark Age (seventh–eighth centuries), old texts were laboriously sought out, copied in the new minuscule script, edited, and, in many cases, provided with commentaries. By and large, what was copied at the time has survived through a tenuous transmission leading to the Palaiologan age and thence to the Italian Renaissance and diffusion by the printing press. We must not assume, of course, that the Byzantines regarded the Greek classics in the way we do or that they drew from them the same kind of inspiration that European *literati* have drawn. Their needs were necessarily different and more practical: access to scientific and technological knowledge, mostly by way of compendia produced in Late Antiquity, the attainment of correct diction and an approved literary style (again with the help of manuals and rhetorical texts for imitation), the availability of historical exempla as a guide to conduct, etc. For the Byzantine historian the question to be asked—and it has not yet been answered in full—is not what the Byzantines passed on to others, but what use they made themselves of the vast volume of ancient texts that they took so much trouble to preserve.

It is odd that Bury, a classicist, should not have singled out another Byzantine achievement, namely the survival of the Greek language. True, that had not been altogether a success story. If we go back to Late Antiquity, we find that Greek and Latin, the two world languages, were, as far as we can judge, on a level of approximate parity. Today some 150 million people in western Europe (not counting Latin America) speak Latin-derived languages as against some 10 million speakers of demotic Greek, roughly the same number as speakers of Hungarian. The retreat of Greek occurred mainly in two stages. The first and more serious was the result of the Arab conquests of the seventh century. Greek, of course, did not disappear overnight in the Near East: it lingered on here and there for another two hundred years before being completely swamped by Arabic. Considering the fact that it had been the *lingua franca* of the Levant for the previous millennium, its disappearance finds no easy explanation, but certainly had something to do with the monolingualism of Islam. The second, smaller setback followed the loss of much of Asia Minor to the Seljuk Turks from the late eleventh century onwards, leaving continuous hellenophone communities only along the Black Sea and Marmara coasts and a few small pockets in the interior, and that only until the exchange of populations in 1922. By contrast, Greek made only one, fairly modest gain in the course of the Middle Ages, namely the assimilation of the first wave of Slavic immigrants who poured into continental Greece and the Peloponnese in the sixth–seventh centuries. These, however, probably numbered tens of thousands rather than millions. We have already noted Byzantium's failure to impose Greek on the far more numerous Slavs who were converted to Christianity in the ninth century and later.

Byzantium, of course, cannot be equated with Greece, nor is there any evidence that the Empire pursued the diffusion of Greek as a matter of conscious policy. That spoken Greek has survived, even as a minority language, may be considered, however, as one of Byzantium's positive contributions.

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APPENDIX 1. RULERS

Eastern Roman rulers, 324–1453

Constantine I	324–337
Constantius II	337–361
Julian	361–363
Jovian	363–364
Valens	364–378
Theodosios I	379–395
Arkadios	395–408
Theodosios II	408–450
Marcian	450–457
Leo I	457–474
Leo II	474
Zeno	474–475
Basiliskos	475–476
Zeno (restored)	476–491
Anastasios I	491–518
Justin I	518–527
Justinian I	527–565
Justin II	565–578
Tiberios II Constantine	578–582
Maurice	582–602
Phokas	602–610
Herakleios	610–641
Constantine III and Heraklonas	641
Constans II	641–668
Constantine IV	668–685
Justinian II	685–695
Leontios	695–698
Tiberios III	698–705
Justinian II (restored)	705–711
Philippikos Bardanes	711–713
Anastasios II	713–715
Theodosios III	715–717
Leo III	717–741
Constantine V	741–775
Artabasdos	741–742
Leo IV	775–780

Constantine VI	780–797
Eirene	797–802
Nikephoros I	802–811
Staurakios	811
Michael I	811–813
Leo V	813–820
Michael II	820–829
Theophilos	829–842
Michael III	842–867
Basil I	867–886
Leo VI	886–912
Alexander	912–913
Constantine VII	913–959
Romanos I Lekapenos	920–944
Romanos II	959–963
Nikephoros II Phokas	963–969
John I Tzimiskes	969–976
Basil II	976–1025
Constantine VIII	1025–1028
Romanos III Argyros	1028–1034
Michael IV the Paphlagonian	1034–1041
Michael V Kalaphates	1041–1042
Zoe and Theodora	1042
Constantine IX Monomachos	1042–1055
Theodora (again)	1055–1056
Michael VI Stratiotikos	1056–1057
Isaac I Komnenos	1057–1059
Constantine X Doukas	1059–1067
Eudokia	1067
Romanos IV Diogenes	1068–1071
Eudokia (again)	1071
Michael VII Doukas	1071–1078
Nikephoros III Botaneiates	1078–1081
Alexios I Komnenos	1081–1118
John II Komnenos	1118–1143
Manuel I Komnenos	1143–1180
Alexios II Komnenos	1180–1183
Andronikos I Komnenos	1183–1185
Isaac II Angelos	1185–1195
Alexios III Angelos	1195–1203
Isaac II (restored) and Alexios IV Angelos	1203–1204
Alexios V Mourtzouphlos	1204
Constantine (XI) Laskaris	1204 (Nicaea)
Theodore I Laskaris	1204–1222 (Nicaea)
John III Doukas Vatatzes	1222–1254 (Nicaea)
Theodore II Laskaris	1254–1258 (Nicaea)
John IV Laskaris	1258–1261 (Nicaea)

Michael VIII Palaiologos	1259–1282
Andronikos II Palaiologos	1282–1328
Michael IX Palaiologos	1294–1320
Andronikos III Palaiologos	1328–1341
John V Palaiologos	1341–1391
John VI Kantakouzenos	1341–1354
Andronikos IV Palaiologos	1376–1379
John VII Palaiologos	1390
Manuel II Palaiologos	1391–1425
John VIII Palaiologos	1425–1448
Constantine XI (XII) Palaiologos	1448–1453

Empire of Nicaea

Constantine (XI) Laskaris	1204
Theodore I Laskaris	1204–1222
John III Doukas Vatatzes	1222–1254
Theodore II Laskaris	1254–1258
John IV Laskaris	1258–1261
Michael VIII Palaiologos	1259–1282 (from 1261 at Constantinople)

Principality (Despotate) of Epiros

Michael I	1204–1215
Theodore	1215–1230 (emperor from 1224 in Thessalonike)

Thessalonike

Manuel	1230–1237
John	1237–1244
Demetrios	1244–1246
(defeated by John Vatatzes in 1246)	

Thessaly

John I	1271–1296
Constantine	1296–1303
John II	1303–1318

Epiros

Michael II	c.1231–1271
Nikephoros I	1271–1296
Thomas	1296–1318
Nicholas Orsini	1318–1325
John Orsini	1325–1335
Nikephoros II	1335–1340

Grand Komnenoi of Trebizond

Alexios I	1204–1222
Andronikos I	1222–1235
John I	1235–1238
Manuel I	1238–1263
Andronikos II	1263–1266
George	1266–1280

John II	1280–1297
Alexios II	1297–1330
Andronikos III	1330–1332
Manuel II	1332
Basil	1332–1340
Eirene	1340–1341
Anna	1341
Michael	1341
Anna (again)	1341–1342
John III	1342–1344
Michael (again)	1344–1349
Alexios III	1349–1390
Manuel III	1390–1416
Alexios IV	1416–1429
John IV	1429–1459
David	1459–1461

Despotate of the Morea

Manuel Kantakouzenos	1348–1380
Matthew Kantakouzenos	1380–1383
Demetrios Kantakouzenos	1383
Theodore I Palaiologos	1383–1407
Theodore II Palaiologos	1407–1443
Constantine and Thomas Palaiologos	1443–1449
Thomas and Demetrios Palaiologos	1449–1460

Latin emperors at Constantinople

1204–1205	Baldwin I of Flanders
1206–1216	Henry of Flanders
1217	Peter of Courtenay
1217–1219	Yolande
1221–1228	Robert of Courtenay
1228–1261	Baldwin II (1231–1237 John of Brienne)

The Bulgars

First Bulgarian empire 681–971

Asparuch	681–702
Tervel	702–718
Anonymous	718–725
Sevar	725–739
Kormisoš	739–756

Vinech	756–762
Teletz	762–765
Sabin	765–767
Umar	767
Toktu	767–772
Pagan	772
Telerig	772 (c.)–777
Kardam	777–c.803
Krum	c.803–814
Dukum, Dicevg	814
Omurtag	814–831
Malamir	831–836
Presiam	836–852
Boris I Michael	852–889
Vladimir	889–893
Symeon	893–927
Peter	927–969
Boris II	969–971

The Bulgars' 'Macedonian' empire 976–1018

Samuel	976–1014
Gabriel Radomir	1014–1015
John Vladislav	1015–1018

The second Bulgarian empire 1186–1396

Asen I	1186–1196
Peter	1196–1197
Kalojan	1197–1207
Boril	1207–1218
Ivan Asen II	1218–1241
Kaloman Asen	1241–1246
Michael Asen	1246–1256
Constantine Tikh	1257–1277
Ivailo	1278–1279
Ivan Asen III	1279–1280
George I Terter	1280–1292
Smiletz	1292–1298
Čaka	1299
Theodore Svetoslav	1300–1322
George II Terter	1322–1323
Michael Šišman	1323–1330
Ivan Stephen	1330–1331
Ivan Alexander	1331–1371
Ivan Šišman	1371–1393 (at Trnovo)
Ivan Stracimir	1360–1396 (at Vidin)

Grand Zupans/Kings of Serbia (from 1168)

Štefan Nemanja	c.1168–1196
Štefan I	1196–1217
Štefan Radoslav	1217–1227/28
Štefan Vladislav	1227/28–1234
Štefan Uroš I	1234–1276
Štefan Dragutin	1276–1282
Štefan Uroš II	1282–1321
Štefan Uroš III	1321–1331
Štefan Uroš IV Dušan	1331–1355 (emperor from 1345)
Štefan Uroš V	1355–1371

Islamic rulers

Caliphs

The four 'rightly-guided' Caliphs, direct descendants of the Prophet

Abu Bakr	632–634
Umar I	634–644
Uthman	644–656
Ali	656–661

Umayyad dynasty

Mu'awiyya I	661–680
Yazid I	680–683
Mu'awiyya II	683–684
Marwan I	684–685
Abd al-Malik	685–705
Walid I	705–715
Suleiman	715–717
Umar II	715–720
Yazid II	720–724
Hisham	724–743
Walid II	743–744
Yazid III	744
Marwan II	744–750
İbrahim	744

Abbasid dynasty

as-Saffah	750–754
al-Mansur	754–775
al-Mahdi	775–785
al-Hadi	785–786
Harun ar-Rashid	786–809
al-Amin	809–813
al-Ma'mun	813–833
al-Mu'tasim	833–842

al-Wathiq	842–847
al-Mutawwakil	847–861
al-Muntasir	861–862
al-Musta'in	862
al-Mu'tazz	862–866
al-Muhtadi	866–869
al-Mu'tamid	869–892
al-Mu'tadid	892–902
al-Muqtafi	902–908
al-Muqtadir	908–932
al-Qahir	932–934
al-Radi	934–940
al-Muttaqi	940–943
al-Mustakfi	943–946
al-Muti	946–974
at-Ta'i	974–991
al-Qadir	991–1031
al-Qaim	1031–1075
al-Muqtadi	1075–1094
al-Mustazhir	1094–1118
al-Mustarshid	1118–1135
ar-Rashid	1135–1136
al-Muqtafi	1136–1160
al-Mustanjid	1160–1170
al-Mustadi	1170–1180
an-Nasir	1180–1225
az-Zahir	1225–1226
al-Mustansir	1226–1258
al-Musta'sim	1258

Seljuk Sultans of Rum

Suleiman I	1077–1086
Kilij Arslan I	1092–1107
Malik Shah	1107–1116
Masud I	1116–1156
Kilij Arslan II	1156–1192
Kaikhusraw I	1192–1996
Suleiman II	1196–1204
Kilij Arslan III	1204
Kaikhusraw I (again)	1204–1210
Kaikawus I	1210–1220
Kaikubad I	1220–1237
Kaikhusraw II	1237–1245
Kaikawus II	1246–1257
Kilij Arslan IV	1248–1265

Kaikubad II	1249–1257
Kaikhusraw III	1265–1282
Masud II	1282–1304
Kaikubad III	1284–1307
Masud III	1307–1308

Ottoman Sultans to 1453

Osman	1288–1326
Orhan	1326–1362
Murad I	1362–1389
Bayezid I	1389–1402
Mehmet I	1402–1421 (sole ruler from 1413)
Suleiman	1402–1410
Musa	1411–1413
Murad II	1421–1451
Mehmet II Fatih ‘the Conqueror’	1451–1481

Armenia from 885 (until its incorporation into the Byzantine empire in 1042–1045)

Ashot I the Great	885–890
Smbat I the Martyr	890–914
Ashot II the Iron	914–928
Abas I	928–952
Ashot III the Merciful	952–977
Smbat II the Conqueror	977–989
Gagik I	989–20
John-Smbat III	1020–1040
Ashot IV the Valiant	1021–1039
Gagik II	1042–1045

Note: The Armenian princes who ruled or governed Armenia or parts thereof nominally for the eastern Roman emperors and for the Persian kings in the fifth–seventh centuries, or for the Byzantine emperors and Caliphs from the seventh to ninth centuries, are not included.

Georgia

Iberia

Adarnase IV	888–923
David II	923–937
Smbat I	937–958
Bagrat II	958–994
Gurgen I	994–1008
Bagrat III	1008–1014

Abasgia

Leo II	767–812
Theodosios II	812–838
Demetrios II	838–873
George I	872–879
John Šavliani	878–880
Adarnase Šavliani	880–888
Bagrat I	888–899
Constantine III	899–917
George II	916–961
Leo III	961–970
Demetrios III	970–977
Theodoios III	977–979
Bagrat III of Iberia	979–1014

Georgia (Abasgia and Iberia together)

Bagrat III	1008–1014
George I	1014–1027
Bagrat IV	1027–1072
George II	1072–1089
David III	1089–1125
Demetrios I	1125–1156
David IV	1155
George III	1156–1184
Thamar ‘the Great’	1184–1212
George IV	1212–1223
Rusudan	1223–1245
Interregnum	1245–1250
David V	1250–1258 (secedes in Imeretia/Abasgia)
David VI	1250–1269
Interregnum	1269–1273
Demetrios II	1273–1289
Vakhtang II of Imeretia	1289–1292
David VII	1292–1301
Vakhtang III	1301–1307
George V	1307–1314
George VI	1314–1346
David VIII	1346–1360
Bagrat V ‘the Great’	1360–1395
George VII	1395–1405
Constantine I	1405–1412
Alexander I ‘the Great’	1412–1442
Vakhtang IV	1442–1446

Demetrios III	1446–1453
George VIII	1446–1465
Bagrat VI	1465–1478
Constantine II	1478–1505

Note: The kings of Georgia generally ruled in association with a junior co-ruler who was often one of their immediate successors.

APPENDIX 2. PATRIARCHS AND POPES

Archbishops of Constantinople (324–381)

Alexander	324–337	Paul I (again)	346–351
Paul I	337–339	Makedonios I (again)	351–360
Eusebios	339–341	Eudoxios	360–370
Paul I (again)	341–342	Demophilos	370–379
Makedonios I	342–346	Gregory I (of Nazianzos)	379–381

Patriarchs (381–1456)

Nektarios	381–397	Paul II	641–653
John I Chrysostomos	398–404	Pyrrhos (again)	654
Arsakios	404–405	Peter	654–666
Atticos	406–425	Thomas II	667–669
Sisinnios I	426–427	John V	669–675
Nestorios	428–431	Constantine I	675–677
Maximianos	431–434	Theodore I	677–679
Proklos	434–446	George I	679–686
Flavianos	446–449	Theodore I (again)	686–687
Anatolios	449–458	Paul III	688–694
Gennadios I	458–471	Kallinikos I	694–706
Akakios	472–489	Kyros	706–712
Fravitas	489–490	John VI	712–715
Euphemios	490–496	Germanos I	715–730
Makedonios II	496–511	Anastasios	730–754
Timothy I	511–518	Constantine II	754–766
John II the Cappadocian	518–520	Niketas I	766–780
Epiphanos	520–535	Paul IV	780–784
Anthimos I	535–536	Tarasios	784–806
Menas	536–552	Nikephoros I	806–815
Eutychios	552–565	Theodotos	815–821
John III Scholastikos	565–577	Anthony I	821–837
Eutychios (again)	577–582	John VII Grammatikos	837–843
John IV the Faster	582–595	Methodios I	843–847
Kyriakos	595–606	Ignatios	847–858
Thomas I	607–610	Photios	858–867
Sergios I	610–638	Ignatios (again)	867–877
Pyrrhos	638–641	Photios (again)	877–886

Stephen I	886–893	John X	1198–1206
Anthony II	893–901	Michael IV	1208–1214
Nicholas I Mystikos	901–907	Theodore II	1214–1216
Euthymios I	907–912	Maximos II	1216
Nicholas I (again)	912–925	Manuel I	1217–1222
Stephen II	925–927	Germanos II	1222–1240
Tryphon	927–931	Methodios II	1240
Theophylaktos	933–956	Manuel II	1244–1254
Polyeuktos	956–970	Arsenius	1255–1259
Basil I	970–974	Nikephoros II	1260
Anthony III	974–979	Arsenius (again)	1261–1264
Nicholas II	979–991	Germanos III	1265–1266
<i>Interregnum</i>	991–996	Joseph I	1266–1275
Sisinnios II	996–998	John XI Bekkos	1275–1282
Sergios II	1001–1019	Joseph I (again)	1282–1283
Eustathios	1019–1025	Gregory III	1283–1289
Alexios	1025–1043	Athanasios I	1289–1293
Michael I Keroularios	1043–1058	John XII	1294–1303
Constantine III	1059–1063	Athanasios I (again)	1303–1309
John VIII Xiphilinos	1064–1075	Niphon I	1310–1314
Kosmas I	1075–1081	John XIII Glykys	1315–1319
Eustratios	1081–1084	Gerasimos I	1320–1321
Nicholas III	1084–1111	Isaias	1323–1332
John IX	1111–1134	John XIV Kalekas	1334–1347
Leo	1134–1143	Isidoros I	1347–1350
Michael II	1143–1146	Kallistos I	1350–1353
Kosmas II	1146–1147	Philothoes Kokkinos	1353–1354
Nicholas IV Mouzalon	1147–1151	Kallistos I (again)	1355–1363
Theodotos II	1151–1154	Philotheos (again)	1364–1376
Nephtyos I	1153–1154	Makarios	1376–1379
Constantine IV	1154–1157	Neilos	1379–1388
Loukas	1157–1170	Anthony IV	1389–1390
Michael III	1170–1178	Makarios (again)	1390–1391
Chariton	1178–1179	Anthony IV (again)	1391–1397
Theodosios	1179–1183	Kallistos II Xanthopoulos	1397
Basil II	1183–1186	Matthew I	1397–1410
Niketas II	1186–1189	Euthymios II	1410–1416
Dositheos	1189	Joseph II	1416–1439
Leontios	1189	Metrophanes II	1440–1443
Dositheos (again)	1189–1191	Gregory III	1443–1450
George II	1191–1198	Gennadios II Scholarios	1454–1456

Popes (314–1455)

Sylvester I	314–335	Liberius	352–366
Mark	336	(Felix II)	355–365
Julius	337–352	Damasus I	366–384

(Ursinus	366–367)	Benedict II	684–685
Siricius	384–399	John V	685–686
Anastasius I	399–401	Conon	686–687
Innocent I	401–417	(Theodore	687)
Zosimus	417–418	(Pascal	687)
Boniface I	418–422	Sergius I	687–701
(Eulalius	418–419)	John VI	701–705
Celestine I	422–432	John VII	705–707
Sixtus III	432–440	Sisinnius	708
Leo I the Great	440–461	Constantine I	708–715
Hilarius	461–468	Gregory II	715–731
Simplicius	468–483	Gregory III	731–741
Felix III	483–492	Zacharias	741–752
Gelasius I	492–496	(Stephen II	752)
Anastasius II	496–498	Stephen III	752–757
Symmachus	498–514	Paul I	757–767
(Laurentius	498, 501–505)	(Constantine	767–769)
Hormisdas	514–523	(Philip	768)
John I	523–526	Stephen IV	768–772
Felix IV	526–530	Hadrian I	772–795
Boniface II	530–532	Leo III	795–816
(Dioscorus	530)	Stephen V	816–817
John II	533–535	Pascal I	817–824
Agapetus I	535–536	Eugenius II	824–827
Silverius	536–537	Valentinus	827
Vigilius	537–555	Gregory IV	827–844
Pelagius I	556–561	(John	844)
John III	561–574	Sergius II	844–847
Benedict I	575–579	Leo IV	847–855
Pelagius II	579–590	Benedict III	855–858
Gregory I the Great	590–604	(Anastasius	855)
Sabinianus	604–606	Nicholas I	858–867
Boniface III	607	Hadrian II	867–872
Boniface IV	608–615	John VIII	872–882
Deusdedit I	615–618	Marinus I	882–884
Boniface V	619–625	Hadrian III	884–885
Honorius I	625–638	Stephen VI	885–891
Severinus	640	Formosus	891–896
John IV	640–642	Boniface VI	896
Theodore I	642–649	Stephen VII	896–897
Martin I	649–655	Romanus	897
Eugenius I	654–657	Theodore II	897
Vitalianus	657–672	John IX	898–900
Deusdedit II	672–676	Benedict IV	900–903
Domnus	676–678	Leo V	903
Agatho	678–682	(Christopher	903–904)
Leo II	682–683	Sergius III	904–911

Anastasius III	911–913	Celestine II	1143–1144
Lando	913–914	Lucius II	1144–1145
John X	914–928	Eugenius III	1145–1153
Leo VI	928	Anastasius IV	1153–1154
Stephen VIII	928–931	Hadrian IV	1154–1159
John XI	931–935	Alexander III	1159–1181
Leo VII	936–939	Lucius III	1181–1185
Stephen IX	939–942	Urban III	1185–1187
Marinus II	942–946	Gregory VIII	1187
Agapetus II	946–955	Clement III	1187–1191
John XII	955–964	Celestine III	1191–1198
Leo VIII	963–965	Innocent III	1198–1216
Benedict V	964–966	Honorius III	1216–1227
John XIII	965–972	Gregory IX	1227–1241
Benedict VI	973–974	Celestine IV	1241
Benedict VII	974–983	Innocent IV	1243–1254
John XIV	983–984	Alexander IV	1254–1261
John XV	985–996	Urban IV	1261–1264
Gregory V	996–999	Clement IV	1265–1268
Sylvester II	999–1003	Gregory X	1271–1276
John XVII	1003	Innocent V	1276
John XVIII	1004–1009	Hadrian V	1276
Sergius IV	1009–1012	John XXI	1276–1277
Benedict VIII	1012–1024	Nicholas III	1277–1280
John XIX	1024–1032	Martin IV	1281–1285
Benedict IX	1032–1044	Honorius IV	1285–1287
Sylvester III	1045	Nicholas IV	1288–1292
Benedict IX (again)	1045	Celestine V	1294
Gregory VI	1045–1046	Boniface VIII	1294–1303
Clement II	1046–1047	Benedict XI	1303–1304
Benedict IX (again)	1047–1048	Clement V	1305–1314
Damasus II	1048	John XXII	1316–1334
Leo IX	1049–1054	Benedict XII	1334–1342
Victor II	1055–1057	Clement VI	1342–1352
Stephen X	1057–1058	Innocent VI	1352–1362
Nicholas II	1059–1061	Urban V	1362–1370
Alexander II	1061–1073	Gregory XI	1370–1378
Gregory VII	1073–1085	Urban VI	1378–1389
Victor III	1086–1087	Boniface IX	1389–1404
Urban II	1088–1099	Innocent VII	1404–1406
Pascal II	1099–1118	Gregory XII	1406–1415
Gelasius II	1118–1119	Martin V	1417–1431
Calixtus II	1119–1124	Eugenius IV	1431–1447
Honorius II	1124–1130	Nicholas V	1447–1455
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